

# GRUNDRISS DER INDO-ARISCHEN PHILOLOGIE UND ALTERTUMSKUNDE

(ENCYCLOPEDIA OF INDO-ARYAN RESEARCH)

BEGRÜNDET VON G. BÜHLER, FORTGESETZT VON F. KIELHORN,  
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON H. LÜDERS UND J. WACKERNAGEL.

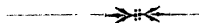
I. BAND, 4. HEFT.

---

## VEDIC GRAMMAR

BY

A. A. MACDONELL.



STRASSBURG  
VERLAG VON KARL J. TRÜBNER  
1910.

The printing was commenced in May, 1907, and  
afterwards delayed by the death of the editor  
Prof. Kielhorn.







# GRUNDRISS DER INDO-ÄRISCHEN PHILOGIE UND ALTERTUMSKUNDE

(ENCYCLOPEDIA OF INDO-ARYAN RESEARCH)

BEGRÜNDET VON G. BÜHLER, FORTGESETZT VON F. KIELHORN.

I. BAND, 4. HEFT.

## VEDIC GRAMMAR

BY

A. A. MACDONELL.

### INTRODUCTION.

**1. General Scope of this Work.**—Vedic grammar has never till now been treated separately and as a whole. Both in India and in the West the subject has hitherto been handled only in connexion with Classical Sanskrit. Hundreds of Pāṇini's Sūtras deal with the language of the Vedas; but the account they give of it is anything but comprehensive. In the West, BENFEY was the first, more than half a century ago (1852), to combine a description of the linguistic peculiarities of the Vedas with an account of the traditional matter of Pāṇini; but as Vedic studies were at that time still in their infancy, only the Sāmaveda<sup>1</sup> and about one-fourth of the Ṛgveda<sup>2</sup> having as yet been published, the Vedic material utilized in his large grammar<sup>3</sup> was necessarily very limited in extent. In WHITNEY's work<sup>4</sup> the language of the Vedas, which is much more fully represented, is treated in its historical connexion with Classical Sanskrit. Partly for this reason, his work does not supply a definite account of the grammar of the Samhitās as compared with that of the later phases of the language; thus what is peculiar to the Brāhmaṇas or to a particular Samhitā is often not apparent. Professor WACKERNAGEL's grammar<sup>5</sup>, which when finished will present the ancient language of India more completely than any other work on the subject, deals with the combined Vedic and post-Vedic material from the point of view of Comparative Philology. Different sections or individual points of Vedic grammar have been the subject of separately published treatises or of special articles scattered in various Oriental and philological journals or other works of a miscellaneous character. It is advisable that all this as well as additional material<sup>6</sup> should now be brought together so as to afford a general survey of the subject.

In view of the prominent position occupied by the Indo-Aryan branch in Comparative Philology and of the fact that the language of the Vedas

<sup>1</sup> Edited by BENFEY, with German translation and glossary, Leipzig 1848.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I edited by MAX MÜLLER, London 1849, vol. VI 1875; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London 1890—92; edited by AUFRECHT, Berlin 1861 and 1863 (vols. VI and VII of Indische Studien), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Bonn 1877.

<sup>3</sup> Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache, Leipzig 1852.

<sup>4</sup> A Sanskrit Grammar, Leipzig 1879; 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 1896.

<sup>5</sup> Altindische Grammatik von JACOB

WACKERNAGEL, I. Lautlehre, Göttingen 1896; II, 1. Einleitung zur Wortlehre. Nominalkomposition, 1905. (Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, Beiträge zur altindischen Grammatik, ZDMG. 50, 674—735).

<sup>6</sup> Such additional material is supplied in this work from collections made for me by my pupils Prof. H. C. NORMAN (Benares) from the Vājasaneyi Samhitā, and Mr. A. B. KEITH from the Taittirīya Samhitā, the Mantras in the Aitareya Aranyaka, and the Khilas of the Ṛgveda.

represents the foundation of the subsequent strata, it seems important for the sake of clearness and definiteness that the earliest phase should be treated as a whole independently of later developments. The present work will therefore deal with the grammar of only the Mantra portions of the Samhitās; that is to say, it will embrace the whole of the Ṛgveda, the Atharvaveda<sup>1</sup>, the Sāmaveda<sup>2</sup>, and the Vājasaneyi Samhitā<sup>3</sup>, but will exclude those portions of the Taittirīya Samhitā<sup>4</sup>, the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā<sup>5</sup> and the Kāṭhaka<sup>6</sup> which have the character of Brāhmaṇas<sup>7</sup>. Reference will also be made to Mantra material not found in the canonical texts of the Samhitās, that is, to the Khilas<sup>8</sup> of the Ṛgveda and the occasional Mantras of this type occurring in the Brāhmaṇas<sup>9</sup> and Sūtras. As the linguistic material of the Ṛgveda is more ancient, extensive and authentic than that of the other Samhitās, all of which borrow largely from that text<sup>10</sup>, it is taken as the basis of the present work. Hence all forms stated without comment belong to the Ṛgveda, though they may occur in other Samhitās as well. From the other Vedas, such matter only is added as occurs in their independent parts or, if borrowed from the Ṛgveda, appears in an altered form, the source being in such cases indicated by an abbreviation in parentheses (as VS., TS., AV.). The addition of the abbreviation 'RV.' means that the form in question occurs in the Ṛgveda only.

**2. Verbal Authenticity of the Texts**<sup>11</sup>.—In dealing with the linguistic material of the Samhitās the question of the authenticity of the forms which it embraces is of great importance. What guarantees then do we possess that the original form of the texts handed down by tradition has not in the course of ages undergone modification and modernization in respect to vocabulary, phonetics, and grammatical forms? This question must first be applied to the Ṛgveda, the oldest of the Samhitās, which forms the very foundation of Vedic tradition. The evidence of the Sarvānukramaṇī<sup>12</sup>, which states the number of stanzas, the metre, and the deity for every hymn of the RV., shows that in general extent, form, and matter, this Samhitā was in the Sūtra period the same as now. The Prāṭisākhya<sup>13</sup> demonstrates that its phonetic character was also the same. Yāska's commentary<sup>14</sup> proves that,

<sup>1</sup> Edited (Samhitā text only) by ROTH and WHITNEY, Berlin 1856 (Index Verborum in JAOS., vol. XII); translated by WHITNEY (Books I—XIX), with a critical and exegetical commentary, Cambridge, Mass., 1905 (vols. VII and VIII of the Harvard Oriental Series); also edited by SHANKAR P. PANDIT (both Samhitā and Pada text), Bombay 1895—99.

<sup>2</sup> Besides BENFEY's edition also that of SATYAVRATA SĀMAŚRAMĪ, 5 vols., Calcutta 1874—78 (Bibliotheca Indica).

<sup>3</sup> Edited by WEBER, with the commentary of Mahidhara, London and Berlin 1852.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by WEBER (vols. XI and XII of Indische Studien), Berlin 1871—72.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by L. V. SCHROEDER, Leipzig 1881—86.

<sup>6</sup> Edited by L. V. SCHROEDER, vol. I (books I—XVIII), Leipzig 1900.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. OLDENBERG, Die Hymnen des Rigveda, Band I (Prolegomena), Berlin 1888, p. 294 ff.

<sup>8</sup> See AUFRECHT, Die Hymnen des Rigveda<sup>2</sup>, vol. II, 672—88; MAX MÜLLER, Ṛgveda<sup>2</sup>, vol. IV, 519—41; cp. MACDONELL, Bṛhaddevatā, vol. I, introduction, § 15 (Cambridge,

Mass., 1904); SCHEFFELOWITZ, Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda (edition of the Khilas), Breslau 1906 (cp. OLDENBERG, Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen 1907, 210—41).

<sup>9</sup> Cp. OLDENBERG, op. cit., 359 ff.; AUFRECHT, Das Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Bonn 1879, p. 420 f.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. OLDENBERG, op. cit., chapter III; MACDONELL, History of Sanskrit Literature, 181 and 186.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. OLDENBERG, op. cit., chapter III (271—369) Der Riktext und der Text der jüngeren Samhitās und der Brāhmaṇas; LUDWIG, Ueber die Kritik des Ṛgveda-Textes, Abhandlungen d. k. böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Prag 1889.

<sup>12</sup> Edited by A. A. MACDONELL, Oxford 1886.

<sup>13</sup> The Ṛgveda Prāṭisākhya, edited with German translation by MAX MÜLLER, Leipzig 1856—69; edited with UVAṬA's commentary, Benares Sanskrit Series 1894.

<sup>14</sup> Yāska's Nirukta, edited by ROTH, Göttingen 1852; edited by SATYAVRATA SĀMAŚRAMĪ, 4 vols. (II—IV with the commentary

as regards the limited number of stanzas explained by him, his text was verbally identical with ours. The frequent statements of the Brāhmaṇas concerning the number of verses contained in a hymn or liturgical group agree with the extant text of the Ṛgveda. The explanatory discussions of the Brāhmaṇas further indicate that the text of the Ṛgveda must have been regarded as immutably fixed by that time. Thus the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, while speaking of the possibility of varying some of the formulas of the Yajurveda, rejects as impossible the notion of changing the text of a certain verse of the Ṛgveda as proposed by some teachers<sup>1</sup>.

Probably soon after the completion of the actual Brāhmaṇas the hymns of the Ṛgveda were fixed in the phonetic form of the Samhitā text; and after no long interval, in order to guard that text from the possibility of any change or loss, the Pada text was constituted by Śākalya, whom the Āraṇyakas or appendixes to the Brāhmaṇas, the Nirukta, and the Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya presuppose<sup>2</sup>. By this analysis of the Samhitā text, its every word, stated in a separate form as unaffected by the rules of euphonic combination, has come down to us without change for about 2,500 years.

The Samhitā text itself, however, only represented the close of a long period in which the hymns, as originally composed by the seers, were handed down by oral tradition. For the condition of the text even in this earlier period we possess a large body of evidence corresponding to that of Mss. for other literary monuments. It was then that the text of the other Vedas, each of which borrowed extensively from the Ṛgveda, was constituted. With each of them came into being a new and separate tradition in which the borrowed matter furnishes a body of various readings for the Ṛgveda. The comparison of these variants, about 1200 in number, has shown that the text of the Ṛgveda already existed, with comparatively few exceptions, in its present form when the text of the other Vedas was established. The number of instances is infinitely small in which the Ṛgveda exhibits corruptions not appearing in the others. We have thus good reason for believing that the fixity of the text and the verbal integrity of the Ṛgveda go several centuries further back than the date at which the Samhitā text came into existence. As handed down exclusively by oral tradition, the text could hardly have been preserved in perfectly authentic form from the time of the composers themselves; and research has shown that there are some undeniable corruptions in detail attributable to this earliest period. But apart from these, the Samhitā text, when the original metre has been restored by the removal of phonetic combinations which did not prevail in the time of the poets themselves, nearly always contains the very words, as represented by the Pada text, actually used by the seers. The modernization of the ancient text appearing in the Samhitā form is only partial and is inconsistently applied. It has preserved the smallest minutiae of detail most liable to corruption and the slightest differences in the matter of accent and alternative forms which might have been removed with the greatest ease. We are thus justified in assuming that the accents and grammatical forms of the Ṛgveda, when divested of the euphonic rules applied in the Samhitā text, have come down to us, in the vast majority of cases, as they were uttered by the poets themselves.

Though the tradition of nearly all the later Samhitās has in a general way been guarded by Anukramaṇīs, Prātiśākhyas, and Pada texts, its value is clearly inferior to that of the Ṛgveda. This is only natural in the case

of collections in which the matter was largely borrowed and arbitrarily cut up into groups of verses or into single verses solely with a view to meet new liturgical wants. Representing a later linguistic stage, these collections start from a modernized text in the material borrowed from the R̥gveda, as is unmistakable when that material is compared with the original passages. The text of the Sāmaveda is almost entirely secondary, containing only seventy-five stanzas not derived from the R̥gveda. Its variants are due in part to inferiority of tradition and in part to arbitrary alterations made for the purpose of adapting verses removed from their context to new ritual uses<sup>1</sup>. An indication that the tradition of the Yajur and Atharva Vedas is less trustworthy than that of the R̥gveda is the great metrical irregularity which is characteristic of those texts<sup>2</sup>. Of all these the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā is the best preserved, being not only guarded by an Anukramaṇī, a Prātisākhya, and a Pada text, but partially incorporated in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, where the first 18 books are quoted word for word besides being commented on. The Taittirīya Saṃhitā has also been carefully handed down, being protected by an Anukramaṇī, a Prātisākhya, and a good Pada text<sup>3</sup>. The Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā is not so well authenticated, having no Prātisākhya and only an inferior Pada text, of which but a single somewhat incorrect Ms. is known<sup>4</sup>. Least trustworthy of all is the tradition of the Kāthaka which lacks both a Prātisākhya and a Pada text. Moreover only one complete Ms. of this Saṃhitā is known<sup>5</sup>. As that Ms. is unaccented, it has only been possible to mark the accent in small portions of that part of the text which has as yet been published (Books I–XVIII). As, however, the texts of the Black Yajurveda often agree even verbally, and the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā is closely connected with the Kāthaka, the readings of the latter can to some extent be checked by those of the cognate Saṃhitās.

The inferiority of tradition in the Atharvaveda was increased by the lateness of its recognition as a canonical text. It contains many corrupt and uncertain forms, especially in Book XIX, which is a later addition<sup>6</sup>. The text is guarded by Anukramaṇīs, a Prātisākhya, and a Padapāṭha<sup>7</sup>. The latter, however, contains serious errors both in regard to accentuation and the division of compound verbal forms, as well as in other respects. The Padapāṭha of Book XIX, which is different in origin from that of the earlier books<sup>8</sup>, is full of grave blunders<sup>9</sup>. The critical and exegetical notes contained in WHITNEY's Translation of the Atharvaveda accordingly furnish important aid in estimating the value of the readings in the Śaunakīya recension of the Atharvaveda. The Paippalāda recension is known in only a single corrupt Ms., which has been reproduced in facsimile by Professors GARBE and BLOOMFIELD<sup>10</sup>. About one-eighth or one-ninth of this recension is original, being found neither in the Śaunakīya text of the Atharvaveda nor in any other known collection of Mantras<sup>11</sup>. The various readings of this recension, in the

<sup>1</sup> On the Padapāṭha of the Sāmaveda see BENFEY's edition of that Saṃhitā, p. LVII—LXIV.

<sup>2</sup> See WHITNEY's Introduction to the Atharvaveda, p. CXXVII; BLOOMFIELD, The Atharvaveda, Grundriss II, 13, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. WEBER's edition p. VIII f., and Indische Studien 13, 1—114 (Ueber den Padapāṭha der Taittirīya-Saṃhitā).

<sup>4</sup> See L. v. SCHROEDER's edition, Introduction, p. XXXV f.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. L. v. SCHROEDER's Introduction to his edition, § 1.

<sup>6</sup> See LANMAN's Introduction to Book XIX in WHITNEY's Translation of the Atharvaveda.

<sup>7</sup> See LANMAN's Introduction to WHITNEY's Translation, p. LXIX—LXXIV.

<sup>8</sup> The Padapāṭha of the Atharvaveda has been edited in full by SHANKAR P. PANDIT in his Atharvaveda.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. BLOOMFIELD, The Atharvaveda p. 16.

<sup>10</sup> The Kashmirian Atharva-Veda, Baltimore 1901.

<sup>11</sup> BLOOMFIELD, The Atharvaveda p. 15;

material common to both recensions, are given in the critical notes of WHITNEY'S Translation. The variations range from slight differences to complete change of sense, and exact textual agreement between parallel stanzas is comparatively rare<sup>1</sup>. The text of this recension has not yet been critically edited except Book I<sup>2</sup>.

## I. PHONOLOGY.

Rgveda Prātiśākhya, ed. with German translation by MAX MÜLLER, Leipzig 1856—69; with UVATA'S Commentary, Benares Sanskrit Series, 1894. — Atharvaveda Prātiśākhya, ed. WHITNEY, JAOS. vols. VII and X. — Taittirīya Prātiśākhya, ed. WHITNEY, JAOS. vol. IX, 1871. — Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya, ed. WEBER, IS. vol. IV, 1858; with UVATA'S Commentary, Benares Sanskrit Series, 1888. — Riktantravyākaraṇa (= Prātiśākhya of the SV.), ed. and transl. by BURNELL, Mangalore 1879.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. I—70. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. I—87. — WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik. I. Lautlehre (very full bibliography).

3. **Ancient Pronunciation.**—Evidence throwing light on the phonetic character of the language of the Samhitās is furnished not only by the pronunciation of its sounds by the Brahmins of to-day, who still recite those texts, but also by the transcription of Sanskrit words in foreign languages, particularly Greek, in ancient times; by the summary information contained in the works of the old Sanskrit grammarians, Pāṇini and his successors; and more especially by the detailed statements of the Prātiśākhyas and the Sikṣās. From these sources we derive a sufficiently exact knowledge of the pronunciation prevailing about 500 B. C. This pronunciation, however, need not necessarily have coincided in every particular with that of the Samhitās, which date from many centuries earlier. Nevertheless, judging by the internal evidence supplied by the phonetic changes and analogical formations occurring in the language of the texts themselves and by the external evidence of comparative philology, we are justified in concluding that the pronunciation, with the possible exception of a very few doubtful points, was practically the same.

4. **The Sounds of the Vedic Language.**—There are altogether 52 sounds, 13 of which are vocalic and 39 consonantal. They are the following:

### A. Vocalic sounds.

1. Nine simple vowels: *a ā i ī u ū ṛ ̄ ṝ ṝ*.
2. Four diphthongs: *e o<sup>3</sup> ai au<sup>4</sup>*.

### B. Consonantal sounds.

1. Twenty-two mutes, divided into five classes, each of which has its class nasal, making a group of twenty-seven:
  - a) five gutturals: *k kh g gh ṅ*,
  - b) five palatals: *c ch j jh ñ*,
  - c) seven cerebrals: *ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ*<sup>5</sup> and *ṭṭṣ ḍḍṣ ṇṇ*<sup>5</sup>,
  - d) five dentals: *t th d dh n*,
  - e) five labials: *p ph b bh m*.

cp. WHITNEY'S Translation of the Atharvaveda p. 1013—23.

<sup>1</sup> On the readings of the Paippalāda recension, see LANMAN'S Introduction p. LXXIX—LXXXIX.

<sup>2</sup> The Kashmirian Atharvaveda, Book One. Edited with critical notes by LEROY CARR BARRET, in JAOS. 26, 197—295.

<sup>3</sup> These are really simple long vowels, being diphthongs only in origin (= *āi*, *āu*).

<sup>4</sup> Pronounced *āi*, *āu* (see WHITNEY on APR. I. 40 and TPR. II. 29), but derived from diphthongs with a long first element.

<sup>5</sup> These sounds take the place of *ḍ ḍh* respectively between vowels; e. g. *īḷe* (but *īḷya*), *mīḷhūṣe* (but *mīḷhūṣān*).

2. Four semivowels: *y r l v*.
3. Three sibilants: *ś* (palatal), *ṣ* (cerebral), *s* (dental).
4. One aspiration: *h*.
5. One pure nasal: *m* (*m̐*) called Anusvāra ('after-sound').
6. Three voiceless spirants: *ḥ* (Visarjanīya), *ḷ* (Jihvāmūliya), *ḹ* (Upadhmanīya).

**5. Losses, changes, additions.**—In order that the phonetic status of the Vedic language may be understood historically, the losses, changes, and additions which have taken place in it as compared with earlier linguistic stages, must be pointed out.

a. It has **lost** the IE. 1) short vowels *ē ō* and *ə*; 2) long vowels *ē̄ ō̄*; 3) diphthongs *ēi ōi*, *ēu ōu*; *āi ēi ōi*, *āu ēu ōu*; 4) sonant nasals; 5) voiced spirant *z*.

b. It has **replaced** a number of IE. sounds by others: 1) the short vowels *ē ō* by *ā*, *ə* by *i*; 2) the long vowels *ē̄ ō̄* by *ā̄*; 3) the diphthongs *ēi ōi* by *ē*, *ēu ōu* by *ō*; also *āz ēz ōz* by *ē ō*; 4) *ṛ* by *ṝ* (*ṝr*), *ḷ* by *r*; 5) *āi ēi ōi* by *āi*, *āu ēu ōu* by *āu*; 6) *r*, when followed by a nasal, has become *ṛ*; 7) gutturals (velars) have, under certain conditions, become palatals<sup>1</sup>; 8) a palatal mute has become the palatal spirant *ś*<sup>2</sup>.

c. It has **added** the whole series of eight cerebrals (including the spirant *ṣ*).

The above innovations are specifically Indian, excepting (1) the loss of the vowels *ē ō ə*, together with the diphthongs formed with them; (2) the loss of the sonant nasals; and (3) the addition of the spirants *ś* and *ṣ*. These the Avesta shares with the Vedas.

### 1. The simple vowels.

**6. The vowel *a*.**—This is by far the commonest vowel, being much more than twice as frequent as *ā*; while these two *a*-vowels combined occur as often as all the rest (including diphthongs) taken together<sup>3</sup>. According to the modern Indian pronunciation, *a* has the sound of a very short close neutral vowel like the English *u* in *but*. That such was its character as early as the time of Pāṇini appears from his last Sūtra, according to which *a* is not the short sound corresponding to *ā*. To the same effect are the statements of the Prātiśākhya<sup>4</sup>, which describe *a* as a 'close' (*samvṛta*) sound. This pronunciation is borne out by the reproduction of Indian words in Greek, where the vowel, though usually represented by *α*, appears as *ε* or *ο* also; on the other hand, the frequent reproduction of the Greek *α* by the Indian *ā* indicates that, to the Indian ear, that vowel was both longer and had more distinctively the sound of *a*. Similarly, Hindus of the present day make the observation that the English pronunciation of *ā* in Sanskrit words sounds long (*dirgha*) to them. As the ancient Iranian languages have the normal *ā* throughout, the close pronunciation must be an Indian innovation. But whether it already prevailed in the period when the Samhitās were composed is uncertain. The fact, however, that in the RV. the metre hardly ever admits of the *ā* being elided after *e* or *o*, though the written text drops it in about 75 per cent of its occurrences, seems to indicate that when the hymns of the RV. were composed, the pronunciation of *ā* was still open, but that at

<sup>1</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen 1902, I, 244.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. 233.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. WHITNEY, 22 and 75.

<sup>4</sup> APR. I. 36; VPr. I. 72.



the time when the Samhitā text was constituted, the close pronunciation was already becoming general.

a. Though *a* ordinarily represents IE. *ā* & *ō*, it also often replaces an original sonant nasal<sup>2</sup> representing the reduced form of the unaccented Vedic syllables *a*+nasal: 1) *an* in derivative and inflexional syllables; e. g. *sat-ā* beside the stem *sān-* 'being'; *jñān-ati* 'they sacrifice' (suffix otherwise *-anti*); 2) *a*+nasal in radical syllables; e. g. *ta-tā* 'stretched': *√tan-*; *ga-tā* 'gone': *√gam-*; *das-mā* 'wondrous': *√dam-*; stem *pathi-* 'path', beside *pānthā-*; 3) in words as shown by comparative philology; e. g. *śatā-m* 'hundred' (Lat. *centum*), *dāśa* 'ten' (Lat. *decem*).

Very rarely *a* is a Prakritic representative of *ṛ*, as in *vi-kāṣa-4* 'monstrous', beside *vi-kṛta-* 'deformed'.

7. The vowel *ā*. — This sound represents both a simple long vowel<sup>5</sup> and a contraction; e. g. *ā-sthā-t* 'he has stood'; *āsam* 'I was' (= *ā-as-am*), *bhārāti* 'may he bear' (= *bhāra-a-ti*).

a. Like *a*, the long vowel *ā* frequently corresponds to or is derived from a syllable containing a nasal; e. g. *khā-tā* 'dug': *√khan-*; *ā-tmān-* 'soul': *an-* 'breathe'. In very rare instances the nasal is retained in the RV.: *jighāmsati* 'desires to strike': *√han-*; *śrāntā-* 'wearied': *√śram-*; *dhwānti-* 'dark': *√dhvan-*; there are six or eight more instances in the later Samhitās<sup>6</sup>. Here the reappearance of the nasal in a weak radical syllable is an innovation due to the influence of other forms with nasals<sup>7</sup>.

8. The vowel *i*. — This sound in the first place is an original vowel; e. g. *div-i* 'in heaven'. It also frequently represents the low grade of *e* and *ya* both in roots<sup>8</sup> and suffixes; e. g. *vid-mā* 'we know', beside *ved-a* 'I know'; *nav-iṣṭha-* 'newest', beside *nav-yas-* 'newer'. It further appears as the low grade of *ā* in roots containing that vowel: e. g. *siddhyati* 'succeeds', beside *sādhati*; *śiṣṭā-* 'taught', beside *śāsti* 'teaches'; especially when the vowel is final, as in *sthi-tā* 'stood': *√sthā-*. From the latter use it came to assume the function of a 'connecting' vowel; e. g. *jan-i-tṛ-* 'begetter': *√jan-*; after heavy syllables also in the ending *-ire* of 3 pl. pf. mid. *vavand-ire* (beside *nunudṛi*). In *śithirā-* 'loose' *i* would be a Prakritic representative of *ṛ*, if the word is derived from *√srath-*<sup>9</sup>.

9. The vowel *ī*. — This sound is an original vowel, e. g. in *jīvā-* 'living'<sup>10</sup>. It also often represents the low grade of *yā* both in roots and suffixes; e. g. *jī-tā* (AV.), 'overcome': *√jyā-*; *aś-ī-māhi* 'we would attain', beside *aś-yām* 'I would attain'. It further seems to represent the low grade of both radical and suffixal *ā*; but this can probably in all instances be explained as either a low grade of *ai* or a later substitution for *i*; e. g. *gī-tha-* (AV.) beside *gā-thā-* 'song', is from the root *gai-*; *adī-mahi* (VS.) and *dī-ṣva* (VS.), from *√2 dā-* and *√3 dā-*, occur beside forms in *i* from the three roots *dā-* which have *i* only in the RV.; *hīnā-* 'forsaken', from *√hā-*, occurs once in RV. x beside forms with *i* only in RV. I-IX. A similar explanation probably applies to the *-nī-* of the ninth class of verbs beside *-nā-*, e. g. *grbhñī-*: *grbhñā-*<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 92, 104, 116.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN 184.

<sup>3</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 7 (p. 7-10).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 146.

<sup>5</sup> It represents IE. *ā* & *ō*; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 98, 110, 122. It also appears for IE. *ō* before single consonants: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 10.

<sup>6</sup> See below, past passive participles 574.

<sup>7</sup> a.

<sup>8</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 13.

<sup>9</sup> This term will be retained in the present

work in its conventional sense (cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 365), and 'roots' will be quoted in the usually low grade form in which they appear in Sanskrit grammar. The term 'base' will be used to designate the phonetic unit which is the starting point of vowel gradation (cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 211). Thus *bhāva-* or *bhavi-* is a 'base', *bhū-* is a 'root'.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 16 (p. 19, note).

<sup>11</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 73.

<sup>12</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 18.

10. The vowel *u*.—This sound is an original vowel; e. g. *ūpa* 'up to'; *duhitṛ-* 'daughter'; *mādhū-* 'sweetness'. It also represents the low grade of *o* or *va* both in roots and suffixes; e. g. *yugā-* m. n. 'yoke', beside *yōga-* m. 'yoking'; *suptā-* (AV.) 'asleep': *svāpna-* m. 'sleep'; *kṛnu-*: *kṛnō-* present base of *kṛ-* 'make'.

11. The vowel *ū*.—This sound is an original vowel; e. g. *bhrū-* 'brow'; *śūra-* 'hero'. It is also the low grade for *avi*, *au*, *vā*; e. g. *bhū-t* 'has become': *bhavi-syāti* 'will become'; *dhūtā-* 'shaken': *dhautīr-*, f. 'shaking'; *sūd-* 'sweeten': *svād-* 'enjoy'.

12. The vowel *r*.—The vowel *r*<sup>1</sup> is at the present day usually pronounced as *ri*; and that this pronunciation is old is shown by the confusion of the two sounds in inscriptions and Mss., as well as by the reproduction of *r* by *ri* in the Tibetan script<sup>2</sup>. But *r* was originally pronounced as vocalic *r*. The Prātisākhya of the RV., VS., AV.<sup>3</sup> describe it as containing an *r*, which according to the RPr. is in the middle. According to the commentator on the VPr. this medial *r* constitutes one-half of the sound, the first and last quarter being *ā*<sup>4</sup>. This agrees with *rr*, the equivalent of *r* in the Avesta.

Except in the acc. and gen. plur. of *r*-stems (where *r̄* is written), the long vowel is in the RV. represented by the sign for *r*: always in forms of the verb *mṛd-*<sup>5</sup> 'be gracious', in the past participles *tr̄lhd-* 'crushed', *dr̄lhd-* 'firm', in the gen. *nṛnām*, and in the one occurrence of the gen. *tisṛnām*<sup>6</sup>. In the later Samhitās, the vowel in these instances was pronounced short<sup>7</sup>; and it was doubtless for this reason that *r* came to be erroneously written for *r̄* in the text of the RV.

13. The vowel *r̄*<sup>8</sup>.—This long vowel, according to RPr. and APr.<sup>9</sup>, contains an *r* in its first half only. It appears only in the acc. and gen. plur. masc. fem. of *r*-stems; e. g. *pitṛn*, *mātṛs*; *pitṛnām*, *svdsṛnām*. Thus the *r̄* was written only where *a*-*i*-*u*-stems showed analogous forms with *ā* *ī* *ū*; and prosodical evidence proves that, in the RV., *r̄* is required even in the two genitives in which *r* is written (*nṛnām* and *tisṛnām*)<sup>10</sup>. In the TS., however, all these genitives plur. have *r*<sup>11</sup> (that is, *pitṛnām* as well as *nṛnām*, *tisṛnām*).

14. The vowel *l*.—This sound, though pronounced as *lri* at the present day, was originally a vocalic *l*. Its description in the Prātisākhya<sup>12</sup> is analogous to that of *r*. It is found only in a few forms or derivatives of the verb *kṛp-* 'be in order': *cakṛpré*, 3 pl. perf.; *cikṛpati*, 3 sing. aor. subj.; *kṛṣṭi-* (VS.) 'arrangement'. In the RV. *r* appears beside it in *kṛp-* 'form'<sup>13</sup>.

## 2. The diphthongs.

15. The diphthongs *e* and *o*.—At the present day these sounds are pronounced in India as long monophthongs like *ē* and *ō* in most European

<sup>1</sup> In several instances *r* appears to represent an IE. *l* sound. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 28.

<sup>3</sup> RPr. VIII. 14; VPr. IV. 145; APr. I. 37, 71.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. BENFEY, *Vedica und Verwandtes* I, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Except possibly RV. VII. 56<sup>17</sup> where the vowel is metrically short; cp. op. cit. I, 6; ARNOLD, *Vedic Metre*, p. 143.

<sup>6</sup> RV. V. 69<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> In the AV. the vowel is still metrically long in some of these instances: OLDENBERG, *Prolegomena* 477.

<sup>8</sup> The *r̄* of the gen. pl. is an Indian innovation; cp. 5, b 6 and 17. On the other hand, IE. *r̄* is represented by *ir* and (after labials) *ir̄*; e. g. from *kṛ-* 'commemorate', *kṛ-ir̄* 'fame'; *pṛ-* 'fill': *pṛ-ir̄-tā*, n. 'reward'; as low grade of *rā* in *dirgh-ā-* 'long', beside *drāgh-īyas-* 'longer'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 22.

<sup>9</sup> RPr. XIII. 14; APr. I. 38.

<sup>10</sup> See above, 5, b 6.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. BENFEY, *Vedica und Verwandtes* I, 3.

<sup>12</sup> RPr. XIII. 14; VPr. IV. 145.

<sup>13</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 31.

languages. That they already had this character at the time of the Prātiśākhya<sup>1</sup> and of Pāṇini's successors Kātyāyana<sup>2</sup> and Patañjali<sup>3</sup>, appears from the accounts given by those authorities, who at the same time recognize these two sounds to be in many instances the result of the euphonic combination (*saṃdhi*, Sandhi) of *a+i* and *a+u* respectively. This evidence is borne out by the reproduction of Indian words by the Greeks<sup>4</sup> and of Greek words by the Indians<sup>5</sup> from about 300 B. C. onwards.

a. These two sounds as a rule represent earlier diphthongs of which the second element was *i* or *u* respectively. 1. This is most evidently so when they are produced in Sandhi by the coalescence of *ā* with *i* and *ū*. As the result of such a combination they are explicable only on the assumption of an earlier pronunciation of these sounds as the genuine diphthongs *āi* and *āu*. — 2. They are further based on prehistoric contractions within words in declension and conjugation; e. g. loc. sing. of *āśva* 'horse': *āśve* (cp. *nāu-i* 'in the ship'); nom. acc. du. neut. of *padā* 'step': *padē* (cp. *vācas-i* 'two words'); 3. sing. pot. mid. *bhāvēta* 'should become' (cp. *ās-īta* 'would sit'); *maghōn* 'weak stem' (= *magha-un*) of *maghāvan* 'bountiful'; *ā-voc-at* 3. sing. aor. of *vac* 'speak' (= *ā-va-uc-at*)<sup>6</sup>. — 3. These two sounds also represent the high grade corresponding to the weak grade vowels *i* and *u*; e. g. *sécati* 'pours', beside *sik-tā* 'poured'; *bhoj-am*, beside *bhūj-am*, aor. of *bhuj* 'enjoy'.

b. 1. In a small number of words *e*<sup>10</sup> represents Indo-Iranian *az* (still preserved in the Avesta) before *d* *dh* and *h* (= *dh*): *dehī* 'give', and *dhehi* 'set' (Av. *dazdi*); *e-dhi* 'be', beside *d-sti*; *nēd-īyas* 'very near', *nēd-iṣṭha* 'nearest' (Av. *nasdyo*, *nasdiṣṭa*); *medhā* 'insight' (Av. *mazdā*); *miyédha* 'meat-juice' (Av. *myazda*); *vedhās* 'adorer' (Av. *vazdanh*); *sed*<sup>8</sup> weak perf. of *sad* 'sit' (Av. *hazd* for Indo-Iranian *sazd*)<sup>9</sup>. — 2. Similarly *o*<sup>10</sup> represents *az* in stems ending in *-as* before the *bh* of case-endings, e. g. from *dvēś-as* n. 'hatred', inst. pl. *dvēśo-bhis*; and before secondary suffixes beginning with *y* or *v*: *amho-yū* 'distressing' (but *apas-yū* 'active'); *duvo-yū* 'wishing to give' (beside *duvas-yū*); *sāho-van* (AV.) 'mighty', beside *sāhas-vant* (RV.). In derivatives of *śas* 'six', and of *vah* 'carry', *o* represents *az* before *d* or *dh*, which it cerebralizes: *śo-dāsa* (VS.) 'sixteen'; *śo-dhā* 'six-fold'; *vō-dhum* 'to carry'.

16. The diphthongs *ai* and *au*. — These sounds are pronounced at the present day in India as diphthongs in which the first element is short. Even at the time of the Prātiśākhya they had the value of *āi* and *āu*<sup>11</sup>. But that they are the etymological representatives of *āi* and *āu* is shown by their becoming *āy* and *āv* respectively before vowels both in Sandhi<sup>12</sup> and within words; e. g. *gāv-as* 'kine', beside *gāu-s* 'cow'<sup>13</sup>. That such was their original value is also indicated by the fact that in Sandhi *a* contracts with *e*<sup>14</sup> to *ai*, and with *o* to *au*<sup>15</sup>.

17. Lengthening of vowels. — 1. Before *n*, vowels are lengthened only (except *r* in the gen. pl.) in the acc. pl. in *-ān*, *-īn*, *-ūn*, *-ṛn*<sup>16</sup>, where the long vowel is doubtless pre-Indian<sup>17</sup>.

2. Before suffixal *y*, *i* and *u* are phonetically lengthened: a) as finals of roots; e. g. *kṣī-yate* 'is destroyed' (*√kṣi*); *sū-yāte* 'is pressed' (*√su*); *śrū-yās* 'may he hear' (*√śru*); b) as finals of nouns in denominatives formed with *-yā* and their derivatives; e. g. *janī-yānt* 'desiring a wife' (*jāni*); *valgū-*

<sup>1</sup> See WHITNEY on Apr. I. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Vārttika on Pāṇini VIII. 2, 106.

<sup>3</sup> Comment on Vārttika I and 3 on Pāṇini I. 1, 48.

<sup>4</sup> Thus *Kekaya*, name of a people, becomes *Kῆκροι*; *Gonḍa* name of a people, *Γόνδοι*.

<sup>5</sup> Thus *κάμηλος* becomes *kramela-ka*; *ῥοπα* becomes *horā*.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 33 b.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit. I, 33 c, d, e.

<sup>8</sup> On this base see below on the Perfect, 483 a, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 34 a.

<sup>10</sup> These *e* and *o* are not distinguished in

pronunciation from the monophthongs representing the diphthongs *āi* and *āu*.

<sup>11</sup> See WHITNEY on Apr. I. 40 and TPr. II. 29.

<sup>12</sup> See below 73.

<sup>13</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 36.

<sup>14</sup> That is, originally *ā* + (*e* =) *āi* became *āi*.

<sup>15</sup> That is, originally *ā* + (*o* =) *āu* became *āu*.

<sup>16</sup> For original *a i u r* + *ns*.

<sup>17</sup> As the *s* which caused the length by position had already for the most part disappeared in the Vedic language.

*yāti* 'treats kindly' (*valgī-*); *gātū-yāti* 'desires free course' (*gātī-*); but also *gātu-yāti*<sup>1</sup>. The AV.<sup>2</sup> has a few exceptions: *arāti-yāti* 'is hostile'; *jani-yāti* as well as *janī-yāti*<sup>3</sup>; c) *i* in the suffix *-ī-ya* and in the comparative suffix *-īyas*.

3. Before *r*, if radical, *i* and *u* seem to be lengthened when a consonant follows; e. g. *gīr-bhīs* beside *gīr-as* (*gīr-* 'song of praise'); *pūr-śī* beside *pūr-as* (*pūr-* 'fort'), but *īr* and *ūr* here represent IE. *r̥*<sup>4</sup>. In a few instances this is extended by analogy to words in which the *r* is not radical: *āsīr* 'blessing' (*āsīs-*); *sajīr* 'together' (*√jus-*)<sup>5</sup>.

4. Before *r*, the vowels *a* *i* *u* are lengthened: a) in some instances the augment: *āvidhyat* 'he wounded' (*√vyadh-*)<sup>6</sup>; b) once before the primary suffix *-vāms* of the perfect participle: *jigīr-vāms-* 'having conquered' (*√ji-*); c) often before the secondary suffixes *-van*, *-vana*, *-vant*, *-vala*, *-vin*; e. g. *ṛtī-ran-* 'observing order'; *kīrṣī-rana-* (AV.) 'ploughman'; *yā-vant-* 'how great'; *śvāsī-rant-* (RV.) 'snorting' (*√śvas-*); *kīrṣī-vala-* 'ploughman'; *dvayā-vin-* 'dishonest'; d) often before the second member of a compound; e. g. *gūrtā-rasū-* 'whose treasures are welcome'<sup>7</sup>.

5. Before *Ir. z* and *z̥*, when followed by one or more consonants, vowels are lengthened by way of compensation for the loss of the *z* or *z̥*<sup>8</sup>; a) *ā* (= *aṣ*) in *tādhi* 'hew' (*√takṣ-*); *bādhi* 'firm' (*√banh-*); *sādhi-* 'conquering', *ā-sādhi-* 'invincible' (*√sah-*); b) *ī* = *iṣ* in *īd-* 'adore' (*√yaj-* 'sacrifice', or *√iṣ-* 'wish'); *nīd-* 'nest'; *pīd-* 'press'; *mīdhi-* 'reward'; *mīdhvāms-* 'bounteous'; *rīdhi-* 'licked' (*√rih-*); *vīdhi-* 'swift'; *sīdati* (= *sizdati*) 'sits'; *hīd-* 'be angry' (cp. *hims-* 'injure'). c) *ū* = *uṣ* in *ūdhi-* 'borne' (*√vah-*); *gūdhi-* 'concealed' (*√guh-*)<sup>9</sup>.

6. Vowels also appear lengthened under conditions other than those enumerated above (1-5).

a. Final *a* *i* *u* are very frequently lengthened in the Samhitās before a single consonant owing to rhythmical predilections; from this use the lengthening of the vowels is extended to syllables which are reduplicative or precede suffixes<sup>10</sup>.

b. For metrical reasons the length is in a few words shifted to another syllable. Thus *diāhi* often appears instead of the regular *diḍhi*; and in *vīrā-śī* 'ruling men', *vīrā-*<sup>11</sup> stands for *vīra-*. A similar explanation perhaps applies to *carātha-* 'moving', beside *carātha-*; and *māhina-* 'gladsome', beside *māhina-*.

c. The long vowel beside the short in the same stem appears in some instances to be due to vowel gradation; as in *tvāt-pitāras* (TS.) 'having thee as a father', beside *pitāras*; *prthu-jāghana-* 'broad-hipped', beside *jāghana-*

<sup>1</sup> Before this *-yā*, the final of *a*-stems is sometimes lengthened, but probably not phonetically; see below 6 d.

<sup>2</sup> See WHITNEY on APR. III. 18.

<sup>3</sup> No lengthening takes place in the optative present of verbs of the 5th or 8th class, e. g. *śṛṇu-yāma* (*śru-* 'hear'); nor in adverbs formed with *-yā* from *u*-stems; e. g. *āsū-yā* 'swiftly'; *amū-yā* 'thus'.

<sup>4</sup> See above on *r̥*, p. 8, note 8.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 23. When *ir* stands for suffixal *-is*, it remains unchanged; e. g. *hāvīrbhis* 'with oblations' (*hāv-is-*), *krīvīr-dātī* 'saw-toothed'; *-ur*, with genuine *u*, remains short in *urvārā-* 'field', *urvī-* 'wide', *urviyā* 'widely' (*uru-* 'wide'), *urv-āśī-* 'desire', *dur-*

(for *du-*) e. g. in *dur-gā-* 'hard to traverse'.

<sup>6</sup> The lengthening of the augment in *āyuna-*, *āyukta* (*√yuj-*) and *āriyaka-*, *āraika* (*√ric-*), follows this analogy.

<sup>7</sup> The lengthening here probably started from that in Sandhi: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 42.

<sup>8</sup> This appears to be the only kind of compensatory lengthening in the Vedic language. Cp. 17, 1.

<sup>9</sup> On *e* and *o* for *aṣ*, see above, 15, a, b, and cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 40.

<sup>10</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 43.

<sup>11</sup> Metrical shortening of a long syllable

'hip'; *ānu-sāk* 'in continuous order', beside *ānu* 'along' as first member of a compound.

d. The lengthening of the vowel in a certain number of instances appears to be due to analogy; thus the denominatives in *-āyá* beside *-ayá* from *a*-stems (e. g. *ṛtāyá-* 'observe order', beside *ṛtayá-*)<sup>1</sup>, seem to follow the model of those in *-īyāti* and *-ūyāti*, which would account for the fluctuation in quantity. *Tikṣṇá-* 'sharp' (beside *tigmá-*: *tij-* 'be sharp') and *hlikṣṇa-* (TS.) beside *halikṣṇa-* (VS.), a kind of animal, appear to owe their *ṛ* to the influence of desideratives which in several instances have *ṛ* (partly for older *i*) before *ks*. The reason for the *ū* in *tūṣṇīm* 'silently' (*tus-* 'become quiet'), and in *sūmná-* (VS.), otherwise *sumná-* 'favour', is, however, obscure.

18. Loss of vowels.—Vowels are very rarely dropped in the language of the Samhitās. Medial loss is almost entirely restricted<sup>2</sup> to the isolated disappearance of *u* before *v* and *m*. That vowel is dropped at the end of the first member of a compound in *anvartitī* (RV.<sup>1</sup>) 'wooer' (= *anu-varititī*); *anvartisye* (AV.) 'I shall follow'<sup>3</sup>; *cār-vadana-* (AV. Paipp.) 'of lovely aspect' (= *cāru-vadana-*) and *cār-vāc-* (AV. Paipp.) 'speaking pleasantly'<sup>4</sup>. The only example of the loss of *ā* in this position seems to be *til-pīñja-* (AV.<sup>1</sup>) a kind of plant, beside *tila-pīñji-* (AV.<sup>1</sup>). The vowel *u* is further dropped before the *m* of the 1 pers. pl. pres. ending of the 5<sup>th</sup> (*-nu-*) class, when the *u* is preceded by only one consonant, in *kṛṇ-mahe* and *kṛṇ-māsi* (AV.)<sup>5</sup> 'we do'.

Initial vowels also occasionally disappear. The only vowel that is lost with any frequency is *ā*, which is dropped in Sandhi after *e* and *o*, according to the evidence of metre, in about one per cent of its occurrences in the RV. and about twenty per cent in the AV. and the metrical portions of the YV.<sup>6</sup> In a few words its disappearance is prehistoric: in *vi-* 'bird'<sup>7</sup> (Lat. *avi-*), possibly in *nī-* 'in' (Greek *ēni*)<sup>8</sup>, in *pīd-* 'press'<sup>9</sup>, *bhī-sāji-*<sup>10</sup> 'healer'. *ā* is lost in *tmān-*, beside *ā-tmān-*, but the reason has not been satisfactorily explained<sup>11</sup>. In *va* 'like', beside *iva*, the loss of *i* is probably only apparent: cp. *vā* 'like' (Lat. *vē* 'or')<sup>12</sup>. Initial *u* seems to be lost, if the reading is not corrupt, in *śmāsi* (RV. II. 31<sup>6</sup>) beside *uśmāsi* 'we desire' (*√vaś-*).

19. Contraction.—Long vowels and diphthongs are often the result of contraction in Sandhi<sup>13</sup>. They have frequently a similar origin in the interior of words<sup>14</sup>.

a. Contractions of *a* with a vowel or diphthong are the following:

1. *ā* often stands for *a + a*, *ā + a*, or *a + ā*; e. g. *āj-at*, augmented imperfect (= *ā-aj-at*); *ād-a*, red. perf. (= *a-ād-a*); *bhārāti*, pres. subj. (= *bhāra-atī*); *ukthā*<sup>15</sup>, inst. sing. (= *ukthā-a*); *āsvās* 'mares', nom. pl. (= *āsvā-as*); *dātī*, aor. subj. (= *dā-atī*); *devām*, gen. pl. (= *devā-ām*).

2. *e* stands for *a + ī* and *ā + ī*; e. g. *āsve*, loc. sing. (= *āsva-i*); *padē*,

(at the end of a triṣṭubh-line), without interchange of quantity, appears in *sirāsu*, loc. plur. of *śrā-* 'stream'.

<sup>1</sup> See below, Denominatives, 563, a.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from the syncope of *ā* in low grade syllables: cp. 25, A 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. BÖHTLINGK, ZDMG. 39, 533; 44, 492 f.; cp. OLDENBERG 324.

<sup>4</sup> See BÖHTLINGK's Lexicon s. v. Perhaps also in *jāmbūla-* (MS.) 'knee-pan', if = *jānu-vīla-*.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK, AIV. 174; v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte des Veda 60 (√ Wurzeln).

<sup>6</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 324; OLDEN-

BERG, ZDMG. 44, 321 ff. (Der Abhinihiita Sandhi im R̥gveda).

<sup>7</sup> Cp. 25, A 1; WACKERNAGEL I, 71.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. SCHMIDT, KZ. 26, 24; WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 73.

<sup>9</sup> Op. cit. 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 71 (bottom).

<sup>10</sup> Op. cit. 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 72 (bottom).

<sup>11</sup> Op. cit. I, p. 61 (top).

<sup>12</sup> Cp. op. cit. I, 53 c, note; ARNOLD, Vedic Metre, 129 (p. 78).

<sup>13</sup> See below 69, 70.

<sup>14</sup> See above 15, a 2.

<sup>15</sup> The original inst. ending *-a* under the influence of this contracted form became *-ā*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 102, mid.

nom. acc. du. neut. (= *padā-i*); *bhāves*, opt. pres. (= *bhāva-īs*); *yamē* 'twin sisters', nom. acc. du. fem. (= *yamā-i*).

3. *o* stands for *a+u*; e. g. *āvocam*, aor. of *vac-* 'speak' (= *āva-uc-am*).

4. *ai* stands for *ā+e* and, in augmented forms, *a+ī*; e. g. *tīsmāi* 'to him', dat. sing. masc. (= *tāsmā-e*); *devyāi*, dat. sing. fem. (= *devyā-e*); *āicchat*, 3. sing. impf. (= *ā-icchat*); *āirata*, 3. pl. impf. (= *ā-trata*) 'set in motion'.

5. *au* stands for *a+ū* in augmented forms; e. g. *āucchat*, 3. sing. impf. of *vas-* 'shine' (= *ā-ucchat*); *auhāt*, 3. sing. impf. of *ūh-* 'remove' (= *a-ūh-at*).

b. Contractions of *i* with *i* or *ā* are the following:

1. *ī* stands for *i+i* in the nom. acc. pl. neut. of *i*-stems; e. g. *trī* 'three' (= *trī-i*).

2. *ī* stands for *i+i* in weak forms of the perfect, when the reduplicative vowel is immediately followed by *i* (either original or reduced from *ya*); e. g. *ī-īr* (= *i-i-īr* from *i-* 'speed'); *ī-j-ē* (= *i-ij-ē* from *yaj-* 'sacrifice').

3. *ī* stands for *i+ā* in the inst. sing. fem. and the nom. acc. du. masc. fem. of stems in *-i*; e. g. *matī* (= *matī-ā*) 'by thought'; *pātī* 'the two lords' (= *pātī-ā*, cp. *rtvij-ā*), *śluc-ī*, du. fem. 'the two bright ones' (= *ślucī-ā*).

4. *ī* stands for *i+ā* in compounds of *dvi-* 'two', *nī* 'down', *prāti* 'against', with the low grade of *āp-* 'water': *dāvīp-ā* 'island'; *nīp-ā* 'low-lying' (K.)<sup>1</sup>; *pratīpām* 'against the stream'<sup>2</sup>.

5. *ī* stands for *i+ā* when reduplicative *i* is followed by the low grade form of a root beginning with *ā*: *īpsa-ti* (AV.), desiderative of *āp-* 'obtain' (= *i-īp-sa-*)<sup>3</sup>. A similar contraction takes place when initial radical *a* is long by position, in *īks-ate* 'sees' (cp. *āks-i* 'eye') and *nīkh-āyati* 'swings' (cp. *pari-ākhadyāte* 'may he embrace'). In *īj-ate* 'drives', beside *āj-ati* 'drives', the contraction to *ī* of *i+ā* is perhaps due to analogy<sup>4</sup>.

c. Contractions of *u* with *u* or *ā* are the following:

1. *ū* stands for *u+u* in weak forms of the perfect when the reduplicative vowel is immediately followed by *u* (either original or reduced from *va*); e. g. *ūc-e*, 3 sing. mid. (= *u-uc-e*) from *uc-* 'like'; *ūc-ūr* (= *u-uc-ūr*) from *vac-* 'speak'.

2. *ū* stands for *u+ā* in the compound formed with *ānu* 'along' and the low grade of *āp-* 'water': *anūp-ā*<sup>4</sup> 'pond'.

3. *ū* stands for *u+ā* in the nom. acc. du. masc. fem. of *u*-stems; e. g. *bāhū* 'the two arms' (= *bāhī-ā*).

4. *ū* seems to stand for *u+i* in the nom. acc. pl. neuter of *u*-stems; e. g. *vāsū* (= *vāsu-i*), from *vāsu-* 'good'; but the vowel may possibly be lengthened by analogy<sup>5</sup>, for the Pada text always has *ū*.

20. Hiatus.—a. In the written text of the Samhitās, hiatus is, as a rule, tolerated in diphthongs only, vowels being otherwise separated by consonants. It nevertheless appears:

1. in Sandhi, when a final *s* *y* or *v* has been dropped before a following vowel; when final *ī* *ū* *e* of dual endings are followed by vowels; when *a* remains after final *e* and *o*; and in some other instances<sup>6</sup>;

2. in compounds, when the final *s* of the first member has disappeared before a vowel; e. g. *āyo-agra-* 'iron-pointed' (*āyas-* 'iron'); *pura-āj-* 'leader' (*purās* 'before'); and when, by a Prakritism, *y* is lost in *prā-yuga-* 'fore-part of the shaft' (= *prā-yuga-*);

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *nīp-ya-* (VS.), 'lying at the bottom'.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *ānika-* and *prātika-* 'face'.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Samprasāraṇa *ī* and *ū* for *yā* and *vā*.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 90 c, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> That is, of the *a* and *i* stems; e. g. *bhadrā*, *trī*.

<sup>6</sup> See below, Sandhi 69—73.

3. in the simple word *tītaū*<sup>1</sup> 'sieve' (probably from *tams-* 'shake'), by a loss of *s*, due most likely to borrowing from an Iranian dialect (where medial *s* would have become *h*, which then disappeared).

b. i. Though not written, hiatus is common elsewhere also in the Samhitās<sup>2</sup>. The evidence of metre shows that *y* and *v* must often be pronounced as *i* and *u*, and that a long vowel or a diphthong has frequently the value of two vowels. When the long vowel or diphthong is the result of contraction, the two original vowels must often be restored, within a word as well as in Sandhi. Thus *pānti* 'they protect', may have to be read as *pā-anti* (= *pā-anti*)<sup>3</sup>, *āñjan* 'they anointed' as *ā-āñjan*; *jyēṣṭha-* 'mightiest' as *jyā-iṣṭha-* (= *jyā-iṣṭha-* from *jyā-* 'be mighty'); *āicchās* as *ā-icchās* 'thou didst wish'; *aur̥ṇos* as *a-ūr̥nos* 'thou didst open'<sup>4</sup>.

2. Hiatus is further produced by distraction of long vowels<sup>5</sup> which, as the metre shows, are in the R̥gveda often to be pronounced as two short vowels. This distraction was doubtless originally due partly to a slurred accentuation which practically divided a syllable into two halves, and partly to the resolution of etymological contraction. From such instances distraction spread to long vowels in which it was not historically justified. It appears most often in *ā*, especially in the gen. pl. in *-ām*, also in the abl. sing. in *-āt*, the nom. acc. pl. in *-ās*, *-āsas* of *a*-stems, in the acc. sing. in *-ām* of such words as *abjām* 'born in the water'; and in many individual words<sup>6</sup>. Distraction is further found in the diphthongs of words in which it is not etymologically justified; as in the genitives *vās* 'of a bird', *gās* 'of a cow', in *tradhā* 'threefold', *nātr-* 'leader', *rēkhas-* 'property', *śrēṇi-* 'row'; and in other words<sup>7</sup>.

21. Svarabhakti.—When a consonant is in conjunction with *r* or a nasal, a very short vocalic sound tends to be developed between them, and the evidence of metre shows that a vowel must often be pronounced between them. It is the general view of the Prātisākhya<sup>8</sup> that when an *r* precedes another consonant a vowel is sounded after it; according to some of them this also takes place after *l* or even after any voiced consonant. They call it *svarabhakti* or 'vowel-part', which they describe as equal to  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ , or  $\frac{1}{2}$  mora in length and generally as equivalent to *a* or *e* (probably = *e*) in sound.

a. The metre of the RV. shows that an additional syllable is frequently required in words in which *r* either precedes or follows<sup>9</sup> another consonant; e. g. *darsati-* 'worthy to be seen' (quadrisyllabic); *indra-*<sup>10</sup>, name of a god (very often trisyllabic); *prā* 'forth' (disyllabic)<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 37 b, note.

<sup>2</sup> See OLDENBERG, Prolegomena 434 ff.: 'Hiatus und Contraction'; ARNOLD, Vedic Metre, chapter IV, p. 70 ff. (Sandhi), chapter V, p. 81 ff. (Syllabic Restoration).

<sup>3</sup> As a rule, one vowel (including *e* and *o*) is shortened before another: see OLDENBERG, op. cit., 465 ff.; 447 ff.

<sup>4</sup> WACKERNAGEL I, 46 b.

<sup>5</sup> See OLDENBERG, op. cit., 163 ff. (Vocale mit zweisilbiger Geltung).

<sup>6</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 44. This is a very old phenomenon, as it is found in the Avesta in the gen. pl. and in other forms: OLDENBERG 181; WACKERNAGEL I, p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> WACKERNAGEL I, 46. This distraction of diphthongs is also pre-Vedic, parallels being found in the Avesta. Its use gradually decreases in the RV. and is lacking in the later Samhitās, doubtless owing to the dis-

appearance of slurred accentuation: WACKERNAGEL I, 47.

<sup>8</sup> RPr. VI 13f., VPr. IV. 16; TPr. XXI. 15f.; AP. I. 101 ff.

<sup>9</sup> The vowel which has to be restored in the gen. loc. du. termination *-tros*, which must always be read as a dissyllable, is not to be explained as Svarabhakti, since *-taros* is the original ending.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 60, 711—745 (Die Messung von *indra*, *rudrā* u. a.).

<sup>11</sup> There seem to be a few instances of a Svarabhakti vowel being actually written: *tarāsanti*, beside *tras-* 'tremble'; the secondary derivative *śvaidrīm*, beside *śvitrā-* (AV.) 'white'; *pīruṣa-* and *pīruṣa-* 'man', probably for *\*pīruṣa-* (WACKERNAGEL I, 51, cp. 52). The initial vowel of *ulokā-*, which is commoner than *lokā-* 'world', has not yet been satisfactorily explained; cp. op. cit. I, 52 d.

b. When a consonant is followed by *ñ*, *n*, or *m*, the same parasitic vowel often appears; e. g. *yajñá-* (= *yaj<sup>n</sup>ñá-*) 'sacrifice'; *gná-* (= *g<sup>n</sup>ñá-*) 'woman'. It is, however, here frequent only as representing the second syllable after the caesura in triṣṭubh and jagati verses; it rarely occurs at the beginning of such verses, and never at the end<sup>1</sup>.

## VOWEL GRADATION.

### I. The Guṇa series: *e o ar*.

22. A. Low grade: *i u r*.—In the same root or stem the simple vowels *i u r* are found to interchange<sup>2</sup> with the respective high grade forms *e o ar* al<sup>3</sup> called Guṇa ('secondary form?') by the native grammarians, according to the conditions under which the formative elements are attached. Beside these appear, but much less frequently, the long grade forms *ai au ār* called Vṛddhi ('increase') by the same authorities. The latter regarded the simple vowels as the fundamental grade, which, from the Indian point of view, these vowels often evidently represent: thus from *arṇavābhi-* (SB.) 'spider', we have the derivative formation *aurṇavābhá-* 'sprung from a spider'<sup>4</sup>. Comparative grammar has, however, shown that in such forms we have only a secondary application of an old habit of gradation derived from the IE. period, and that Guṇa<sup>5</sup> represents the normal stage from which the low grade form, with reduced or altogether lacking vowel<sup>6</sup>, arose in less accented syllables. This theory alone can satisfactorily explain the parallel treatment of Guṇa gradation (*e o ar* beside *i u r*) and Samprasāraṇa gradation (*ya va ra* beside *i u r*), as in *diṣ-ṭá-*, *di-déś-a* (*diś-* 'point out') and *iṣ-ṭá-*, *iyiṣ-a* (*yaj-* 'sacrifice'). In other words, *i u r* can easily be explained as reduced forms of both Guṇa and Samprasāraṇa syllables (as ending or beginning with *i u r*), while the divergent 'strengthening' of *i u r*, under the same conditions, to *e o ar* or *ya va ra* cannot be accounted for<sup>7</sup>.

The interchange of Guṇa and simple vowel is generally accompanied by a shift of accent: Guṇa appears in the syllable which bears the accent, but is replaced by the simple vowel when the accent is transferred to the following syllable. This shows itself most clearly in inflexional forms; e. g. *é-mi* 'I go', but *i-más* 'we go'; *āp-nó-mi* (AV.) 'I obtain', but *āp-nu-más* 'we obtain'; *vārdhāya*, but *vrđhāya* 'to further'. Hence it is highly probable that change of accent was the cause of the gradation<sup>8</sup>.

a. Long grade or Vṛddhi: *ai, au, ār*.—Vṛddhi is far more restricted in use than Guṇa, and as it nearly always appears where Guṇa is to be expected, it may be regarded as a lengthened variety of it<sup>9</sup> dating back to the IE. period.

<sup>1</sup> See OLDENBERG, Prolegomena, 374, note.

<sup>2</sup> This interchange was already noticed by Yaska; see Nirukta x. 17.

<sup>3</sup> The only root in which the gradation *al:* is found is *kṛp-*, cp. 14. It is employed in word-formation much in the same way as in verbal and nominal inflexion.

<sup>4</sup> See below a, 3 and cp. 25 B2; WACKERNAGEL I, 55, p. 62, note (top).

<sup>5</sup> Both *a* and *ā* represent the Guṇa or

normal stage in the gradation of the *a*-vowels in many roots: see 24; WACKERNAGEL I, 55 b.

<sup>6</sup> The vowel sometimes disappears in the low grade of the *a*-series ('Schwundstufe') see 24.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 55.

<sup>8</sup> Occasional exceptions, such as *vṛka-* 'wolf', are capable of explanation: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 57.

<sup>9</sup> 'Dehnstufe'; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 61.



It is to be found **1**) in strong forms of a few monosyllabic substantives, in the nom. sing. of *sākhi*- 'friend' and of stems in *-r*, and in the loc. sing. of stems in *i* and *u*: *su-hārd*- 'good-hearted' (from *hṛd*- 'heart'), *dṛdu-s* 'heaven' (from *dṛh*-), *gāu-s* 'cow' (from *gō*-); *sākhā*<sup>1</sup>, *pitṛ*<sup>2</sup>; *agnā*<sup>3</sup> (from *agn*- 'fire'), *aktāu* (from *akti*- 'night'); **2**) before the primary nominal suffixes *-a*, *-i*, *-ti*, *-tna*, *-man*, *-vana*; e.g. *spārḥ-d*- 'desirable' (*√sprh*-); *hṛd-i*- 'heart' (from *hṛd*-); *kārṣ-i* (VS.) 'drawing' (*√kṛṣ*-); *śrduṣ-ṭi* 'obedient' (*√śrus*-); *cyau-tuṭ*- 'stimulating' (*√cyu*-); *bhārman*- 'board' (*√bhr*-); *kārṣ-i-vaṇa*- (AV.) 'ploughman'; **3**) in secondary nominal derivation, generally to form patronymics or adjectives expressive of connexion or relation<sup>4</sup>; e.g. *gairikṣitā*- 'descended from *giri-kṣit*'; *auśijā*- 'son of *Uśij*'; *śrautrā*- 'relating to the ear' (*√śtra*-); *hairanyā*- 'golden' (*hīraṇya*- 'gold'); **4**) in the singular pres. of a few verbs of the second class and in the active *s*-aorist of roots ending in vowels: *kṣṇdu-mi* 'I sharpen' (*√kṣṇu*-); *mārṣ-ji*<sup>5</sup> 'he wipes' (*√mrj*-); *ydu-mi* (AV.) 'I unite' (*√yu*-); *a-jai-ṣam* 'I have conquered' (*√ji*-); *yāu-s*, 2 sing. 'ward off' (*√yu*-); *a-bhār-ṣam* 'I have borne' (*√bhr*-).

**B. Low grade:** *ī ū īr*.—The same Guṇa and Vṛddhi forms as a rule correspond to these long vowels as to their short forms *i u r*. Thus *bhī*- 'fear': *bi-bhāy-a* and *bi-bhāy-a*; *hū*- 'call': *ju-hāv-a*; *tṛ*- 'cross': *ta-tār-a*, beside *tir-dāte* and *-tīr-ṇa*- (just like *śri*- 'resort': *śi-śrāy-a*; *śru*- 'hear': *śu-śrāv-a*; *kṛ*- 'do': *ca-kār-a*). Before consonants the roots *pṛt*- 'love', *vī*- 'desire', *vī*- 'impel', *śī*- 'lie', *nī*- 'lead', *bhī*- 'fear', have Guṇa forms in *e*, the last two also Vṛddhi forms in *ai*; but roots in *ū* and *ṛ* have *avi*<sup>6</sup> and *ari* as Guṇa, *āvi* and *āri* as Vṛddhi, respectively; e.g. *pū*- 'purify', aor. *pavi-ṣta* and *apāviṣur*; *kṛ*- 'scatter', aor. subj. *kāri-ṣat*<sup>7</sup>.

**a.** *ī* and *ū* instead of Guṇa. In a few verbs and some other words *ī* and *ū* are the old weak grade vowels (almost invariably medial) of *e* and *o*, the length of which has been preserved by the accent shifting to them (while when not thus protected they have been shortened to *ī* and *ū*), and which as thus accented, sometimes appear instead of the Guṇa vowels. Thus *ī* is found in *rīṣ-ant*- 'injuring' (= *\*rīṣ-ant*-), beside *reṣa*-, the low grade form of the radical syllable otherwise becoming *rīṣ*-<sup>8</sup>. Similarly *gūhati* 'hides' appears beside *gūh-a*- 'hiding-place', the root being also shortened in *guh-yāte*, etc.; *dūṣ-āyati* 'spoils', beside *doṣ-ā*- and *doṣās*- (AV.) 'evening', also *dūṣ-ṭi*- (AV.) 'destruction'; *śūh-ati* 'removes', beside *śh-a*- 'gift'; *nū* 'now', *nū-tana*- 'new', *nū-nām* 'now', beside *nāva*- 'new', also *nī* 'now' (never at the beginning of a sentence); *mūs*- 'mouse', beside *mūṣatha* 'ye rob', also *muṣitā*- 'stolen'; *yūpa*- 'post', beside *yuyōpa* 'has infringed', also *yupitā*- (AV.) 'smoothed'; *stūpa*- 'tuft', beside *sto-kā*- 'drop', also *stu-pāt*- (VS.) 'tuft'<sup>9</sup>.

**b.** In a few roots ending in *v*<sup>10</sup>, the radical vowel *ī* represents the low

<sup>1</sup> With loss of the final element, which however, remains in datives like *tāsmāi*, probably because the diphthong was here pronounced with a slurred accent: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 93.

<sup>2</sup> With loss of *r*, the preceding vowel having compensatory IE. lengthening (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 61 c). In a few instances, the Vṛddhi of the nom. sing. spread to other cases (cp. 25 B b 1); e.g. *tār-as*, nom. pl., from old nom. sing. *\*stīr* (beside *stīr-bhis*).

<sup>3</sup> Also *agnāu*, like the *u*-stems.

<sup>4</sup> See below 191.

<sup>5</sup> From the present the *ār* spread to other forms, e.g. perf. *mamārja* (AV.).

<sup>6</sup> They have *o* in the intensive reduplication only; e.g. *soṣi*-: *√sū*-.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 76.

<sup>8</sup> The accentuation of *ī*, the low grade of *yā*, is probably to be explained similarly in feminines like *nāpti-s* (masc. *nāpāt*-); shortened to *nāpti* in voc.; cp. 19 b 3 and 29.

<sup>9</sup> The accentuation of *ū*, the low grade of *vā* is probably to be explained similarly in feminines like *kādrū-s* (TS. B.) 'brown' (masc. *kādrū-m*, TS. B.); shortened to *u* in voc., e.g. *bābhru*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 82.

<sup>10</sup> That is, the original form would have been *īu*- or *īū*- according as a vowel or a consonant followed.

grade, but early began to supplant *e*; thus from *ḍīv-* 'play', beside *didēva* (AV.), *dēv-ana-* 'game of dice', occur *ḍīv-yati*, *ḍīv-é* and *ḍīv-í* dat. and loc. of *ḍīv-* 'game of dice'; from *srīv-* 'fail', beside *śrevdyant*, *srīvayati* (AV.); but from *mīv-* 'push', only *mīv-ati* etc.; from *sīv-* 'sew', only *sīv-yati* etc. It is a peculiarity of these roots that *iv* appears before vowels and *y* only, becoming *yū* or *ū* before other consonants; thus *dyū-tī-* (AV.) 'play'; *-mū-ta-* 'impelled', *mū-rá-* 'dull', *mū-tra-* (AV. VS.) 'urine'; *syū-tá-* 'fastened', *sū-ct-* 'needle', *sū-tra-* (AV.) 'thread'; *srū-* 'lead ball'<sup>1</sup>.

## II. The Samprasāraṇa<sup>2</sup> series.

### a. Gradation of *ya va ra*.

23. Low grade: *i u r*<sup>3</sup>.—In place of the accented syllables *ya va ra* (corresponding to the Guṇa vowels *e o ar*) appear the low grade vowels *i u r*<sup>4</sup> when the accent shifts to the following syllable in some fourteen roots, viz. *yaj-* 'sacrifice', *vyac-* 'extend', *vyadh-* 'pierce', *vac-* 'speak', *vad-* 'speak', *vap-* 'strew', *vaś-* 'be eager', *vas-* 'dwell', *vas-* 'shine', *vah-* 'carry'; *svap-* 'sleep', *grabh-* and *grah-* 'seize', *pracch-* (properly *praś-*) 'ask', *vraśc-* 'hew'; e. g. *iś-tá-* *yáś-ṭave*; *uś-māsi* : *váś-ti*; *suśup-vāms-* : *suśvāpa*.

a. Besides these, a good many other roots, in occasional verbal forms or nominal derivatives, show the same gradation in the radical syllable.

1. *i* appears in *mimikṣur* : *mimykṣa* perf. of *√myakṣ-*; *vithirā-* 'wavering', *vithuryāti* 'wavers', beside *vyāth-ate* 'wavers'.

2. *u* in *ikṣant-* 'growing' : *vavdkṣa* 'has grown'; *śus-ánt-* : *śvas-iti* 'breathes'; *ju-hur-as* : *hūd-ati* 'is crooked'; *ur-ū-* 'broad' : comp. *vār-tyas-*, superl. *vār-iṣṭha-*; *dūr-* : *dvār-* 'door'; *dhūn-i-* 'resounding' : *dhvan-t-* (AV.) 'sound'.

3. *r* in *kṛpate* 'laments' : aor. *akrapīṣṭa*; *gṛṇatti* (AV.) : *grath-itá-* 'tied'; *-śrth-ita-* : *śrath-nāti* 'becomes loose'; *rj-ū-* 'straight' : *rāṣ-iṣṭha-* 'straightest'; *rñh-ū-* 'adroit' : *rābh-ate* 'grasps'; *drh-ya* 'be firm' (impv.) : *drah-yāt* 'firmly'; *prth-ū-* 'broad' : *prāth-ati* 'spreads out'; *bhṛm-ā-* 'error' : *bhram-ā-* 'whirling flame'; *ā-ni-bhṛṣ-ṭa-* 'undefeated'; *bhṛas-at* aor., *bhṛas-tá-* (AV.) 'fallen'; *mṛd-ū-* 'soft' : *mṛada* 'soften' (impv.), *ūrṇa-mṛadas-* 'soft as wool'; *śṛk-van-* : *srāk-va-* 'corner of the mouth'.

b. This gradation also appears in the stems of a few nouns and in certain nominal suffixes: *dyū-bhis* : *dyāv-i* loc., *dyáu-s* nom. 'heaven'; *śūn-* : *śvā-*, *śvān-* 'dog'; *yūn-* (= *yū-un-*) : *yūva-*, *yūvān-* 'youth'; *catūr-* : *catvār-* 'four'; the superlative and comparative suffixes *-iṣṭha* and *-yas*; the perf. part. suffix *-uṣ-* : *vāt*, *-vāms*<sup>5</sup>.

### b. Gradation of *yā vā rā*.

24. Low grade: *ī ū ṛ*.—Corresponding to the reduction of the short syllables *ya va ra* to the short vowels *i u r*, the long syllables *yā vā rā* appear as *ī ū ṛ* (= IE. *ī*).

<sup>1</sup> The etymology of this word is, however, doubtful. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 81.

<sup>2</sup> In the terminology of the native grammarians Samprasāraṇa ('distraction') designates the change of the semi-vowel only to the corresponding vowel (but see also Paṇini VI. 1, 108). Here we use the word to express the reduction of the entire syllables *ya va ra* to the corresponding vowels *i u r*.

<sup>3</sup> Though *r* seems invariably to have resulted from the reduction of Guṇa or Samprasāraṇa syllables, there is no reason

to suppose that every *i* and *u* has a similar origin. On the contrary, it is more likely that IE. *i* and *u* have been preserved by the side of the reduced vowels and that the Guṇa grade has in many instances been subsequently added to original *i* and *u*. Cp. PEDERSEN, IF. 2, 323, note.

<sup>4</sup> This reduction goes back to the IE. pre-tonic syncope of *ē ō*: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 62 (p. 69, mid.).—On the two forms of the roots cp. also Nirukta II. 2 and Mahābhāṣya I, 112.

<sup>5</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 63.

a. *ī* is found thus both in radical and suffixal syllables: 1. in *jī-tā* (AV.) *jī-yāte* (AV.) and *jī-yate*: *jyā*- 'might', *jyā-yas*- 'stronger', *jī-jyā-sant*- 'desiring to overcome'; 2. in the fem. suffix *-ī*: *kan-ī-nām* (for *kanī-nām*) from *kan-yā*- 'girl'; in nom. acc., e. g. *devī*, *devīm*, *devīs*, beside *-yā* in dat. abl. gen. loc. sing. *devyā* (= *devyā-e*), *devyās* (= *devyā-as*), *devyām* (= *devyā-am*); 3. in the optative, either before or after the accented syllable, beside *-yā*; e. g. *bruv-ī-tā* and *bhāret* (= *bhāra-ī-tā*), but *i-yā-t*.

b. *ū* is found: 1. in forms of *sūd*- 'put in order' (= 'make palatable'), e. g. *sū-śūd-ati*, *sūd-āyati*, *saṃ-sūd-d*- (TS.) 'gum', beside forms and derivatives of *svād*- 'enjoy', 'taste', e. g. *svāda-te*, *svāttī*, *svād-ī*- 'sweet'; 2. in fem. nouns in *-ū* beside *-vā* in dat. abl. gen. loc. sing.; e. g. *śvaśrū*- 'mother-in-law', dat. *śvaśr-vā* (AV., = *śvaśr-vā-e*), gen. *śvaśr-vās* (AV., = *śvaśr-vā-as*), loc. *śvaśr-vām* (= *śvaśr-vā-am*).

c. *īr* (= *ī*) is found in *dīrgh-ā*- 'long', beside *drāgh-īyas*- 'longer', *drāgh-iṣṭha*- 'longest', *drāgh-mān*- 'length'.

### III. The *ā*-series.

#### a. Gradation of *a*.

25. **A. Low grade:** *a* or *ṛ*.—Many roots and formatives have *a* in the Guṇa or normal stage. The reduction of *r* from *ar* or *ra* indicates that in low grade syllables this *a* would normally disappear. As a rule, however, it remains<sup>1</sup>, doubtless because its loss would in most cases have led to unpronounceable or obscure forms<sup>2</sup>. At the same time, the syncope takes place in a considerable number of instances:

1. in verbal forms: *ad*- 'eat': *d-ānt*- (= old pres. part.) 'tooth'; *as*- 'be': *s-ānti*, *s-yāt*, *s-ānt*, beside *ās-ti* 'is'; *gam*- 'go': *ja-gm-īr*; *ghas*- 'eat': *a-kṣ-an*, 3. pl. impf., *g-dha* (= *ghs-ta*), 3. sing. impf. mid., *ja-kṣ-īyāt*, perf. opt., beside *ghas-a-t* 'may he eat'; *pat*- 'fall': *pa-pt-ima*, *pa-pt-īr*, *pa-pt-ivāms*, perf., *a-pa-pt-at*, aor., beside *pāt-anti*; *pad*- 'go': *pī-bā-a-māna*-, red. pres. part., *pī-bā-and*- 'standing firm', beside *pād-yate* 'goes'; *bhas*- 'chew': *ba-ps-ati*, 3 pl. pres., *bā-ps-at*, pres. part., beside *bhās-a-t* 'may he chew'; *sac*- 'follow': *sā-śc-ati*, 3. pl. red. pres., *sa-śc-ata*, 3. pl. impf. mid., *sa-śc-irē*, 3. pl. perf. mid., beside *sāc-ante* 'they accompany'; *sad*- 'sit': *sīd-ati* (= *si-zd-ati*), 3. sing. pres., *sed-īr* (= *sa-zd-īr*), 3. pl. perf., beside *ā-sad-at* 'he sat'; *han*- 'strike': *ghn-ānti*, 3. pl. pres., beside *hān-ti* 3. sing.

2. in nominal derivatives: *ghas*- 'eat': *a-g-dhāt*- (TS.) 'eating what is uneaten' (= *a-ghs-ta-ad*), *sā-g-dhi* (VS.) 'joint meal' (= *sa-ghs-ti*); *bhas*- 'chew': *d-ps-u*- 'foodless'; *pad*- 'walk': *upa-bā-d-ā*-, *upa-bā-d-ī*- 'noise' (lit. 'tread'); *tur-īya*- 'fourth' (= \**ktur-īya*-): *cat-īr*- 'four'; *nap̄t-ī*- 'granddaughter': *nāpāt*- 'grandson'.

3. in suffixes: *-s* for *-as* in *bhī-ś-ā*, inst. sing.: *bhīy-ās-ā* 'through fear'; *śīr-ś-ān*-. *śīr-as*- 'head'; *-s* for *-as* in the abl. gen. sing. ending of stems in *i u o*: e. g. *agnē-s*, *vīṣno-s*, *gō-s*.

**B. Long grade:** *ā*.—The Vṛddhi corresponding to the *a* which represents the Guṇa stage is *ā*. It appears:

a. in the root:

1. in primary nominal derivation: thus *pād*- 'foot': *pād*-, *bā*- 'walk'; *rāj*-

<sup>1</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 70.

<sup>2</sup> When *a* is followed by *n* or *m*, the syllables *an* and *am*, if preceded by a consonant, usually lose the nasal before mutes; e. g. *han*- 'strike': *hā-thās* 2. du. pres.; *gam*-

'go': *ga-tā*-, *dyu-mānt*-, inst. sing.: *dyu-māt-ā*; *nā-man*-, inst. pl. *nāma-bhis*. The *a* in such low grade syllables is generally regarded as historically representing the sonant nasal *ṇ*: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 66.

'king': *raj-*, *ṛj-* 'direct'; *vāc-* 'voice': *vac-*, *uc-* 'speak'; *kṣās*, nom., *kṣām*, acc., 'earth': *kṣam-*, *kṣm-*; *nābh-* 'well': *nābh-as*, *abh-rā-* (*abh-* = *n̄bh-*) 'cloud'. Also before primary suffixes: *āp-as*: *āp-as* 'work'; *vās-as* 'garment': *vas-*, *uṣ-* 'wear'; *vāh-as* 'offering': *vah-*, *uh-* 'convey'; *vās-tu* 'abode': *vas-*, *uṣ-* 'dwell'. Perhaps also *pāth-as* 'place': *path-* 'path'¹.

2. in secondary nominal derivation; e. g. *kṣānvā-* 'descended from Kṣaṇva'; *vāpūs-d-* 'marvellous': *vāp-us-* 'marvel'.

3. in the active of the *s*-aorist: thus *a-cchānt-s-ur*: *chand-*, *chad-* (= *chnd-*) 'appear'; *a-yāṇ-s-am*, 1. sing.: *yam-*, *ya-* (= *ym-*) 'stretch'; *sāk-ṣ-āma*, also mid. *sāk-ṣ-i*, *sāk-ṣ-ate*: *sah-* 'overcome'².

b. in the suffix of nominal stems:

1. in the nom. sing. masc. of stems in *-mant* and *-vant*, and throughout the strong cases of stems in *-an*, of *mahāt-* 'great', and of *nāpāt-* 'grandson': thus *dyu-mān* 'brilliant': *dyu-mānt-*, *dyu-māt-* (= *mpt-*); *re-vān* 'rich': *re-vānt-*, *re-vāt-* (= *vpt-*)³; *rāj-ā*, acc. *rāj-ān-am* 'king': *rāj-an-*, *rāj-ñ-*, *rāj-a-* (= *rāj-ṇ-*); *mah-ān*, acc. *mah-ānt-am*; *nāpāt*, acc. *nāpāt-am*.

2. in the nom. acc. pl. neuter of stems in *-an* and *-as* and of one in *-ant*; thus *nāma*⁴ 'names': *nāman*, *nāma* (= *nāmṇ-*); *mānāṣ-i* 'minds': *mān-as*; *sānt-i*: *s-ānt-* 'being'.

c. in *ānu-* as first member of a compound in *ānu-śāk* and *ānūkām* 'continuously': otherwise *anu-*.

#### b. Gradation of ā.

26. Low grade: *i*.—The vowel *ā* is not always the long grade vowel: in a number of roots it represents Guṇa. The low grade of this *ā* is normally *i*; it sometimes, however, appears as *ī*, owing to analogy⁵, and, especially with a secondary accent, as *a*. Thus *sthi-tī-*: *sthī-s* 'thou hast stood'; *dhi-tī-*: *dī-dhā-tī* 'places'; *pu-nī-hī-*: *pu-nā-tī*, from *pū-* 'purify'; *gāh-ana-* 'depth', *gāh-vara-* (AV.) 'hiding-place': *gāh-ate* 'plunges'.

a. The low grade vowel disappears: 1. in roots ending in *ā* before vowel terminations; in the weak forms of the reduplicated present base of *dā-* 'give' and *dhā-* 'put', before all terminations; and in the weak form of the suffix *-nā-* in the ninth class before vowel terminations; thus in the perf. of *dā-*: *dad-āthur*, *dad-atur*; *dad-ā*, *dad-īr*; *dad-ī*; in the pres. of *dhā-*: *dadh-mṁsi*; beside *pu-nā-tī* 'he purifies', *pu-n-ānti* 'they purify'. Similarly from *hā-* 'forsake' occurs, in the opt. pres., the form *jah-yāt* (AV.).

2. in the final member of compounds formed with the perf. part. passive of *dā-* 'give', and *dā-* 'cut', or with a substantive in *-tī-* from *dā-* 'give': *devā-tta-*, a name ('given by the gods'); *dva-tta-* (VS.) 'cut off'; *pārī-tta-* (VS.) 'given up'; *d-pratī-tta-* (AV.) 'not given back'; *bhūga-tti-* 'gift of fortune'; *maghū-tti-* 'gift of presents'; *vāsu-tti-* 'gift of wealth' (beside *vāsu-dhiti-* 'bestowal of wealth': *dhī-ti-*). Also in *agnī-dh-*⁶ 'fire-placer', a kind of priest⁷.

¹ Cp. AUFRECHT, BB. 14, 33; WACKERNAGEL I, 72 (p. 79, bottom).

² Op. cit. I, 72 b ḍ (p. 80).

³ The long vowel in these nominatives is to be accounted for by IE. compensatory lengthening (*-mān* = *mant-s*, etc.); in the following examples it has spread from the nominative to other cases.

⁴ Such neuter plurals were in origin probably feminine singular collectives: cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 481; WACKERNAGEL I, 73 and 95.

⁵ That is, under the influence of *ī* as low grade of *ai* which before consonants appears as *ā*, as in *gī-tā-* beside *gā-thā-*, from *gai-* 'sing', pres. *gāy-ati*; cp. 27 a.

⁶ Cp. *agnī-dhāna-* 'fire-place'; in VS. *agnīdh-* appears instead, as if 'fire-kindler' (from *idh-* 'kindle').

⁷ For a few other examples (which are doubtful) of the loss of the low grade vowel in the final member of compounds, see WACKERNAGEL I, p. 82 (mid.).

IV. The *ai* and *au* series.a. Gradation of *ai*.

27. Low grade: *i*.—As the final of roots and in suffixes *i* is graded with *ai* (as with *yā*<sup>1</sup>), which appears as *āy*- before vowels and as *ā*- before consonants<sup>2</sup>. The roots in which this gradation is found are stated by the Indian grammarians in five different forms. They are:

a. 1. roots given with *-ai-* (because their present base appears as *-āy-a*): *gai*- 'sing': *gī-tā*-, *gī-yā-māna*-, beside *gāy-ati* 'sings', *-gāy-as* 'song', and *gā-s-i*, 1. sing. aor. mid., *gā-thā*- 'song'; *pyai*- 'swell': *pī-nā*-, beside *pyāy-ate*; *śrai*- 'boil': *śrī-nā-ti*, *śrī-tā*-, beside *śrāy-ati*, *śrā-tā*-. — 2. with *-āy*:- *cāy*- 'observe': *cikī-hi* (AV.), beside *cāy-amāna*, *cāy-ū*- 'respectful'. — 3. with *-e*:- *dhe*- 'suck': *dhi-tā*-, beside *dhāy-as* 'drink', *dhāy-ū*- 'thirsty', and *dhā-tave* 'to suck', *dhā-rū*- (AV.) 'sucking'. — 4. with *-ā*:- *pā*- 'drink': *pī-tā*-, *pī-ti*- 'drink', beside *pāy-dyati*, caus., *pāy-āna*- 'causing to drink', and *d-pā-t*, aor., *pā-tave*; *rā*- 'give': *ra-rī-thās*, 2. sing. injv., beside *rāy-ā*- 'with wealth', and *rā-sva*, impv., *rā-m*, acc. — 5. with *-ī*:- *nī*- 'lead': *nī-tā*-, beside *nāy-ā*- 'leader', and *nā-thā*- (AV.) 'help'; *pī*- 'revile': *pī-yati*, *pī-ya-tu*- and *pī-y-ū*- 'reviler', beside *pāy-ū*- (VS.) 'anus'; *pri*- 'love': *pri-nā-ti*, *pri-tā*-, beside *prāy-as-e*<sup>3</sup>; *śī*-<sup>4</sup> 'lie'; *-śī-van*- 'lying', beside *a-śāy-ata*, 3. sing.<sup>5</sup>

b. This gradation also occurs in the final of dissyllabic bases: thus *grabhī-śā*, *a-grabhī-t*, *grbhī-tā*-, beside *grbhāy-ati* 'seizes'<sup>6</sup>; and in the base of the ninth class: *grbhñt-ta*, 2. pl., beside *grbhñā-ti*.

c. It is also found in the suffixes *-ethe* *-ete* and *-ethām* *-etām* of the 2. 3. du. mid. of the *a*-conjugation, which can only be explained as containing *īthe* *īte* and *īthām* *ītām*, with weak grade *i* corresponding to the accented *ā* of *āthe* *āte* and *āthām* *ātām* of the non-thematic conjugation (and parallel to the *-ī*- of the optative beside *-yā-?*).

b. Gradation of *au*.

28. Low grade: *ū*.—As the final of roots *ū* is graded with *au* (parallel with *vā*<sup>8</sup>), much in the same way as *i* with *ai*, appearing as *āv* before vowels, *ā* before consonants<sup>9</sup>; but the certain examples are few. Thus *dhū-n-ti* 'shakes', *dhī-ti*- 'shaker', *dhū-mā*- 'smoke', beside *dhāv-ati* 'runs', *dhī-rā*- 'stream'; *dhū-tā*- 'washed', beside *dhāv-ati* 'washes'. But here *au* appears before consonants as well as *ā*; thus *dhau-tā-rī*- 'shaking', beside *dhū*- 'shake'; and *dhau-ti*- 'spring', *dhau-tā*- (SV.), beside *dhāv-ati* 'washes'. Similarly *gā-m*

<sup>1</sup> See above 24.

<sup>2</sup> *ai* appears only in the *s*-aor., as *nai-s-ā*, 2. pl., *nī*- 'lead', owing to the analogy of forms like *ā-jai-s-ma*, from *ji*- 'conquer'.

<sup>3</sup> Occurs RV. IV. 21<sup>7</sup> (Pp. *prā dyase* (and is explained by BÖHTLINGK (pw.) as = *prāyase*).

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps also in *śī*- 'fall': *śīyate* (AV.), beside *śātā-yati* 'cuts off', which may be a denominative from *\*śā-tā*- 'fallen'. Cp. WHITNEY, *Roots*, under *√śat*- and *√ī śī*; WACKERNAGEL I, 79 a 8 (p. 88).

<sup>5</sup> In some of the above roots *e* appears instead of *ā* before consonants; e.g. *cā-rū*- 'devout', beside *cāy-ū*;- *pē-rū*- 'causing to drink', beside *pāy-āna*;- *dhe-nī*- 'milch cow', *dhi-nā*- id.; *śī-se*, beside *a-śīy-ata*; *ne-tī*- (VS.) id.; *śī-nā*- 'thief', beside *śāy-ū*- (VS.) id., and *śāy-ānt*- (AV.) 'furtive'; *śenū*- missile', beside *śāy-āka*-. It is, perhaps, due

to this *e* that *ay*- sometimes appears instead of *āy*- in some of the above verbs; as *prāy-as*- 'enjoyment', from *√prī*;- *ray-i*- 'wealth', from *√rā*;- *śāy-e*, 3. sing., from *śī*- 'lie'.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 79 b (p. 89).

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit. I, 79 c (p. 89).

<sup>8</sup> See above 24 b.

<sup>9</sup> Similarly in the RV. the *-au* of duals and of *aśtāu* 'eight' normally appears as *āv* before vowels and *ā* before consonants in Sandhi. The nominatives in *ā* of *-r* stems and *-an* stems, e.g. *māū*, *śvā* 'dog', are probably due originally to the loss of the final *r* and *n* before consonants in the sentence, then becoming the regular form everywhere. Conversely *aśtāu* has become the only independent form in the AV., *aśtā*- appearing only as first member of a compound. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 94, 95.

and *gā-s*, acc., beside *gāv-as*, nom. pl., but *gāu-s*, nom. sing., 'cow'; and *dyā-m*, acc. sing., beside *dyāv-as*, nom. pl., but *dyāu-s*, nom. sing., 'heaven'.

### V. Secondary shortening of *ī ū r̄*.

29. Low grade: *i u r̄*.—Owing to the shift of the accent from its normal position in a word to its beginning, the low grade vowels *ī ū r̄* (= *r̄*) are often further shortened to *i u r̄* in compounds and reduplicated forms. A pre-tonic syllable thus acquires a post-tonic position, where the force of the accent is weakest. It is the same cause which shortens final weak grade *ī* and *ū* in the vocative singular; e. g. *dēvi*, nom. *devī*; *svāśru*, nom. *svāśrūs*<sup>1</sup>. This shortening often appears in:

#### a. compounds<sup>2</sup>:

1. those in which the final member is derived with *-ta-* and *-ti-*, the accent being regularly thrown back on the first member<sup>3</sup>: thus *ā-ni-sī-ta* 'restless', *nī-sī-tā* (TS. B.) 'night', from *śī* 'lie'; *prā-si-ti* 'onset', beside *sāy-aka* 'missile'<sup>4</sup>; *sī-śu-ti* 'easy birth', beside *sīti-kā* (AV.) 'lying-in woman'; *ā-stī-ta* 'unconquered', *ā-nī-śīr-ta* 'not overthrown', beside *stīr-nā*, from *stīr* 'strew'<sup>5</sup>; *ā-hūti* 'invocation', otherwise *-hū-ti* in *sā-hūti* 'joint invocation', *devā-hūti* 'invocation of the gods', and other compounds.

2. those in which the final member is a root in *r̄*<sup>6</sup> or *ū* with or without the suffix *-t*; e. g. *dhr-jit* 'thought inspiring', beside *jī-* 'hastening', *jū-tā* 'impelled'; very often *-bhū-*, beside *bhū-*, as in *ā-pra-bhū-* 'powerless', *vi-bhū-* 'mighty'; *nī-yūt* 'team', beside *yū-* 'unite' (as in *yū-thā* 'herd').

3. those in which the final member is formed with other suffixes; thus *madhyān-dī-na* 'midday', *su-dī-na* 'bright', beside *dī-* 'shine'; *su-su-mānt* 'very stimulating', beside *sū-tā* 'impelled'; also in *tuvi-gr-ā* and *tuvi-gr-ī* 'much devouring', beside *saṃ-gir-ā* (AV.) 'devouring', as *r̄* here = *r̄*<sup>7</sup>.

4. some Bahuvrīhis (in which the first member is normally accented)<sup>8</sup>; thus *brhād-ri*<sup>9</sup> 'possessing much wealth' (*rāi*); *try-udh-dn* 'having three udders', beside *ūdhan* 'udder'.

b. reduplicated forms<sup>10</sup> in which accentuation of the reduplicative syllable, especially in the third class and one form of the aorist, counteracts the normal accent of the verb; thus from *dī-* 'shine', are formed *dī-dī-hi*, 2. sing. impv., *dī-dī-vāms*, perf. part., *dī-dī-vi* 'shining', beside *dī-paya-* (causative)

<sup>1</sup> Cp. 23.

<sup>2</sup> The application of this shortening process becomes obscured, on the one hand because the phonetically shortened vowel has found its way into accented final members of compounds as being characteristic of the end of a compound; while, on the other hand, *ī ū r̄* (= *r̄*) for the most part have remained unchanged, even when the accent has shifted, because of the influence of the uncompounded word; e. g. *sī-sīta* 'well-begotten', *prā-sīta* 'impelled'; *ā-kūti* 'intention'; *prā-dhūti* 'truly adored'; *prā-tūti* 'onset'.

<sup>3</sup> That this is the cause of the shortening is shown by the fact that the *ī* of the inst. sing. of derivatives in *-ti* appears as *ī* only when such words are compounded: e. g. *prā-yukti* 'with the team'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 84.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. 27, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> The secondarily shortened form of the past part. *śīr-ta-* is not found as an independent word in the RV.; it first appears in later texts.

<sup>6</sup> An example of the shortening of *ī* is perhaps *adhi-kṣī-ti* 'ruler', *kṣī-* being according to J. SCHMIDT, Pluralbildung 419, the original weak form of the root; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 83 b.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. KRETSCHMER, KZ. 31, 397; WACKERNAGEL I, 83 c.

<sup>8</sup> See accentuation of compounds, 90.

<sup>9</sup> Occurring only in the dat. sing. *brhād-raye*, beside *rāy-ā*, dat. of *rāi* 'wealth'.

<sup>10</sup> On the shortening of the radical syllable in some verbs of the fifth and the ninth classes, *jī-nā-si*, beside *jī-rā* 'lively', *du-no-ti* 'burns', beside *dū-nā* (AV.); *ju-nā-ti* 'impels', beside *jū-tā*; *pu-nā-ti* 'purifies', beside *pū-tā*, see WACKERNAGEL I, 85, note (bottom).

'kindle'; from *dhr-* 'think', *dṛ-dhi-ma*, 1. pl. perf., *dī-dhi-ti* 'devotion', beside *dhr-ti* 'thought'; from *kṛ-* 'commemorate', *cār-kṛ-se*, intv., *cār-kṛ-ti* 'praise', beside *kṛ-ti* 'praise'; from *pṛ-* 'fill', *pī-pr-tām*, 3. du., beside *pūr-nā* and *pūr-tā*. Such shortening often occurs in red. aor., e. g. *bṛ-bhīṣ-a-thās*, 2. sing. mid., beside *vi-bhīṣ-aṇa* 'terrifying'. It is also found in a few nouns; e. g. *śī-si-ra* (AV.) 'coolness', beside *śī-tā* 'cold'; *tū-tu-mā* beside *tū-ya* 'strong'¹.

### The Consonants.

**30. Doubling of consonants.**—All consonants, except *r ḥ ḷ*, Anusvāra, and Visarjanīya, can be doubled, and the distinction between double and single consonants is known to the Prātiśākhya as well as to Pāṇini. Aspirates are, however, nearly always written double by giving the first in the unaspirated form. A double consonant² is pronounced by the organs of speech dwelling longer on it than on the single sound. Within words³ a double consonant appears:

1. as the result of the contact of the same consonants or the assimilation⁴ of different ones; e. g. *cit-tā* 'perceived' (= *cit-ta*); *uc-cā* 'high' (= *ud-ca*); *bhet-tṛ* 'breaker' (= *bhed-tṛ*); *ān-na* 'food' (= *ad-na*).

2. in a few onomatopoeic words: *akkkhālī-kṛtyā* 'shouting'; *ciccikā* a kind of bird; *kukkutā* (VS.) 'cock'; *tittiri* (VS.) and *tittirī* (TS. B.) 'quail'; *pīppakā* (VS.) a kind of bird.

3. in the case of the palatal aspirate, which regularly appears as *ccḥ* between vowels (though often written as *ch* in the Mss.), for it always makes the preceding vowel long by position and is derived from an original conjunct consonant⁵. Some forms of *khid* 'press down', are doubled after a vowel in the TS. (*akkhidat*, *ā-kkhidra*; *ā-kkhidatī*, *pari-kkhidatī*). In the TS.⁶ *bh* appears doubled in *pāri bbhuja*. In a school of the White Yajurveda initial *v* was regularly doubled⁷.

4. when final *n* is doubled after a short vowel if followed by any vowel sound⁸.

a. In the Mss., when double consonants are preceded or followed by another consonant⁹, one of them is frequently dropped, because in such consonantal groups there was no difference in pronunciation between single and double consonants. Hence the VPr. (vi. 27) prescribes a single *t* in *ksatṛā* 'dominion' (= *ksad-tra*), and in *satṛā* 'sacrificial session' (= *sad-tra*). Such shortening is further presupposed by the analysis of the Pada texts in *hr(d)dyotāḥ* (AV. I. 22¹) and *hr(d)dyām* (AV. v. 20¹²) as *hr-dyotāḥ* and *hr-dyotāḥ*; in *id(d)dyām* (AV. IV. 19⁶) as *id-dyām* (stem of *tāt dyām*); and in *upāstha*, which appears in the RV. Pada as *upā-stha* instead of *upās-stha*, if GRASSMANN'S suggestion is right¹⁰. In some instances this reduction is IE., as in *satṛā* (IE. *setlo*)¹¹.

¹ On variations in cognate forms between *i u ṛ* and *i ū ṛ* in some other words see WACKERNAGEL I, 86.

² Sometimes a single *s* represents the double sound, as in *āsi* 'thou art' (= *as-si*); *apāsu* (RV. VII. 4¹⁴), loc. pl. of *apās* 'active'; *āmhasu* (AV.), loc. pl. of *āmhas* 'distress'; *jō-si* 'thou shalt taste' (*juṣ*); probably also in *ghō-si* (from *ghuṣ* 'sound'), in *uṣ-ās*, gen. sing., acc. pl. of *uṣ*, weak stem of *uṣ-ās* 'dawn' (for *\*uṣṣ-as*), possibly in *uṣṛ* 'dawn' (for *\*uṣṣ-ṛ*). As the single *s* in such forms is shown by cognate languages also, it seems here to be pre-Vedic, and the double *ss* in forms like *rājas-su*, loc. pl., is probably an Indian innovation. The change of *ss* to *ks*,

as in *āvikṣat* (AV.) = *\*dviṣ-sat*, aor. of *dviṣ* 'hate', is also an Indian innovation.

³ On double consonants in Sandhi, see below 77.

⁴ The evidence of the Avestan form *vrōkka-* shows that the double consonant in *vrōkka-* (AV. VS.) 'kidney' is due to assimilation.

⁵ See below 40; WACKERNAGEL I, 133.

⁶ See TPr. XIV. 8.

⁷ See WEBER, Abh. d. Berliner Ak. d. Wiss. 1871, p. 83 f.

⁸ See below 46; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 279 a.

⁹ Cp. ROTH in ZDMG. 48, 102 f.

¹⁰ See his Lexicon, s. v. *upāstha*.

¹¹ See WACKERNAGEL I, 98 b, note.

## Mutes.

31. Modes of articulation.—There are 20 mutes (or 22 counting *l* *lh* among the cerebrals), which comprise a tenuis, an aspirate tenuis, a media, and an aspirate media in each of the five groups of gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals, and labials (4). These four modes of articulation are initially and medially liable to but little variation except when they come into contact with other mutes or with following sibilants.

1. The *tenuis* regularly represent IE. *tenuis*; e. g. *cakrít-* 'wheel', Gk. *κύκλος*; *pítṛ-* 'father', Gk. *πατήρ*, Lat. *pater*.

2. The *mediae* regularly represent IE. *mediae*; e. g. *gácchati*, Gk. *βάσκει*; *rāj-* 'king', Lat. *rēg-*; *mád-ati* 'is drunk', Lat. *mad-et*. There are a few instances in which a media appears in place of an older *tenuis*: *gulphá-* (AV.): *kulphá-* 'ankle'; *árbhaga-* 'youthful': *arbhaká-* 'little'; *tij-*: *thc-*, *toká-* 'offspring'; *án-ava-prgna-* 'undivided': *prc-* 'mix'; *giriká-* (MS.): *kiriká-* (VS.)<sup>1</sup> a kind of demon. These examples may be due to popular dialects, in which *tenuis* largely became *mediae*<sup>2</sup>. In a few derivatives the media *g* appears instead of *k* before the *n m v* of suffixes owing to the influence of Sandhi: e. g. *vag-nik-* 'sound', from *vac-* 'speak', but *rék-nas-* 'wealth', from *ric-*; *śag-má-* 'helpful', from *śak-*, but *ruk-má-* 'gold', from *ruc-* 'shine'; *vāg-vin-* (AV.) 'eloquent', from *vāk* 'speech', but *tak-vá-* 'swift', from *tak-* 'hasten'.

3. The evidence of cognate languages shows that the Vedic aspirate *tenuis* in a large number of instances is original, and it is highly probable that it is the regular representative of IE. aspirate *tenuis*. The following are examples in which mutes of this character are inherited<sup>3</sup>:

a. *khan-* 'dig'; *khá-* 'spring'; *khád-ati* 'chews'; *nakhá-* 'nail'; *makhá-* 'lively'; *múkhā-* 'mouth'; *śāṅkhá-* (AV.) 'shell'; *sákhi-* 'companion'.

b. *ch* = IE. *skh*, e. g. in *chid-* 'split'; = IE. *sk* in inchoative *gácchati* 'goes', *ucchdti* 'shines'.

c. *th* = *th* in *śas-thá-* (VS. AV.) 'sixth'; *śthtv-ati* (AV.) 'spits'.

d. *th*<sup>4</sup> in *dtha* 'then'; *atharí-* 'tip'; *átharvan-* 'fire-priest'; *ártha-* 'use'; *granth-* 'knot'; *path-* 'way'; *prth-ít-* 'broad'; *práth-as* 'breadth'; *próthat-* 'snorting'; *math-* 'stir'; *mith-* 'alternate'; *yá-thā* 'as'; *rátha-* 'car'; *vyathate* 'wavers'; *śnath-* 'pierce'. Further in the various suffixes *-tha*: forming primary nouns; e. g. *uk-thá-* 'praise', *gá-thá-* f. *gā-thā-* 'song'; as *-atha* in *śvas-átha-* 'hissing'; forming ordinals: *catur-thá-* (AV.) 'fourth'; *saptá-tha-* 'seventh'; forming 2. sing. perf.: *dadā-tha* 'thou gavest', *vét-tha* 'thou knowest'; forming 2. pl. pres.: *bhava-tha* 'ye are'; also in *-thās* of 2. sing. mid., e. g. *a-sthi-thās* 'thou hast stood'.

e. *ph* in *phāla-* 'fruit'; *phāla-* 'ploughshare'; *sphar-* and *sphur-* 'jerk'; *sphā(y)-* 'grow fat'.

4. The aspirate media, which represents the same IE. sound, is a media combined with *h*. This is proved by the express statements of the Prātisākyas<sup>5</sup>; by the fact that *lh* = *ḍh* is written with the separate letters *l* and *h*; and by the change of *h* following a media to an aspirate media (as *idd dhi* for *tād hi*).

a. In two or three words an aspirate media interchanges with an aspirate *tenuis*: *nāḍhamāna-* 'praying', *nāḍhiṭā-* 'distressed', beside *nāthiṭā-* 'distressed' (where *th* is probably due to the influence of *-nāthā-* 'help'); *ádha* and *átha* 'then'<sup>6</sup>; *niṣāṅgādhi-* (VS.) and *niṣāṅgāthi-* (TS.) 'scabbard'.

<sup>1</sup> For some doubtful instances of media representing IE. *tenuis*, see WACKERNAGEL I, 100 b, p. 117, note.

<sup>2</sup> I. c.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. 101.

<sup>4</sup> A complete list of Vedic and Sanskrit words containing *th* in his article 'Die ur-

sprachliche tenuis aspirata dentalis im arischen, griechischen und lateinischen' by ZUBATY in KZ. 31, 1—9.

<sup>5</sup> RPr. XIII. 2. 5; TPr. II. 9.

<sup>6</sup> There seem to have been a few IE. doublets of this kind: see WACKERNAGEL I, 103.



32. Loss of aspiration. — Aspiration is lost when there is another aspirate in the same syllable or at the beginning of the next in roots<sup>1</sup>. Hence

a. initial aspiration is lost: 1. in the reduplicative syllable: e. g. *ghān-a* (*han-*, *ghan-* 'strike'); *ca-cchand-a* (*chand-* 'please'); *da-dhī-ti* (*dhā-* 'put'); *par-phar-at* (*phar-* 'scatter'?). But when the reduplication consists of two syllables, the rule does not apply; e. g. *ghāni-ghan-at*, intv. part. of *han-* (beside *jān-ghn-at*), *ghanī-ghan-i-* 'fond of striking'; *bhāri-bhr-at*, intv. part. of *bhr-* 'bear'. Loss of aspiration, however, began, even in the RV.<sup>2</sup>, to spread from monosyllabic to dissyllabic reduplication; thus *ā-pānti-phaṇ-at*, intv. part. of *phaṇ-* 'bound'. — 2. in the following words, according to the evidence of cognate languages: *kumbhā-* 'pot'; *gad-* 'attach'; *gābhas-ti-* 'arm'; *guh-* 'conceal'; *grdh-* 'be greedy'; *grhā-* 'house'; *grabh-* 'seize'; *jānhas* 'gait'; *jānghā-* 'leg'; *jaghāna-* 'buttock'; *dabh-* 'harm'; *dah-* 'burn'; *dih-* 'besmear'; *duh-* 'milk'; *duhitī-* 'daughter'; *drahyāt* 'strongly'; *druh-* 'injure'; *bandh-* 'bind'; *bābhri-* 'brown'; *bād-* 'distress'; *bāh-* 'arm'; *budh-* 'awake'; *budhā-* 'bottom'; *brh-* 'be great'. It is probable also in *dagh-* 'reach': *baṇh-* 'be firm'; *badhīrā-* 'deaf'; *bāh-*, *bahulā-* 'much'; *bradhā-* 'pale red'; *brāhma-* 'devotion'.

b. Final aspiration is often lost<sup>3</sup>. 1. When this occurs before suffixal *s*, original initial aspiration is lost in some cases; thus from *guh-* 'hide', desid. 3. du. *ju-guk-ṣa-tas*; *grdh-* 'be eager': *grtsā-* 'dexterous'; *dabh-* 'harm': desid. *dīp-sa-ti*, *dīp-si-* 'intending to hurt'; *dah-* 'burn': impv. *dak-ṣi*, aor. part. *dāksat*, *dāksu-* and *dakṣi-* 'flaming'; *duh-* 'milk': aor. *a-duksat*, *duksās*, etc., des. part. *dīduksan*<sup>4</sup>; *bhas-* 'chew': *bap-sati*, part. *bāps-at*; *ghas-* 'eat': *jak-ṣtyāt*, perf. opt.; *has-* 'laugh': part. *jīkṣ-at*; also in the word *drap-sā-* 'drop'<sup>5</sup>.

But in some of the above and in analogous forms with *s*, the original initial aspirate remains; thus from *guh-*, aor. *aghukṣat*; *dah-*: *dhakṣi*, part. *dhāksat*, fut. part. *dhakṣyān*; *duh-*: aor. *ādhuksat*, *dhukṣān*, etc. 2. impv. *dhuk-ṣva*; *bād-* 'distress': *bī-bhat-si-* 'loathing'; *budh-* 'awake': aor. *ā-bhut-si*.

2. When the loss of final radical aspiration is due to any other cause than suffixal *s*, the original initial aspirate regularly remains; thus from *dah-*, aor. *a-dhāk*; *budh-* 'waken': nom. *-bhut* 'waking'; *dhā-* 'put': *dhat*<sup>6</sup>, 3. sing., *dhat-thas*, *ā-dhat-tam*, etc.; and in the latter verb always before *s* also: *dhat-se*, *dhat-sva*, desid. *dhit-sati*.

c. On the other hand, there is no loss of aspiration in the root if an aspirate follows which belongs to a suffix or second member of a compound; e. g. *vibhī-bhis* 'with the Vibhus'; *proth-dtha-* 'snorting'; *dhāttha-* 'giving most' (*dhā-iṣtha-*); *ahi-hān-* 'serpent-slaying'; *garbha-dhī-* 'breeding-place'. The only exceptions<sup>7</sup> are the two imperatives *bo-dhi* 'be' (for *\*bho-dhi*<sup>8</sup> instead of *\*bhū-dhi*) and *ja-hi* (for *\*jha-hi*) from *han-* 'strike'<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Except when the second aspirate belongs to a suffix or second member of a compound, see below c.

<sup>2</sup> Later this became the rule.

<sup>3</sup> Initial aspiration has perhaps been lost also in *sākhā-* 'branch', and in the roots *stigh-* 'mount', and *stambh-* 'make firm'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 105 a.

<sup>4</sup> This may also be the case in the roots *bhuj-* 'bend', *chid-* 'split', *chad-* 'cover', *dhraj-* 'sweep': op. cit I, 105 b, note.

<sup>5</sup> These forms from *dah-* and *duh-* almost always appear in the Pāda text with *dh*, doubtless because from the time of the Brāhmaṇas this initial aspiration had become the rule; cp. BENFEY, GGA. 1873, p. 18f.

<sup>6</sup> IE. *dhrebbh-* 'coagulate'.

<sup>7</sup> For *dhadh-t*.

<sup>8</sup> Forms like *bud-dha-* for *budh-ta* can hardly be regarded as exceptions since the aspiration is assumed by the suffix instead of reappearing in the initial of the root.

<sup>9</sup> Here *bho-* is a Prakritic contraction for *bhava-*.

<sup>10</sup> Also *vidātha-* 'feast', if correctly derived from *vidh-* 'worship'; on this word see MAX MÜLLER, SBE. 32, 350; Foy, KZ. 34, 226; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 19, 2, 12 ff.; GELDNER, ZDMG. 52, 730–61; WACKERNAGEL I, 108. A few more uncertain examples might be exceptions: *garda-bhā-* 'ass'

d. There are a few cognate words in which an aspirate is found beside the corresponding media or tenuis: *māy-man-* 'greatness': *māh-* 'great'; *vi-ṣpulinga-kā-* 'scattering sparks': *sphur-dti* 'darts'<sup>1</sup>.

e. In a few isolated words a media seems, according to the evidence of cognate languages, to stand for an IE. aspirate: *gmā-* 'earth', gen. *gmās*; *jmit-* 'earth', gen. *jmitās*, inst. *jmitā*; *dvār-*, *dur-*<sup>2</sup> 'door'; *majjān-* 'marrow'.

33. Aspirates in contact with other mutes.—Of two mutes in juxtaposition (of which both must be voiced or both voiceless<sup>3</sup>), the second only can be aspirated. In such case either

1. the second represents an original aspirate, the first an aspirate or not: e. g. *dhat-thās* = *\*dhadh-thās* (*dhā-* 'put'); *ran(d)-dhi* = *\*randh-dhi* (*randh-* 'make subject'), *uk-thā-* 'song' = *uk-thā-* (*vac-* 'speak'); *vet-tha* = *\*vêd-tha* (*vid-* 'know'); *śag-dhi* 'help' = *\*śak-dhi* (*śak-* 'be strong'); or

2. the first represents an aspirate media<sup>4</sup>, the second a dental tenuis<sup>5</sup> which assumes the mode of articulation of the first; e. g. *dāg-dhr-* 'one who burns' (acc.) = *\*dāgh-tr-* (*dah-* 'burn'); *-vid-dha-* 'pierced' = *\*vidh-ta-* (*vyadh-*); *-lab-dha-* 'taken' = *\*labh-ta-* (*labh-*). An intervening sibilant (*z* = *s*) did not prevent the same result: *jag-dhā-*, *jag-dhvāya*, *jag-dhvā* (AV.), *a-g-dha* (TS.) from *ghas-* 'eat', *gdh* representing *gzdh-* for *gzh-t-* from *gh(a)s-t-*.

a. When the first is *h* representing an old palatal aspirate (= *ṣh*, IE. *ḡh*)<sup>6</sup>, it disappears after cerebralizing the dental and lengthening the preceding vowel; e. g. *ūdhā-* = *\*uṣ-dhā-* for *uṣh-tā-* from *vaḥ-tā-*<sup>7</sup>.

b. In a few instances the *t* does not become *dh* owing to the influence of cognate forms: thus *dhaktam* (instead of *\*dagdham* = *\*dhagh-tām*) according to 2. 3. sing. *dhak* (= *\*dhagh-t*) from *dagh-* 'reach'; *dhat-tām* etc. (instead of *\*dad-dham* for *\*dhadh-tām*) according to 3. sing. *dhat* (= *\*dhadh-t*), 2. sing. mid. *dhāt-se*, etc. (= *\*dhadh-se*)<sup>8</sup>.

### The Five Classes of Mutes.

34. The gutturals.—These mutes, by the Indian phoneticians called *kaṇṭhya* ('produced from the throat'), are minutely described in the Prātiśākhya as formed at the 'root of the tongue' (*jihvā-mūla*) and at the 'root of the jaw' (*hanu-mūla*)<sup>9</sup>. They are therefore velar<sup>10</sup> sounds and, as the evidence

(if from *gydh-* 'be greedy'), *bārjaha-* 'udder' (if from *brh-* 'be great'), *sabar-dūgha-*, *sabar-dhū-*, *sabar-dhūk*, epithet of cows (if *sabar-* = Gk. *ἀφᾶρ*: BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 18): cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 108, note, 217b; ZDMG. 43, 667 f.; 46, 292 (*bārjaha-*).

<sup>1</sup> A few doubtful examples discussed by WACKERNAGEL I, p. 129 bottom.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. I, 109, note (mid.); according to BLOOMFIELD, Album Kern, p. 193 f., the media is due to the influence of the numeral *dva-* 'two'.

<sup>3</sup> This was often due to assimilation, the mode of the articulation of the second generally prevailing; e. g. *āt-ti* = *\*ad-ti* (*ad-* 'eat'); *vet-tha* = *\*vêd-tha*; *śag-dhi* = *\*śak-dhi*; the articulation of the first prevails in 33, 2.

<sup>4</sup> An aspirate tenuis loses its aspiration in these circumstances; thus *gyṇatti* (AV.) for *\*gyṇath-ti*, if this form is derived from *grath-* 'tie'.

<sup>5</sup> There seems to be no example of any other tenuis in contact with a preceding aspirate media within a word, but the result would probably have been the same. There is no example of *th* becoming voiced in this combination; it remains in *dhat-thās* (= *\*dadh-thās*).

<sup>6</sup> See below 58.

<sup>7</sup> According to this rule *ūṣ-tra-* 'buffalo', could not be derived from *vaḥ-* 'carry' (as in that case it would have become *ūdhra-*): cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 111 b, note.

<sup>8</sup> Before sibilants, all aspirates as well as mediae become tenuis; but according to TPr. XIV. 12, APr. II. 6 (cp. RPr. VI. 15) a tenuis in such a position may be pronounced as an aspirate; see WACKERNAGEL I, 113.

<sup>9</sup> See APr. I. 20 and WHITNEY's note.

<sup>10</sup> That is, pronounced with the velum or soft palate.

of cognate languages shows, derived from IE. velars<sup>1</sup>. Gutturals are found interchanging to some extent with sounds of the four other classes.

1. Under certain conditions they interchange with the new palatals (*c j ħ*) which are derived from them<sup>2</sup>; with the old palatal *s*<sup>3</sup> (also old *j* and *ħ*) only when followed by *s* (which then becomes *ś*)<sup>4</sup>. Between this *ks* = *ś-s* and *ks* = *k-s* it is possible to distinguish by the aid of Iranian, where the two are represented by different sounds<sup>5</sup>; and the original value of the *k* can thus be determined even in words in which no form without the sibilant occurs. This evidence shows that, in the following words, *ks* represents<sup>6</sup>.

a. *ś-s*: *ākṣi*-‘eye’; *rḥṣa*-‘bear’; *kāḥṣa*-‘armpit’; *kuḥṣi*-‘belly’; *ḥṣi*-‘dwell’; *ḥṣīdh*-‘hunger’; *caks*-‘see’; *taks*-‘fashion’; *dāḥṣiṇa*-‘right’; *pāḥṣman*- (VS.) ‘eyelash’; *maḥṣū* ‘quickly’; *raks*- (AV.) ‘injure’; *rāḥṣ-as*-‘injury’;

b. *k-s*: *ḥṣatrá*-‘dominion’; *ḥṣāp*-‘night’; *ḥṣi*-‘rule’; *ḥṣip*-‘throw’; *ḥṣīrd*-‘milk’; *ḥṣud*-‘shake’; *ḥṣód-as*-‘rush of water’; *ḥṣudrá*-‘small’ (VS.), n. ‘minute particle’; *ḥṣībh*-‘swift motion’; *tvaks*-‘be strong’; *vrḥṣá*-‘tree’.

2. In a few instances *k* stands for a medial *t*: in *vrḥkdu* (AV.) ‘kidneys’, for *\*vrṭkdu*<sup>7</sup>; *prḥṣū* (SV.) = *prtsū* ‘in battles’. In these two forms the substitution is due to Prakritic influence; this is probably also the case in *skambh*-beside *stambh*-‘prop’<sup>8</sup>. The guttural only seems to stand for a dental in *dsikn-* beside *dsita*-‘black’, *pālikn-* beside *pālita*-‘grey’, and *hārikṇikā*- (AV.) beside *hārita*-‘yellow’, as there is no etymological connexion between *-kn-* and *-ta*<sup>9</sup>.

3. In a few words a guttural interchanges with a labial medially: *kakārdū*-beside *kaparda*-‘braid of hair’; *kulikā* (VS.): *pulikā* (MS.) a kind of bird; *kulikāya*- (TS.): *pulikāya*- (MS.), *kulīpāya*- (VS.): *purikāya*<sup>10</sup> (AV.) a kind of aquatic animal; *nicuikund-* (TS.): *nicumpund-* ‘flood’; and in the TS. (B.) *triṣṭigbhis* and *anuṣṭigbhyas* occur beside *triṣṭib-bhis* and *anuṣṭibbhyas*<sup>11</sup>.

4. In a few verbal forms from three roots *k* stands for *ś* before suffixal *s*<sup>12</sup>, though this *k* never made its way into the loc. pl. (where only *-ś-sū* or *-ḥ-sū*, *-t-sū* occur). The only example in the RV. is *pinak-* (for *pinak-ś*) 2. sing. impf. of *pināṣ-ti* (*piś*-‘crush’). In the AV. occur *dvik-s-at*, *dvik-s-ata*, aor. of *dvīṣ*-‘hate’; *śīṣlikṣate*, *-śīṣlikṣu*, desid. of *śīṣ*-‘embrace’. Other possible examples from the RV. are *-rḥṣarā*-‘thorn’ (if from *rṣ*-‘prick’); *rīrikṣa-ti* and *rīrikṣh*, desid. (if from *rīṣ*-‘injure’); *vivekṣi* (if from *viṣ*-‘work’)<sup>13</sup>.

35. The palatals.—These are pronounced in India at the present day as a close combination of a *t*-sound followed by a palatal spirant *ś*. The evidence of the Greek reproduction of Indian words<sup>14</sup> points in the same

<sup>1</sup> That is, the *g*-sounds; some, however, are derived from IE. labio-velars or *gʷ*-sounds; see BRUGMANN, KG. I, 244 and 254; WACKERNAGEL I, 115.

<sup>2</sup> See BRUGMANN, op. cit. 244.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. 233.

<sup>4</sup> See below 56.

<sup>5</sup> That is, *ś-s* by *ś* and *k-s* by *ḥś*; thus *vakṣi*, from *vaś* = *vaśi*; *vakṣyā-mi*, from *vak-* (for *vac-*) = *vahīyā*.

<sup>6</sup> The two components of *ks* cannot yet have coalesced when *ś* dropped out between two mutes in *abhakta*, for *abhak-s-ta* (aor. of *bhāj-*), and *ataṣṭa* for *ataḥ-s-ta*-from *takṣ*- (AV. *taś*-‘fashion’; otherwise the two different original sounds could not have been kept apart in these two forms.

<sup>7</sup> See above 30, note 4.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 136, note (top).

<sup>9</sup> Cp. J. SCHMIDT, Pluralbildung 398.

<sup>10</sup> See ZDMG. 33, 193.

<sup>11</sup> See WEBER, IS. 8, 40. 54; 13, 109.

<sup>12</sup> This probably started from the parallelism of the 3. sing. of roots in *ś* and *ś*: thus *dveṣ-ti* from *√dveṣ*-, and *vaś-ti* from *√vaś*-, then the 2. sing. *dvek-ṣi* for *dveṣ-ṣi*, followed *vak-ṣi*.

<sup>13</sup> The relation of the *k* in *dadṛḥṣ* ‘firmly’, to *dadṛḥṣá*, *dadṛḥṣ-vāṇi*-‘bold’, is uncertain. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 118, note (end).

<sup>14</sup> Thus τανδραγον = *candana*-‘sandal-wood’; Τασσανης = *caṣṭana*-, N.; Παῖδαλοι = *pañcāla*-, N. of a people; Σανδρόκλυτος = *candraguṭta*-, N.; Ὀζιρη = *ujjayinī*- (Prakrit

direction. It is therefore likely that they were thus pronounced in Vedic times<sup>1</sup>. Prosodically, however, they have the value of a single consonant (excepting *ch*<sup>2</sup>). They date from the Indo-Iranian period only; but in order to understand their place in the Vedic language, especially in relation to the gutturals, we must go back to their ultimate origin. The evidence of comparative grammar shows that **two distinct series of palatals**, the later and the earlier, must be distinguished. This evidence alone can explain how the same Vedic palatal sound (*j* or *h*) is, under certain conditions, treated differently.

36. The new palatals (*c, j, h*) are derived from gutturals (velars), being interchangeable, in most roots and formatives, with gutturals, and being in most cognate languages represented by the same sounds as represent original gutturals. Thus from the root *śuc* 'shine' come verbal forms such as *śúcati*, beside the nominal derivatives *śūka-*, *śūkvan-*, *śukrā-*, *śuklā-* (AV.); from *yuj* 'yoke', *yujē* 1. sing. mid., etc., beside *yugā-*, *y'ga-*, *yuktā-*, *yugvan-*; from *druh* 'injure', *dudrūha*, 3. sing. perf., etc., beside *druhyā-*, a name, and *drūgha* 'deceitful'.

The (Indo-Iranian) change from gutturals to palatals was regularly produced before the palatal sounds *i* or *y*<sup>3</sup>; e. g. *cittā* 'noticed', beside *kēta* 'will', from *cit* 'perceive'; *ājīyas* 'stronger', beside *ugrā* 'strong'; *druhyā-* beside *drūgha-*. This change invariably takes place in Iranian, while the exceptions in Vedic appear only before vowels which were not originally palatal.

a. Gutturals thus appear instead of palatals before *ir* (*i*l) and *ir* (= IE. *rr-* and *r̥*)<sup>4</sup>, which were not yet pronounced with an *i*-sound in the Indo-Iranian period<sup>5</sup>: thus *angiras-*, a name; *giri*-<sup>6</sup> 'mountain'; *kirdti*, 3. sing., *kirdā-* 'dust', from *kṛ* 'scatter'; *carkirāma*, *carkiran*, *kṛti* 'fame', from *kṛ* 'commemorate'; *gṛ* 'lauding', from *gṛ* 'praise'; *gṛdāti* (AV.), 3. sing., *-gila-* (AV.) 'devouring', from *gṛ* 'swallow'. Before *i* (= IE. *a*)<sup>7</sup> *k* appears in *ok-i-vāṇs-*, part. from *uc* 'be pleased', and *g* in *tigitā*-<sup>8</sup> 'sharp', beside *tejate*, *tējas* 'brilliance', and other derivatives, from *tij* 'be sharp'.

Otherwise a guttural followed by a palatal vowel is due to the influence of cognate forms. This is the case

i. in the initial of roots *α*) in *gṛ*, the weak stem of *gai* 'sing', beside *gāy-*, *gā-*; *β*) in reduplicated forms with *cik-*, *jig-*, due to forms like *cikāya*, *jigāya* (where the guttural is in accordance with phonetic law) and to the frequency of palatal reduplication of guttural initial; thus perf. *ciky-ur*, part. *ciky-at-*, desid. *cikṛṣate*, impv. *cikṛhi* (AV.), from *cī* 'perceive'; intv. *cēkit-*; *cikī-*, desid. *cikits-*, from *cit* 'perceive'; perf. *jigy-ur*, desid. *jigṛṣate*, *jigyā-* 'victorious',

*ujjemi*), N. of a city; *Δαμουνα* = *yamunā*, N. of a river. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 119.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. WHITNEY on APr. I. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above 30, 3; 31, 3 b; and below 40.

<sup>3</sup> The sphere of the palatals has been extended by analogy at the expense of the gutturals and *vice versa*. The aspirate guttural *kh* appears where the other gutturals are replaced by palatals; thus before the *y* in *khyā* 'see' (but *jyā* 'overpower'; before the thematic *a* of the present: *rikhati* 'sits' (but *dahati*); before the *-ayati* of the Causative: *nikhayati* 'swings' (but *ardayati*); and notably in *sakhi* 'friend': dat. *sākhye*, pl. *sākhibhyas* (Hr. *sachī*): cp. WACKERNAGEL

I, 121 (p. 140, top). The palatal aspirate in fact never represents a guttural aspirate, but only an IE. palatal, or sibilant and palatal.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 24. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 123 a α.

<sup>6</sup> In Av. *gairi*.

<sup>7</sup> This sound had probably not yet become a pure palatal in Hr.

<sup>8</sup> Otherwise the palatal regularly appears before this *i* in perfect forms; e. g. *sacirē* (*sac* 'accompany'); *bhejirē* (*bhaj* 'divide'); *uvōcitha*, *ūciṣe* (*uc* 'be pleased'); *dudōhiṭha* (*duh* 'milk').

from *ji-* 'conquer';  $\gamma$ ) in the pronominal forms *kis*, *kim*, *kīm*, *kīyat*, *kīvant*, *kīdīś*, beside the enclitic *cid*, because owing to the influence of the frequent forms *kā-s*, *kā-d*, etc., *k* appeared to be characteristic of the interrogative pronoun<sup>1</sup>.

2. in the final of roots in which guttural forms predominate, before the  $\gamma$  of the optative and the gerund; thus *dagh-yās*, from *dagh-* 'reach'; *śak-yām*, from *śak-* 'be able'; *sagh-yāsam* (TS.), from *sagh-* 'be equal to'. It also appears very often before the suffixes *-i*, *-ī*, *-in*, *-ya* forming derivatives from nouns the last consonant of which is a guttural: e. g. *plīyogi-* 'descendant of Playoga'; *vrk-ī* 'she-wolf' (*vrka-*); *śāk-in* 'powerful' (*śākd-*); *śrīg-in* 'horned' (*śrīga-*); *upa-vāk-yā-* 'to be praised' (beside *upavācya-*) from *upavākd-* 'praise'. Similarly *drāgh-tyas-* 'longer', *drāgh-iśtha-* 'longest' (beside *drāghd-* 'long', *drāgh-mān-* 'length'); *sphig-ī* 'buttock', with *g* from the nom. *sphik* of *sphij-*, which occurs in the post-Vedic language only.

3. in a certain number of abnormal words, almost invariably at the beginning:

$\alpha$ ) words which may be suspected of foreign origin owing to meaning or phonetic form: *kimśukd-*, *kīyāmbu-* plant names; *kimādn-*, *kikāṭa-*, *kīrāta-* (VS.), *śva-kīśkin-* (AV.) names of foreigners or demons; *kīja-* a kind of utensil; *kilbiṣa-* 'guilt' (contains the rare letter *ḍ*), *kṛtī-* 'singer' (*st* instead of *ṣṭ*);  $\beta$ ) onomatopoeic words: *kikidvī-* 'blue jay'; *kikīrā-kṛ-* 'tear to tatters'; *kīkikīṭā* (TS.) an interjection;  $\gamma$ ) some words of doubtful origin: *kīkāsa-* 'vertebra'; *kīmāra-* 'ploughman'(?); *kīmāsa-* 'ploughman'; *kīlāla-* 'sweet draught'; *kīrmīrd-* (VS.) 'variegated'; *kīśord-* (AV.) 'foal'; *kṛmīla-* (AV. Paipp.) a kind of disease.

37. New palatals as radical initials. — a. Before *a*, *ā*, and diphthongs, both palatals and gutturals are very frequent in Vedic and Iranian. Comparative grammar shows that the palatals occur before a vowel or diphthong representing IE. *ē ē* or a diphthong beginning with *ē ē*<sup>2</sup>; but gutturals before IE. *a o* or sonant nasal. According to this evidence the palatal has come into being in the following words: *ca* 'and'; *cakrā-* 'wheel'; *catvāras* 'four'; *caramā-* 'last'; *carh-* 'pot'; *cāru-* 'agreeable'; *pāñca* 'five'; *jaṭhāra-* 'belly'; *jānī-*, *jāni-* 'woman'; *jāmī-* 'akin'; *hāras-* 'flame'.

On the other hand, the original guttural has remained in *kakīd-* 'peak'; *kāksa-* 'armpit'; *kārī-* 'poet'; *kāta-* 'will'; *gāus* 'cow'; *gharmā-* 'hot'; *ghorā-* 'terrible'; and in the roots *kās-* (AV.) 'cough'; *gadḥ-* 'clasp'; *gā-* 'go'; *gāh-* 'plunge'; *gai-* 'sing'<sup>3</sup>.

b. Among the roots with *ū ū* / *ī ī* as low grade vowels, the only one in which the regular phonetic interchange of palatal and guttural takes place, is *jar-*: *gṛ-* 'call'; *g* appearing before *r ir ar* (= IE. *ōr*), *j* before *ar* (= IE. *ēr*) preceding the thematic *-a-* of the present or the suffix *-tr-*; thus *gṛ-nāti*, *gīr-*, *garā-* (VS.), beside *jārate*, *jarādhyaī*, *jaritṛ-*. In other roots either the guttural or the palatal appears throughout; mostly the guttural, because the forms with *ū ū* / *ī ī* and *o ar al* (= IE. *ōy ōr ōl*), which required the guttural, were more numerous than those with *o ar al* (= IE. *ēy ēr ēl*); thus from *kṛ-* 'do', *ākar* aor. 'has done', *kartṛ-* 'agent', *kārman-* 'action', retain the guttural, though the palatal would be phonetic (as *ar* here = IE. *er*), through the influence of forms with *kṛ-* and of *kāraṇa-* 'deed' (where *ar* = IE. *ōr*).

<sup>1</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 128 a (p. 150, bottom).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Italian and the Balto-Slavic languages which palatalize before *e* as well as *i*.

<sup>3</sup> In the IE. vowel gradation of these roots only *ā* and *ē* appear. In other roots in the IE. vowel gradation of which *ī* is found, an initial palatal would be expected

On the other hand, the palatal appears in *cud*<sup>1</sup>, *cōdati* 'impel'; *scut*, *scotati* 'drip', because here forms with *u*, which required a guttural, were rare; in *car*, *carati* 'move', where the palatal is almost invariably phonetic in RV. (but AV. has *cacāra*); in *crt* 'bind', the palatal has fixed itself in spite of many forms with *r*; while beside *harṣate* 'rejoices', *hṛṣant*, part., both *h* and *gh* occur in weak forms: *hṛṣitā*, *ghṛṣu* 'lively', *ghṛṣvi* 'gladdening'.

c. Among roots in *-an* and *am*, survivals of the regular interchange are found in *kan* 'be pleased', and *han* 'strike'. The former has the palatal (= IE. *kē*) in the aor. *caniṣṭam*, in the superl. *cāniṣṭha*, and in *cānas* 'favour', but otherwise the guttural. In *han*, *h* appears before *an* (= IE. *en*) and, by analogy, also before *an* = *ṇn* and *a* = *ṇ*; but *gh* before *n* and *ā* = IE. *ō*; thus *hān-ti*, inf. *hān-tave*; *han-mas*, *han-yāma*; *ha-thās*, *-ha-tā*, and with *j* in impv. *jahi* (= \**jahāi*), but perf. *jaghāna*, and *ghanā* 'striker', *ghanāghanā* 'found of striking'. In the intv. *jaṅghan*, *gh* stands for *h* before *a* = IE. *ē* owing to the influence of the weak stem *jaṅghn*. In *gam* 'go', *ga* = *gṇ* (e.g. in *gācchati*, *ga-tā*) has led to the use of *gam* = \**jam*, as in *gām-anti*<sup>2</sup>.

d. In the remaining verbs, that is, those with *a* (25) or *e* (22) as high grade vowel, there appears chiefly the palatal throughout; thus *cakṣ*: *cacākṣa* (for \**cakākṣa*). The phonetic guttural is, however, preserved in some forms of the three verbs *ci* 'observe' (perf. *cikāya*); *cit* 'observe' (perf. *cikēta*; *kīta* 'will'; *keti*<sup>3</sup> 'appearance'); and *jī* 'conquer' (perf. *jigīya*; *gāya* 'household'). A guttural not phonetically justified appears before *a* (= IE. *ē*) only in *ghas* 'eat' (aor. *āghas*, subj. *ghas-a-t*) and in *gal* 'drop' (*gal-galiti* VS.).

e. In reduplicative syllables containing *a* of roots having initial guttural or palatal, the palatal always appears in the perfect, pluperfect, or reduplicated aorist; thus *kr* 'make': *cakāra*; *khād* 'chew': *cakhāda*; *gam* 'go': *jagāma*; *ghas* 'eat': *jaghāsa*; *cakṣ* 'see': *cacākṣa*; pluperf. of *kr*: *acakra*; red. aor. of *jas* 'be exhausted': *jajas-tām*. The palatal is here historically phonetic, as the IE. reduplicative vowel was *ē*.

In the intensive, however, the palatal is invariable only when the reduplication is monosyllabic<sup>4</sup>; e.g. *kram* 'stride': *caṇ-kramata*; *gr*: *jā-gr* 'awake'; *han* 'strike': *jaṇ-ghanti*. But when the reduplication is dissyllabic, the guttural<sup>5</sup> predominates; thus *kr*, part. *kāri-kr-at*; *krand* 'roar': *kāni-kra(n)d*; *gam* 'go': *gani-gan*, *gani-gm*; *han* 'strike': *ghani-ghu* (cp. *ghanāghanā*); *skand* 'leap': both *kāni-skand* and *cani-skadat* subj.

38. New palatals as radical finals. a. Verbal forms.—Before the thematic verbal endings (including those of the *a*-aorist and the reduplicated aorist) the final of roots regularly appears as a palatal which, though phonetic<sup>6</sup> only in about the same degree as the guttural, has prevailed. Gutturals are

in certain forms; but few traces of this remain, as the forms of each verb have been normalized.

<sup>1</sup> If *kūtsa* N. is derived from *cud*, and *carṣanti* 'active', from *kr*, the initial consonant has not been affected by the normalizing influence of the roots, because these words have been isolated.

<sup>2</sup> The correct phonetic interchange appears in *jāṅgahe* 'kicks', and *jāṃhas* 'course', if these forms are connected, as BR. think. WHITNEY, *Roots*, however, considers the former an intensive of *gāh* 'plunge'.

<sup>3</sup> Beside *cēru* 'devout', *keru* appears in the compound *māhi-keru* 'very devout'; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 101 (43 b).

<sup>4</sup> In the post-Vedic language, the palatal is invariable even in dissyllabic reduplication.

<sup>5</sup> But if the initial of the root is a palatal, the reduplicative consonant is of course always a palatal; thus *cand* 'shine': *cāniṣcad*; *car* 'move': *carācarā*; *cal* 'move': *calācalā* 'ever moving'. Cp. 32 a.

<sup>6</sup> Phonetically we should have \**pākāmi* (IE. *ō*), *pāc-asi* and *pāc-ati* (IE. *ē*).

rare at the end of the root, appearing only<sup>1</sup> in *śak-* 'be able'; 2. sing. *śak-as*; *sagh-* 'be equal to': 3. sing. *sagh-at*; *dagh-* 'reach': *dagh-at* (TS.); in these roots the guttural prevails throughout owing to the influence of the present stem *śak-nu-*, *sagh-nu-*<sup>2</sup>. Even in the non-thematic presents and in the perfect the palatal carried the day, though phonetic in still fewer forms; thus the guttural alone would be historically justified in the forms *yunājā*, *yuñje*; *yuyōja*<sup>3</sup>. The palatal further regularly appears before the causative<sup>4</sup> suffix *-āya-*, where it is phonetic (= IE. *ēje*); e. g. *arc-āya-ti* from *arc-* 'praise'<sup>5</sup>.

b. As shown by the appearance, in cognate forms, of a guttural before other consonants than *s*, the final of the following verbs is a new palatal: *añj-* 'anoint'; *ej-* 'stir'; *tij-* 'sharpen'; *tuj-* 'beat'; *tyaj-* 'forsake'; *nij-* 'wash'; *bhaj-* 'divide'; *bhañj-* 'break'; *bhuj-* 'bend'; *yuj-* 'yoke'; *rañj-* 'colour'; *ruj-* 'break'; *viñj-* 'shoot up'; *vñj-* 'turn'; *śñj-* 'sound'; *sañj-* 'attach'; *svañj-* 'embrace'; also in the noun *śrāj-* 'garland'.

c. Apart from being the result of the Sandhi of *d + j*, *jj* is shown by the evidence of cognate languages to be derived from a sibilant + guttural (= IE. *zg*) and thus to belong to the series of new palatals in *majjān-* 'marrow'; *rājju-* 'rope'; *bhṛjyāti* 'roasts'; *majjati* 'dives', from which is derived *madgū-* (VS.) 'diver' (a bird).

d. Nominal derivatives. 1. Before the suffix *-a*, the final of the root *γ* is mostly guttural, because the *a* in nearly all the cases of the noun represents IE. *ō*. The rule in the RV. is that the guttural appears before both unaccented *-a* and accented *-ā*, but the palatal before accented *-ā* only<sup>6</sup>; e. g. *abhī-droh-ā-*, *druh-ā-* 'injury'; *drōgh-a-* 'injuring'; *bhuj-ā-* 'liberal'; *bhōg-a-* 'enjoyment'; *a-yuj-ā-* 'companionless'; *yōg-a-* 'yoking'; *ruj-ā-* 'breaking'; *rīg-a-* (AV.) 'disease'; *vevij-ā-* 'swift'; *vōg-a-* (AV.) 'speed'; *śuc-ā-* 'bright'; *śūk-a-* 'flame'; *ruc-ā-* (VS.) and *roc-ā-* (AV.) 'shining'; *rōk-a-* and *rok-ā-* 'light'.

2. Before the suffix *-as*, the palatal generally appears, as it is for the most part phonetically required; e. g. *ij-as-* 'force'; *ug-rī-* 'mighty'. The guttural, however, prevailed in *āñk-as-* 'bend'; *āj-as-* 'offence'; *ny-ogh-as-* 'streaming'; *bhārg-as-* 'brilliance'; as there were no corresponding verbs with palatal beside these words; it also prevailed in *ōk-as-* 'ease' and *ny-ōkas-* 'comfortable', as well as *-śok-as-* 'flaming', though there are such verbs (*uc-* 'be pleased', and *śuc-* 'shine').

3. Before other suffixes beginning with *a*, the final of the root is generally palatal; thus before *-ana* (= IE. *-eno-*), *vac-anā-* 'speaking'; *tēj-ana-* 'act of sharpening'; *manṣ-āna-* 'gift'<sup>8</sup>; before *-ant*, *-āna* (under the influence of

<sup>1</sup> Apart from roots ending in *kh*, see 35, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> In *nī-mēgha-māna-* 'drenching oneself', the *gh* seems to be phonetic (as *-anāna* = *-ānenā*). In *vālgate* (AV.) 'springs', the guttural is perhaps due to the preceding *l*, as neither *lj* nor *lc* is ever found to occur.

<sup>3</sup> This normalization of the palatal is probably Indo-Iranian, see J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 25, 104.

<sup>4</sup> The denominatives in *-ayā-* (IE. *ejē* and *ojē*) follow the noun from which they are derived; e. g. from *aghā-* 'evil', *aghāyāti* 'wishes to injure'.

<sup>5</sup> The causative *ingāyati* of *ējati* 'stirs' is probably due to an old present base *\*inag-*, *ing-* formed according to the 7th class, the phonetic form *-iñjayati* is found in the BAU. VI. 4, 23.

<sup>6</sup> The fluctuation of words in *-a* probably *×* arose from some cases in oxytones having had IE. *ē*, others *ō*; hence in some words the palatal prevailed throughout, in others the guttural. The agent-nouns, being mostly oxytone, show a preference for the palatal, which originally appeared in oxytones only. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 128 a (p. 150, note, end).

<sup>7</sup> A palatal before an unaccented *-a* first appears in *dōh-a-* (RV. x. 122), otherwise *dōgh-a-* 'milking'; *mōh-a-* (AV.) 'delusion', beside *mōgh-a-* 'vain'; *krīñc-a-* (VS.) 'curlew', is probably only an extension of *krīñc-* (VS.)

<sup>8</sup> The *gh* of *jaghāna-* 'buttock', is phonetic (Gk. *κοχών*).

verbal forms), e. g. *dūh-āna-* and *duduh-ānā*<sup>1</sup>; before *-ata* (= IE. *-ētō*), e. g. *pac-atā-* 'cooked'<sup>2</sup>; before *-an* in *majj-ān-* 'marrow'<sup>3</sup>.

4. Nouns formed without suffix (including infinitives and gerunds) have the palatal of the corresponding verb; e. g. *ṛ́c-as*, nom. pl. 'food'; *ā-ṛ́c-as* and *ā-ṛ́c-e* 'to satisfy'; *tuj-āye* 'to procreate'. A guttural of course appears where the verb has a guttural only; e. g. *pra-tīnk-am* (AV.) 'gliding' (*tak*-run').

5. The suffix *-ka* is treated analogously to the final guttural of roots<sup>4</sup>. The guttural regularly appears except when the suffix, being attached to unaccented prepositions, is itself accented; thus *asmā-ka-* 'our'; *yuṣmā-ka-* 'your'; *āpā-ka-* 'coming from afar'; *abhī-ka-* 'collision'; and even with the suffix accented in locatives such as *upā-ké*, *upā-kīyos* 'in the vicinity' and in the abl. *parā-kāt* 'from a distance'; but *uc-cā* and *uc-cāis* 'above'; *parā-cāis* 'aside'; *paś-cā* and *paś-cāt* 'behind'; *prā-cāis* 'forwards'.

39. Irregular palatalization.—Before *ṛ* and consonants (except *y*), the gutturals were not originally palatalized. Hence roots which regularly have palatals before *a* and diphthongs, usually retain the guttural before *u* and consonants. Thus from *ric-* 'leave', *rék-u-* 'empty', *rék-u-as-* 'property', perf. part. *ririk-vāms-*; 3. sing. pres. *riṇák-ti*, 2. sing. perf. mid. *ririk-se* (but opt. *riric-yāt*); *ug-rā-* 'mighty', beside *bj-as-* 'strength'; *ghn-* beside *han-* 'strike'. Nevertheless palatals appear by analogy before *u*, *ṛ*, *n*, *m*, *r*, *v*:

a. initially: *r*. in the roots *ścut-* 'drip', *crt-* 'bind', *hṛs-* 'rejoice', in which the unphonetic palatal before the low grade vowel<sup>5</sup> is due to the phonetic palatal before the high grade vowels *o* (= IE. *ēu*) and *ar* (= IE. *ér*).

2. in the reduplicative syllables *cu-*<sup>6</sup> and *ju-* of the perfect and aorist (in RV. occurring only in *cyu-* 'shake', *gup-* 'guard', *gur-* 'praise') for older *\*ca-* *\*ja-* (*a* = *ē*, the IE. reduplicative vowel).

b. finally: *r*. in verbal inflexion, the palatal which appears before *a* and diphthongs always appears also before *u*, and nearly always before *m* and *r* (instead of the phonetic guttural); thus *sisic-ur* beside *sisic-atur*, *sisic-e*, from *sic-* 'pour'; *bubhuj-māhe* beside *bhunāj-āmahe*, from *bhuj-* 'enjoy'; *añj-mas* beside *añj-ānti*, *ānj-an* from *añj-* 'anoint'; *riric-ré* beside *riric-é*, from *ric-* 'leave'; *á-yuj-ran*, *yuyuj-ré* beside *yuyuj-é*, from *yuj-* 'yoke'; *duh-ré*, *duh-rate*, *duduh-ré*, *duh-rām* and *duh-ratām* (AV.) beside *duh-é*, from *duh-* 'milk'.

The guttural, however, regularly remains before the *-nu* of the 5th class: *śak-nu-* 'be able', *sagh-nu-* 'be equal to', spreading thence to other forms<sup>7</sup>. Phonetic *k* remains before *m* in *vṛvak-mi* from *vac-* 'speak'; and before *r* in *vāvah-re* beside *vac-yāte*, *vānc-ati* (AV. VS.) from *vānc-* 'move crookedly'.

2. in nominal derivation the guttural as a rule remains<sup>8</sup>: e. g. *ruk-rā-* 'broken', from *ruj-* 'break'; *ruk-mā-* 'brilliant', from *ruc-* 'shine'; *śuk-rā-*, *śuk-lā-* (AV.) 'bright', from *śuc-* 'shine'; *pak-vā-* 'ripe', from *pac-* 'cook'. The perf. part. for the most part follows this rule: e. g. *ru-ruk-vāms-*, from *ruc-* 'shine';

<sup>1</sup> Strictly phonetic (but rarer) is *dūgh-āna-* 'milking'; also *vāgh-āt-* (IE. *-gūt-*) 'instigator of a sacrifice'.

<sup>2</sup> The *k* in *sik-atā-* (AV. VS.) 'sand', is phonetic (IE. *-sta-*).

<sup>3</sup> Beside *yāk-ri* (AV.) 'liver', and *śāk-ri* 'dung', the *k* is found in the stems *yāk-an-*, *śāk-an-*, but only in weak forms before *n* or *a* (= *ṇ*): *yāk-nās*, *yāk-nā* (VS.); *śāk-nā* (VS.); *śāk-nās* (AV.); *śāka-bhis* (TS.)

<sup>4</sup> See above 38 d, 1; WACKERNAGEL I, 129.

<sup>5</sup> The phonetic guttural, however, appears in *ghṛs-u-* 'lively', *ghṛsvi-* 'gladdening'; while

on the other hand the palatal appears unphonetically before *u* in the intv. part. *car-cūryā-māna-* from *car-* 'move'.

<sup>6</sup> Otherwise *cu-* occurs only in the onomatopoeic *ni-cumpunā-* 'swell' — and in a few words suggestive of foreign origin: *almuri-*, N. of a demon; *cu-punīkā-*, N. of a *kṛttikā* (TS.).

<sup>7</sup> Also *dagh-nu-* 'reach', in a Brāhmaṇa passage of the Kāthaka, and *stigh-ni-* 'mount', in a similar one of the TS.

<sup>8</sup> COLLITZ, BB. 3, 230 f.; J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 25, 70 f.



*vi-vik-vāms-*, from *vic-* 'divide'; *ok-i-vāms-* (36 a), from *uc-* 'find pleasure' (but dat. sing. *uc-iṣ-e*).

The following are, however, exceptions: *āj-man-* 'might'<sup>1</sup>; *bhuj-mán-* 'fruitful'; *mih-ur* 'suddenly'; *druh-ih-* (AV.) 'injurer'; *yāc-āyā-* (AV.) 'request'.

40. The old palatals (*ch, j, ś, h*). — The aspirate *ch*. This sound is, in pronunciation, the aspirate of *c*<sup>2</sup> and is therefore represented in reduplication by *c*. But in origin *ch* has nothing to do with *c*. The fact that after a mute it takes the place of *ś* in Sandhi shows that it is allied to *ś*. In fact, unlike *j* and *h*, it belongs exclusively to the old series of palatals; for it does not interchange with a guttural *kṣ*<sup>3</sup>. In the Avesta *ch* is regularly represented by *s* and in cognate European languages by a conjunct consonant beginning with *s* and standing for IE. *skh* (that is, *s* + palatal mute aspirate); e. g. *chid-* 'cut off', Gk. *σχιδ-*. This in Indo-Iranian probably became *śkh*, which differentiated into Avestic *s* and Vedic *ch*. In the inchoative suffix *-cha* (*gācchati*, Gk. *βάσσω*) this palatal aspirate seems to represent IE. *skē*, a conclusion which is supported by the old inchoative verb *rapśate* 'is full' = *rap(s)śate*, where after the *s* has been dropped between two consonants<sup>4</sup>, *ś* = IE. *ḱ* remained. Thus *ch* represents a double sound and metrically lengthens a preceding short vowel. Hence the RPr. (vi. 1) prescribes the doubling of *ch* (that is *c-ch*) between vowels. Though the Vedic Mss. almost invariably write *ch*<sup>5</sup> and AUFRECHT's edition of the RV. and v. SCHROEDER's edition of the MS.<sup>6</sup> follow this practice, the spelling *cch* is to be preferred.

a. In *śākhā-* 'branch', the initial *ś* probably stands for *ch* owing to the law by which two aspirates in the same syllable are avoided<sup>7</sup>.

b. In a few instances *ch* is a Prakritic representative of *ks* and *ps*: *ṛcchārā-* (AV.) beside *ṛkṣālā-* (VS.)<sup>8</sup>, part of an animal's leg; *kṛcchrā-* 'distress', perhaps for *\*kṛpsrā-*, and allied to *kṛpate* 'laments', and *kṛpāna-* 'misery'<sup>9</sup>.

41. The old palatal *j*. — This *j* is the media of *ś* (while as a new palatal it is the media of *c*). It is recognizable as an old palatal by the following indications:

1. when there are parallel forms with *ś* before *t, th*, or a cerebral appears either as final or before mutes; e. g. beside *yāj-ati* 'sacrifices', *yās-ṭi-* 'sacrificer', *iṣ-ṭā-* 'sacrificed', *a-yūṭ* 'has sacrificed'; similarly in the roots *bhraj-* 'shine'; *mṛj-* 'wipe off'; *rāj-* 'rule'; *raj-* 'tremble'(?); *vraj-* 'wander'; *śij-* 'send forth'; possibly also in *bhrajj-* 'roast'<sup>10</sup>.

2. when in the form in question or in cognate forms, sounds follow which do not palatalize gutturals<sup>11</sup>, that is, *u r n m r v*; such are: *āj-ra-* 'plain'; *āj-ma(n)-* 'course'; *ārjuna-* 'white', *ṛj-rā-* 'reddish'; *ṛj-l-* 'straight', *ṛj-tyas-*

<sup>1</sup> Under the influence of *āj-tyas-* 'stronger' and *āj-iṣṭha-* 'strongest', such nouns in *-man-* being often closely connected with comparatives and superlatives.

<sup>2</sup> In the Kāthaka *ch* is spelt *śch*, which is probably only a provincial assibilation, and not the survival of an older sound; cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 27, 332.

<sup>3</sup> *mārkṣā-* 'dull', occurring in a B. passage of the TS., is probably a new formation analogous to *śakā-* (AV.) from *śacati*. Some scholars hold that there is an etymological connection between *chand-* 'appear', *chand-as-* 'song', and *śkāndati* 'leaps'; between *chid-* 'cut off' and *khid-* 'press'; between *ch-ā-* (AV.) 'cut off' and *khā-* (*khan-*) 'dig'. Cp. WACKER-NAGEL I, 131, note, bottom.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. above p. 25 note 6; cp. here *cch* = *t + ś*

in Sandhi and *duccchānā-* for *\*dus-śunā-* 'misfortune'.

<sup>5</sup> Except those of the Kāthaka, which write *śch* (cp. note 2).

<sup>6</sup> Also ROTH's ed. of the Nirukta and MACDONELL's ed. of the Bṛhaddevatā; cp. AUFRECHT, RV<sup>2</sup>, p. vi.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. 32.

<sup>8</sup> On AV. Ms. spelling *ch* for *ks* in two or three words, see WHITNEY, JAOS. 12, 92, 175.

<sup>9</sup> On the origin of *ch*, cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 240; on the sound as a whole, WACKER-NAGEL I, 133 f.

<sup>10</sup> But cp. 38 c, and WACKER-NAGEL I, 139.

<sup>11</sup> Apart of course from the exceptions due to analogy: see 39.

'straighter', *rāj-iṣṭha* 'straightest'; *jānu-* 'knee' beside *jūnu-*; *jṛmbh-* 'yawn'<sup>1</sup>; *jñā-* 'know'; *jṃd-*, gen. *jṃ-ās* 'earth'; *jri-* 'go'; *jvārā-* 'suffering'; *paj-rā-* 'fat'; *maj-mūn-* 'greatness'; *vāj-ra-* 'thunderbolt'; *jurāti*, *jāryati*, *jujur-vāṇs-*, *jūr-nā-*, from *jī-* 'grow old'.

3. when in inflexional forms, in which roots with a new palatal show a guttural, the *j* remains; e. g. *jajāna* from *jan-* 'beget'; *jajāsa* (AV.) from *jas-* 'be exhausted'; *jujūsa* from *juṣ-* 'like'; *jujur-vāṇs-*, *jajāra* (AV.), from *jī-* 'grow old'<sup>2</sup>.

4. when *j* is the reduplication of an old palatal *j* or *h*; e. g. *jajāna*, *jajāra* (AV.), *jūhōti*.

5. when it is shown to be an old palatal by the evidence of the cognate languages; thus in *ajā-* 'he-goat', *ajā-* 'goat'; *ajīna-* (AV.) 'skin'; *ūrj-* 'nourishment'; *jāṇhas-* 'course'; *jāṅghā-* 'leg'; *jambh-* 'chew up'; *jāmātr-* 'son-in-law'; *dhraṇj-* 'sweep'; *bhiṣaj-* 'heal'; *rajatā-* 'silvery'; *vāja-* 'swiftness'; *ṛjipyā-* 'going straight'.

a. It is **uncertain** whether *j* represents an old or a new palatal in the following words:

1. because the comparative evidence is conflicting: *vi-jāman-* 'related'; *jū-* 'hasten'; *jyā-*, *jināti* 'overpower'<sup>3</sup>.

2. because the Vedic and comparative evidence is insufficient: *ubj-* 'coerce'; *kūj-* (AV.) 'hum'; *jāñjat-*, pres. part., of uncertain meaning (á. λ.); *járate* 'approaches'; *jéhamāna-* 'panting'; *jihmā-* 'transverse'; *dhvāj-*, *dhvajā-* 'banner'; *paj-* 'be rigid' (in *āpa...pāpaje* 'started back'); *-pūjana-* 'honouring'; *bajā-* a kind of plant; *bīja-* 'seed'; *mūṇja-* 'sedge'.

b. **Irregular *j*.**—1. As the two kinds of *j* were indistinguishable in pronunciation, a guttural sometimes intruded among the old palatals owing to the analogy of the new palatals; thus from *bhiṣaj-* 'heal', *bhiṣák-tama-*, spv., *bhiṣák-ti*, 3. sing. pres., *a-bhiṣnak*, 3. sing. impf. (like *anak-ti* from *añj-* 'anoint'; from *mṛj-* 'wipe': *nt-mṛg-ra-* 'attached', *apā-mārgā-* (AV.) a kind of plant, *vi-mṛg-var-* (AV.) 'cleanly'; from *srj-* 'discharge', *asṛg-ram*, *asṛgram*, *ásasṛgmāhe* (SV.) beside *sasṛjgmāhe*; from *jī-* 'grow old', *jāgāra* (AV.) beside *ijajāra* (AV.).

2. The guttural beside the palatal may be due to IE. dialectic variety in *gnā-* 'woman' beside *jan-* 'beget'; *gm-ās* beside *jṃ-ās* 'of the earth'; *bhārgas-* 'splendour', *bhṛgu-* a name, beside *bhrāj-* 'shine'.

3. In *jyōtis-* 'light', *jy* seems, by an old Prakritism, to represent *dy*, as the word is probably derived from *dyut-* 'shine'.

4. The media aspirate *jh*<sup>4</sup> occurs only in one form, *jājhyhat-* (RV.<sup>5</sup>), a pres. part. probably meaning 'laughing' as an epithet of lightning (a metaphor connected with lightning elsewhere also in the RV.); it appears to be derived, by an old Prakritism, from *has-* 'laugh': *jhjh* probably for *jjh*<sup>5</sup> here = IE. *gzh*, which otherwise would become *kṣ-*, as in *jāks-at-*, part., 'laughing'.

42. **The cerebrals.**—The designation given to these sounds by the native phoneticians<sup>6</sup>, *mūrdhanya* 'produced in the head', indicates that they were pronounced at the highest point in the mouth nearest the (upper part

<sup>1</sup> In which only forms with *r* occur; cp., however, HÜBSCHMANN, KZ. 23, 393.

<sup>2</sup> The only instance of a new palatal (*c j h* = *k g gh*) before *ñr* (= IE. *ṛ*) is *carcūryā-māna-* (RV. x). For some more or less doubtful examples of old palatal *j*, see WACKERNAGEL I, 137 b note.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. I, 137 e, note.

<sup>4</sup> The other two old palatals *ś* and *h* will be dealt with below in their alphabetical order: 54, 58.

<sup>5</sup> The Kashmir Ms. of the RV. reads *jājhyhat* for *jājhyhat* (v. 52<sup>6</sup>): SCHEFFTELOWITZ, WZKM. 21, 86.

<sup>6</sup> See RPR. I. 19; APR. I. 32; TPR. II. 37.

of the) head. They are described by the Prātiśākhya as pronounced by turning the tip of the tongue up to the roof of the mouth and bending it backwards. They were therefore pronounced farther back in the mouth than the palatals. This is also their pronunciation at the present day in India. An indication that it was such even in Vedic times is the fact that *ḍ* is sometimes found in the later Samhitās interchanging, between vowels, with *ḷ*<sup>1</sup> (which itself interchanges with *r*), and that in the RV. itself *ḍ* *ḍh* become *ḷ* *ḷh* between vowels. It is also to be noted that the Greeks reproduced *ḍ* not only with *δ*, but also with *ρ*<sup>2</sup>. The cerebrals, however, were a specifically Indian product, being unknown in the Indo-Iranian period<sup>3</sup>. They are still rare in the RV., where they occur medially and finally only. According to most scholars, they are due to aboriginal, especially Dravidian, influence<sup>4</sup>. As a rule, they have arisen immediately after *ś* or an *r* sound from dentals. But before consonants and finally they may represent the old palatals *j ś h*.

a. The voiceless cerebrals *ṭ ṭh* take the place of the dentals *t th* after *ś* (= *s*, *ś* or *j*); e. g. *vṛṣ-ṭi* 'rain' (suffix *-ti*); *duṣ-ṭāra* 'invincible' (= *dus-tāra*); *nākiṣ te* (= *nākiś te*); *vāś-ṭi* 'wishes' (= *vās-ti*); *mṛṣ-ṭā* 'cleansed' (= *mṛj-tā*)<sup>5</sup>. Similarly the voiced cerebrals *ḍ ḍh* take the place of the dentals *d dh* after *\*z* (= *s* or old palatal *j*, *h*), which has disappeared<sup>6</sup>; e. g. *nṛḍā* 'nest' (= IE. *nizd-*); *dū-ḍhī* 'ill-disposed' (= *dus-dhī*); *īḍ-ḍ* 'I worship' (*\*iṣ-ḍ* = *ij-d* for *yaj-d*); *ārḍhā* 'firm' (= *ār-h-tā*). The preceding voiced sibilant *\*z* (= *s* and *ś*) has (instead of disappearing) itself become *ḍ* in *ḍiḍiḍ-ḍhī* (from *dis* 'show') and *viviḍ-ḍhī* (from *viś* 'be active')<sup>7</sup>.

a. When the dental here was immediately followed by an *r* sound, the cerebralization seems originally to have been stopped. Hence *ḍṛḍhrā* (= *ḍṛh-tra*), beside *ḍṛḍhā* (= *ḍṛh-tā*) 'firm'; and though *ṣṭr* occurs several times in the RV.<sup>8</sup>, the *r* seems to have been dropped in pronunciation, as the only stems ending in *-ṣṭra* which show a case-form with *n*, do not cerebralize it: *īṣṭrānām* and *rāṣṭrānām*, as if no *r* preceded. In TS. I. 2. 5<sup>2</sup>, *r* is actually dropped after *ṣṭ* in *tvāṣṭīmatī* 'accompanied by Tvaṣṭri'.

b. In several instances a cerebral appears by an evident **Prakritism**, in place of a dental originally preceded by an *r* (or *ḷ*) sound; thus *vi-kāṭa* 'monstrous', beside *kṛ-tā* 'made'; *kāṭā* 'depth', beside *kartā*<sup>9</sup> 'pit'; *avaṭā* (SV. VS.) 'pit', beside *avār*<sup>10</sup> 'down'<sup>11</sup>; and as shown by comparative evidence, *kāṭuka* 'sharp'; *kūḍayati* 'singes'; *kēvaṭa* 'pit'; *jāḍhu* 'dull'; *kūṭā* (AV. TS.) 'hornless'. In the following words, though cognate languages show *ḷ*<sup>12</sup>, the cerebral is similarly based on Indian *r* or *r*<sup>13</sup> + dental: *kūṭa* 'frontal bone'; *jaṭhūra* 'belly'; *taḍīt* 'contiguous'; *tūḍa* (AV.) 'blow'; *phūḍa* 'lump'; *kūṇḍa* (AV.) 'piece'<sup>14</sup>.

c. Cerebrals have in some instances supplanted dentals owing to the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. VPr. IV. 143; v. BRADKE, KZ. 28, 298.

<sup>2</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 143, note.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. I, 144.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., note.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. above 41, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. above 17, 5.

<sup>7</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 145 a, note (end). Cp. 42 d (p. 34) end.

<sup>8</sup> In *rāṣṭrā* 'dominion', *īṣṭra* 'buffalo', *deṣṭrī* 'Directress'; *dāṁṣṭra* 'tooth'; *ṣṭr* in *ā-ni-ṣṭra* 'not shaken off', *tvāṣṭr-mant* 'accompanied by Tvaṣṭr'; *nḍr* in *kunḍr-nāci* 'house-lizard'(?).

<sup>9</sup> WACKERNAGEL I, 146 a.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3, 179.

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps also *reṇūka-kāṭa* 'stirring dust', Indo-arische Philologie. I. 4.

if from *kṛi* 'cut'; but see BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3, 180 f.

<sup>12</sup> IE. *ḷ* by rhotacism became *r* in Ilr.

<sup>13</sup> MS. II. 47 has the reading *jīnva rāvat* for that of TS. II. 4. 7<sup>1</sup> *jīnvār āvāt* and K. XI. 9 *jīnva rāvat*. Cp. below p. 70, note 4.

<sup>14</sup> The cerebral could be similarly accounted for in *kūṭa* (RV.) 'house'(?), if it is related to *kula*-(*pa*-) 'family', and *kulāya* (AV.) 'nest'. In *daṇḍā* 'staff' if identical with Gk. *δέσπορ* (J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 25, 52, note 1) we seem to have an instance of a cerebral for a dental + following *r*, but such a change seems not to be in accordance with the phonetic laws of either Vedic (cp. *ḍṛḍhrā*, above a, α) or Prakrit. On two other examples of this supposed change, *āṇḍā*

analogy of similar words with phonetic cerebral. In *padbhis* 'with feet', and perhaps *pād-grōhi-*, N., it is due to *padbhīs*, inst. pl. of both *pās-* 'look', and of *pās-* 'cord', and to *pād-bīsa-*, *pād-vīsa* (VS.) 'fetter', which is derived from *pās-* 'cord'. *Vāsaṭ* and *śrāusaṭ*, sacrificial calls, probably for *vākṣat* and *\*śrōṣat* (3. sing. aor. subj. of *vah-* 'convey', and *śru-* 'hear'), seem to owe their cerebral to the influence of the sacrificial call *vāt* (VS.), *vāt* (TS.), 3. sing. aor. of *√vah-*. The *ḍ* of *puroḍāś-* 'sacrificial cake' (from *dās-* 'worship'), is perhaps due to *du-dās-* 'impious' (for *duḥ-dās-*)<sup>2</sup>.

d. In a few instances a cerebral *t* or *q* appears in place of the cerebral sibilant *s*. The phonetic representative of the latter before *bh* would be *ḍ* (parallel to *ḍ* for IE. *z* before *bh*)<sup>3</sup>, where it appears in *viprīḍ-bhis* (VS.) 'with drops'. From here the cerebral spread to the nom. sing., where it appears in *vi-prīṭ* (AV.) 'drop', from *pruṣ-* 'sprinkle', and in *edhamāna-dvīṭ* 'hating the arrogant' (from *dviṣ-* 'hate').

The cerebral *ḍ* also appears before the *-dhi* of the 2. sing. impv. for *s* in *avidḍhi* (= *avi-s-dhi*) aor. of *av-* 'favour', and in *vividḍhi* (= *viviṣ-dhi*), red. aor. of *viṣ-* 'be active'. The phonetic form here would be *\*vīḍh* (= *iḥ-dh*)<sup>4</sup>, instead of which *iḍḍh* appears under the influence, perhaps, of the cognate verbal forms with the short vowel (*aviṣṣu*, *aviṣṣām* etc.).

43. Cerebrals in many instances represent the old palatals *j ś ḥ*. They are found thus:

a. as final: *i*. in nom. sing. m. f.: *bhrāt* 'lustre' (*bhrāj-*); *rāt* 'ruler' (*rāj-*); *vipāt*, N. of a river (*vipās-*); *vīt* 'settlement' (*vīs-*), *spāt* 'spying' (*spās-*); *sāt* 'overcoming' (*sāh-*); *-vāt* 'conducting' (*-vāh-*), *paṣṭhavāt* (VS.), *-vāt* (TS.). The guttural *k* would have been phonetic in this case, as the nom. sing. originally ended in *s*<sup>5</sup>, and even the old palatals became *k* before *s*; the cerebral must here therefore be due to the influence of forms in which it was phonetic.

2. in nom. acc. *śāt*, from *śās-* 'six'. As *k* might have been expected (IE. *sveḱs*), the cerebral is doubtless due to forms containing *śas-*, as *śaṣṭi-* 'sixty', *śaṣṭhā-* (AV. VS.) 'sixth'.

3. in the first member of a compound, where the final of the nom. sing. appears, in *śāt-* 'six', and *pād-* (from *pās-* 'cord', in *pād-bīsa-*).

4. in 2. 3. sing. aor. for the radical palatal after the endings have been dropped: thus *ā-bhrāt* (*bhrāj-* 'shine'); *yāt* (*yaj-* 'sacrifice'); *rāt* (*rāj-* 'shine'); *naṭ*, *ā-naṭ* (*naṣ-* 'reach'); *ā-prāt* (*praṣ-* 'ask' in *praṣ-nā-* 'question'); *ā-vāt* (*vah-* 'convey'). Here *t* is phonetic in the 3. pers. only, standing for *ṣ-t* (= IE. *k-t*). It has been transferred to the 2. sing., where *k* would be phonetic (standing

'egg', and *maṇḍūka-* 'frog', see WACKERNAGEL I, 147, note.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. I, 148 a (p. 172, top).

<sup>2</sup> The form *vy-āvāt* in MS. III. 49 (B.) beside *vy-āvāt*, AV. VIII. 121, from *vi-vas-* 'shine forth', is probably due to the influence of *ā-vāt*, aor. of *√vah-*; but cp. BARTHOLOMAE, Studien I, 24, note. On the cerebral in *avātā-* (SV. VS.), beside *avatā-*, *naḍā-* 'reed', beside *naḍā-*, and in *kīṭā-* (AV.), *markṭā-* (VS.) cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 148 b, note.

<sup>3</sup> See below 44 a, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. above 17, 5.

<sup>5</sup> This phonetic *k* for an old palatal is preserved in the nominatives *-ḍīk* 'seeing' (*ḍrṣ-*), *-ṣṭīk* 'touching' (*ṣṣṭṣ-*), *-ṣṭīk* 'desiring' (*ṣṣṭṣ-*), *an-āk* 'eyeless' (*-ākṣ-*: *as-* 'penetrate');

*rvīk* 'sacrificer' (*√yaj-*); *ūrīk* (VS.) 'nourishment' (*ūrj-*); *dīk* (AV.) 'region' (*dīs-*). For *-ḍīk*, the later Samhitās have *-ḍīn* also. In the n. nom. the m. f. form appears: *-ḍīk*, *-ṣṭṭīk*; but as there was no *s* here, it must be assumed that the cerebral was originally used in these neuter forms. In *bhiṣṭāj-* 'healer', the *k* has spread from the nom. to other cases, where it is not phonetic (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 138). The original value of the palatal in *uṣij-* 'desiring', *uṣīh-* (AV. VS.), a kind of metre, which have *k* in the nom. is uncertain. The *k* in the nom. *nāk* 'night' is probably not based on an old palatal *ś* (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 149 a α, note).

for *k-s* = IE. *k̥s*). The reverse transference of *k* to the 3. sing. has taken place in *prā nak* beside *ā-naṣ* (*naṣ*- 'reach') and in *d-srāk* (from *srj-* 'discharge').

**b. before consonant suffixes:**

1. the phonetic cerebral appears before case-endings beginning with *bh* in *paḍ-bhis*, from *pās-* 'look' and 'cord'; *viḍ-bhis* from *viś-* 'settlement'; *sarād-bhyas* 'for the bees' (probably from *\*sarāh-*); *śaḍ-bhis*<sup>1</sup>. In *anaḍlūt-bhyas* (AV.), from *anaḍ-vāh-* 'bull', *ḍ* appears for *ḍ* by dissimilation; while the guttural of the nom. instead of the phonetic *ḍ* appears in *susamḍṛg-bhis* (from *ḍṛs-* 'see') 'fair to see' and in *dig-bhyās* (AV.) from *dis-* 'region'.

2. before the *-su* of the loc. pl. *k* is phonetic, and appears in *vik-sū*, from *viś-*, in spite of the unphonetic *ṣ* of the nom. *viṣ*. But owing to the influence of the other cases the unphonetic cerebral (in the form of *t* dissimilated for *ṣ*) appears in *anaḍlūt-su*.

3. before the *dhi* of the 2. sing. impv. the cerebral is phonetic in *dididdhi*, from *dis-*<sup>2</sup>; also in *z* (= *s*), which after cerebralizing the *dḥ* is dropped, leaving a compensating length, in *tāḍhi* from *taks-* 'hew' (= IE. *tegadhi*); also in *ṣo-dhā* 'sixfold' (for *ṣas-dhā* : *as-*, like *as-*, becoming *o* before a voiced mute)<sup>3</sup>.

**c. The cerebrals in the following words have not been satisfactorily explained:** *aghātī-* and *ā-ghātā-* (AV.) 'striker', beside *-ā-ghāta-* (VS.); *āṇḍā-* 'egg'; *iḍānt-* (x. 171) 'wandering'(?), *kūṭa-* 'house'(?); *kūṭa-* 'frontal bone'; *kṛpīta-* 'fuel'(?); *maṇḍūka-* 'frog'; *iṭa-* (AV.) 'reed'; *rarāṭa-* (VS.), *lalāṭa-* (AV.) 'forehead'. Some others, mostly containing *b*, may be suspected of non-Aryan origin: *bāt*, *baḍā*, interjections; *baṭūrīn-* 'broad'(?), *bīriṭa-* 'troop'(?); *bekanāṭa-* 'usurer'; *āḍāmbara-* (VS.) 'drum'; *khaḍgā-* (VS. MS.) 'rhinoceros'; *cāṇḍālā-* (VS.) 'outcast'; *markāṭa-* (VS.) 'ape'.

**44. The dentals.**—The dentals are at the present day pronounced as interdental in India, but according to the Prāṭisākhya<sup>4</sup> they were post-dental, being produced at the root of the teeth (*dantamūla*). They represent IE. dentals, corresponding to similar sounds in the cognate languages. When two IE. dentals met, there seems to have been a tendency to change the first to a sibilant<sup>5</sup>. A survival of this appears in some Vedic combinations of *d* or *dḥ* with *dḥ*, which point to an earlier *zdḥ*, viz. in *de-hi*, beside *dad-dhi* 'give'; *dhe-hi* (for *\*dhaḍh-dhi*) 'put'; *kīye-dhā* 'containing much', in all of which examples *e* is based on IIr. *az*<sup>6</sup>.

**a. Change of *s* to *t*.** The dental sibilant as the final of roots or nominal stems becomes *t*<sup>7</sup>:

1. before the *s* of verbal suffixes (future, aorist, desiderative) in the three verbs *vas-* 'dwell', *vas-* 'shine', and *ghas-* 'eat': thus *avātsis* (AV.) 'thou hast dwelt'; *vāt-syati* (MS.) 'will shine'; *jighat-sati* (AV.) 'desires to eat', and *jighat-sū-* (AV.) 'hungry'.

<sup>1</sup> From this phonetic change of *s* to *ḍ* before *bh* is to be explained the stem *iḍ-* 'refreshment', beside *is-* (which occurs before vowel endings only): *iḍ-bhis* etc. would have led to the formation of *iḍ-ā*, etc. (inst. sing.), which then gave rise to *iḍ-ā-* as an extension of *iḍ-*; cp. also *ilāyata* (RV. I. 191<sup>6</sup> MM., *ilāyata*, AUFRECHT): *ilāyati* (AV.) 'be quiet'.

<sup>2</sup> It is not phonetic in *aviddhi* and *vividhi* (see above, 42 d). Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 149 c (end).

<sup>3</sup> The cerebral which in this paragraph represents (except before *s*) the old palatals, is based on an IIr. *sh-* sound *ṣ* *z* (as shown by the Avesta having *ṣ* *z* in the

corresponding forms). This sibilant, Indian *s*, first became the cerebral mute *ḍ* before the *bh*-suffixes (as dental *s* became dental *ḍ*) when it first spread to the nom., and lastly to the loc. pl.

<sup>4</sup> See RPr. I. 19; TPr. II. 38.

<sup>5</sup> For example, Gk. *foiōba*, Av. *voistā*, beside *vēt-tha* 'thou knowest'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 152 b.

<sup>6</sup> Loc. cit., also note.

<sup>7</sup> See discussion of attempted explanations in WACKERNAGEL I, 153, note.

<sup>8</sup> All the other roots in *s* add the suffix with connecting vowel *i*.

2. before the *t* of the 3. sing. of a past tense: thus *vy-āvāt* (AV.) 'has shone forth', from *vi-vas-*. This is, however, probably not a phonetic change, but is rather due to the influence of the 3. sing. of other preterites with *-t*; *\*t-vās-t* having thus, instead of *\*ā-vās*, become *ā-vāt*<sup>1</sup>.

3. before case-terminations beginning with *bh*, and when final (in nom. acc. sing. neut.), in the perf. part. and in four other words: thus *jāgr-vād-bhīs*, inst. pl., 'having awakened', *tatan-vāt*, acc. n., 'having stretched'; *uśād-bhīs*, from *uśās-* 'dawn'; *mād-bhīs*, *mād-bhyās* (AV.), from *mās-* 'month'; *svā-tavad-bhyas* (VS.), from *svā-tavas-* 'self-strong'. The change of *s* to *t* began before the *bh* endings (like that of *s* to *t* or *ṭ*)<sup>2</sup> and was extended to the nom. acc. sing. neut. in the RV., but not till later before the *-su* of the loc. pl.<sup>3</sup>

a. Allied to the change of final *s* of roots and stems to *t*, is the apparent change of the medial dental sibilant to *d* in *madgū-* (VS.) 'diver', from *maji-* 'dive' (*j* = IE. *z*g)<sup>4</sup>.

β. The substitution of dentals for other mutes is extremely rare. In consequence of dissimilation, a dental replaces a cerebral in *anaḍits* and *anaḍidbhyas* (AV.), from *anaḍūdh-* 'bull', in *drḍhrā-* 'firm', beside *drḍhā-*<sup>5</sup>; in *paṣṭhavāt* (TS.) 'four year old bull', beside *paṣṭhavāt* (VS.).

A dental seems to take the place of a labial in *ad-bhīs*, *ad-bhyās*, beside *ap-* 'water'; but this is probably due to the analogy of *\*nadhbhīs*, *nad-bhyās*, beside *nāpāt-* 'grandson'<sup>6</sup>.

45. The labials.—These sounds as a rule represent IE. labials; e. g. *pitṛ-*, Gk. *πατήρ*; *bhāra* 'bear', Gk. *φέρε*. But owing to the great rarity of IE. *b*, there are very few Vedic examples of inherited *b*; e. g. *rambate* 'hangs down', Lat. *labī* 'glide'<sup>7</sup>.

a. The number of words containing *b* has been greatly increased by new formations. 1. Thus *b* replaces *p* or *bh* before other voiced mutes: e. g. *pi-bd-and-* 'firm', beside *pad-d-* 'place'; *rab-dhā-*, beside *rahante* 'they take'.—2. It is the regular substitute for *bh* in reduplicative syllables or when initial aspiration is lost owing to a following aspirate; e. g. *ba-bhūva* from *bhū-* 'be', *bāhū-* 'arm', *bandh-* 'bind'<sup>8</sup>.—3. In a few examples it takes the place of or interchanges with *v*<sup>9</sup>; thus *pāqbīsa-* (RV.), beside *pāqvīsa-* (VS.); *bānā-* beside *vānā-* 'arrow'; *-baśa-* (AV.) beside *-vaśa-* 'twig'; *bānā-* (AV.) 'music' beside *vānā-*; *-blīna-* (AV.) 'crushed', beside *vlīna-* (B.)<sup>10</sup>.—4. It further occurs in some new onomatopoeic words; *budbudā-* 'bubble'; *bāl* (AV.) interj. 'dash!'; *bata* interj. 'alas!'; and *batā-* 'weakling'.—5. In one instance *b* seems to stand for *m* before *r*, in *brū-* 'speak', for *\*mrū-*<sup>11</sup>, originally appearing most likely after a pause or after a final consonant<sup>12</sup>.

b. In many words the origin of *b* is obscure. Most of these probably come from a foreign source: 1. owing to their meaning: *arbudā-* and *arvudā-*, *balbūthā-*, *sāmbara-*, *spbinda-*, names of foes of Indra and of the Aryans; *brbū-*, a proper name; *baśā-* (AV.), *bālbaja-* (AV.), *bilvā-* (AV.), names of plants; *bākura-* and *bākurā-*, a musical instrument.—2. owing to their phonetic form: *kīlbiśa-* 'sin'; *bīsa-* 'root-fibre'; *busā-* 'vapour'; *bāt* and *baṭā*, interjections;

<sup>1</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 154.

<sup>2</sup> See 42 d (p. 34).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 155 a, note.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit. I, 155 b, note.

<sup>5</sup> See 42 a α (p. 33).

<sup>6</sup> The name *in-dra* and *nānān-dṛ-* 'husband's sister', are explained by some scholars as containing a Prakritic *d*. See WACKERNAGEL I, 157, note.

<sup>7</sup> On some words (*sabar-*, *batā-*, *bāla-*, *balbūthā-*) in which *b* is regarded as IE. by

different scholars, see WACKERNAGEL I, 158 b, note.

<sup>8</sup> See above 32 a, I, 2.

<sup>9</sup> There is some confusion between forms of *brh-* 'be great', and *vrh-* 'tear'.

<sup>10</sup> On some doubtful or wrong explanations of *b* for *v* (*ni-brh-* 'crush', *bāla-*, *bālbaja-*, *bāt*, *śabāla-*, *sāmbara-*), see WACKERNAGEL I, 161, note.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. Gk. *βροτός* for *\*μροτός*.

<sup>12</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 159.

*baṇḍā*-(AV.) 'crippled'; *bārsva*-(VS.) 'socket'; *baṣkiya*- 'yearling'; *bāṣkiha*-(VS.) 'decrepit'; *bīla*- 'cave', *bīlma*- 'chip'; *bīrija*- 'troop'(?); *bekanāṭa*- 'usurer'. — 3. for both reasons: *ilībisa*- and *bīsaya*-, names of demons; *alūbu*-(AV.) 'bottle gourd'. — 4. Other words which if not of foreign origin, are as yet insufficiently explained: *bārjaha*- 'udder'; *bastā*- 'he-goat'; *bāsrī*- 'quickly'; *-bāra*- 'aperture'; *bīja*- 'seed'; *bundā*- 'arrow'; *brbād-uktha*-, an epithet of Indra; *chībuka*- 'chin'; *śābāla*- 'brindled'; *śāmba*-, a weapon of Indra; *balāsa*-(VS. AV.), a disease; *bleṣka*-(K.) 'noose'.<sup>1</sup>

46. The nasals. — There are five nasals corresponding, in regard to place of articulation, to the five classes of mutes. Each of them can only appear before a mute of its own class<sup>2</sup>. Before sibilants and *h* the nasals do not appear<sup>3</sup>; before *l* only *m* is found; *ñ* does not appear finally any more than the palatal mutes.

a. The guttural nasal *ṅ* regularly appears before gutturals: e. g. *aṅkā*- 'hook'; *aṅkhāya*- 'embrace'; *āṅga*- 'limb'; *jāṅghā*- 'leg'. Before other consonants or as a final, it appears only when a following *k* or *g* has been dropped, as in stems ending with *-ṅc*- or *-ṅj*- and in those compounded with *-dṛś*-; e. g. *pratyān*, nom. sing. of *pratyāṅc*- 'facing'; *yuiḍhi* (= *yuiṅj-dhi*), 2. sing. impv. of *yuj*- 'join'; *kṛ-dṛñ*, nom. sing. of *kṛ-dṛś*- 'of what kind?'.

b. The palatal nasal *ṇ* is found only before and after *c* or *j*, and before *ch*; e. g. *vāṇcati*-(AV.) 'wavers'; *yajñā*- 'sacrifice'; *vāṇchantu* 'let them desire'.

c. The labial nasal *m* as a rule represents IE. *m*; e. g. *mātṛ*- 'mother', Lat. *māter*; *nāman*- 'name', Lat. *nōmen*. It is by far the most common labial sound<sup>4</sup>, its frequency being greater than that of the four labial mutes taken together<sup>5</sup>. By some scholars *m* is regarded as representing an original *n* or *v* in certain instances<sup>6</sup>.

d. The dental nasal *n* as a rule represents IE. *n*; e. g. *nā*- 'not', Lat. *-nē*; *mānas*- 'mind', Gk. *μένος*. It is the commonest of the nasals, being more frequent than *m*, and about three times as frequent as the other three taken together<sup>7</sup>. The dental nasal also appears instead of dental mutes and of the labial nasal.

α. It appears in place of *d* before the nominal suffix *-na*, and of *t*, as well as *d*, before the *m* of secondary suffixes; e. g. *dn-na*- 'food' (*ad*- 'eat'); *chin-nā*- 'cut off' (*chid*-); *vidyān-mant*- 'gleaming' (*vidyūt*- 'lightning'); *mīn-maya*- 'earthen' (*mṛd*- VS. 'earth'). This substitution is in imitation of Sandhi, as *dn tm dm* otherwise occur within words; e. g. *udnā* (from *udān*- 'water'), *ātmdn*- 'breath', *vid-mā* 'we know'.

β. dental *n* regularly appears in place of *m*: 1. before *t*; e. g. from *yam*- 'restrain': *yan-tīr*- and *yan-tṛ*- 'guide', *yan-trā*- 'rein'; from *śram*- 'exert oneself': *śrāntā*- 'wearied'; 2. before suffixal *m* or *v*; e. g. from *gam*- 'go': *ā-gan-ma*, *gan-vahi*, *jagan-vāms*-<sup>8</sup>; 3. when radically final, originally followed by suffixal *s* or *t*; e. g. from *gam*- 'go', *ā-gan*, 2. 3. sing. aor. (= *ā-gam-s*, *ā-gam-t*); from *yam*- 'restrain', *a-yān*, 3. sing. aor. (= *a-yām-s-t*); from *dām*- 'house', gen. (*pātir*) *dān*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. I, 162.

<sup>2</sup> Excepting in a few instances when a mute has been dropped, as in *yuiḍhi* = *yuiṅdhi* (see a).

<sup>3</sup> Excepting in a few instances *ñ* or *n* before the *-su* of the loc. pl.

<sup>4</sup> Excluding the semivowel *v*.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 50 and 75.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 177, note.

<sup>7</sup> WHITNEY 75.

<sup>8</sup> This change of *m* to *n* may be due to the influence of the cognate forms in which *m* phonetically becomes *n* when final (below 3).

<sup>9</sup> On this explanation of *dān* (denied by PISCHEL, VS. 2, 307 ff.) see especially BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 8, in 'Arica' 229—249; also RICHTER, KZ. 36, 111—123, on *dān-pati*.

'of the house' (= *dam-s*). Here the change of *m* to *n* was evidently due (as in 1) to the dental *s* or *t* which originally followed<sup>1</sup>.

47. The cerebral *n*.—This nasal, like the cerebral mutes, is an Indian innovation. It is for the most part the result of a regular phonetic development, but is also in a number of words due to Prakritic influence.

A. Besides regularly appearing before cerebral mutes, e. g. in *danḍā*- 'staff', the cerebral *n* phonetically takes the place of dental *n* after *r r s*<sup>2</sup>, either immediately preceding, e. g. *nṛṇām* 'of men', *vārṇa*- 'colour', *uṣṇā*- 'hot'; or when only vowels<sup>3</sup>, guttural or labial mutes<sup>4</sup> or nasals, *y v* or *h*, intervene; e. g. *kṛpāṇa*- 'misery'; *krāmaṇa*- 'step'; *kṣōbhāṇa*- 'exciting'. This rule is followed throughout within a word even when a *ś* which it contains is produced by Sandhi<sup>5</sup>; thus not only *trpṇōti* (*trp*- 'be satisfied') and *grbhṇāti* (*grbh*- 'seize'), but also *u suvāṇāḥ* (for *suvānāḥ*, IX. 107<sup>8</sup>). In *su-sumnā*- 'very gracious' (where the *ś* is produced by internal Sandhi), the dental *n* remains probably owing to the influence of the simple word *sumnā*-.

a. The cerebralization of dental *n* takes place almost as regularly in verbs compounded with the prepositions *prā* 'before', *pārā* 'away', *pāri* 'round', *nir* (for *nīs*) 'out'; as well as in nominal derivatives of these combinations. But the *r* does not cerebralize *n* when there is tmesis or any other preposition but *ā* intervenes<sup>6</sup>. The cerebralization takes place:

1. in the initial of roots; e. g. *prāṇak* (*naś*- 'reach'); *parāṇide* (*nud*- 'thrust'); *prā-netf*- 'guide' (*nī*- 'lead'). But *n* remains if *r* or *ks* follows; hence *prānṛtyat* (AV.) from *nṛt*- 'dance', and *pāri nakṣati* 'encompasses' (*nakṣ*- 'reach'). The cerebralization is also absent, without this dissimilating cause<sup>7</sup>, in *abhi prā nonu*- (SV.) beside *abhi prā nonu*- 'shout towards', and in *prā-nabh*-<sup>8</sup> (AV.) 'burst'.

2. medially or finally in the roots *hnu*- 'hide', *an*- 'breathe', *han*- 'strike' (though not in forms with *ghn*); thus *pāri-hnūtā* (AV.) 'denied'; *prāṇiti* 'breathes'; *nir hanṇāt* (AV.), but *abhi-pra-ghnānti*.

3. in suffixal *n* the cerebralization fluctuates: it always takes place in the *n* of the 1. sing. subj., e. g. *nīr gamāṇi*; not always in the pres. base of *hi*- 'impel'; e. g. *prā hinomi*, etc., but *pari-hinōmi*<sup>9</sup>; never in that of *mināti* 'diminishes' or of *minōti* 'establishes'; it is also absent in *yāju śkannām* (x. 1813)<sup>10</sup>; but *-trṇṇa*- (VS.), from *trd*- 'pierce'.

b. In nominal compounds cerebralization takes place less regularly when there is *r r* or *ś* in the first member, and *n* in the second:

1. an initial *n* is here nearly always cerebralized in the RV.: e. g. *dur-nāman*- 'ill-named'; *prā-ṇapāt*- 'great-grandson'; also *dur-nāsa*- (AV.) 'un-

<sup>1</sup> The dental *n* may stand for *l* in *carmanā*- 'tanner' (cp. *cārmāṇi mlātāni*); BR. According to BENFEY, it is used to fill the hiatus in declension, e. g. *kavi-n-ā*; and in the perf. red. syllable *ān*-, e. g. in *ānṛcūr*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 175 c, note.

<sup>2</sup> The cerebral mutes and nasal not only do not cerebralize a *n* separated from them by a vowel, but even stop the influence of a preceding *r r s*; thus in reduplication only the first *n* is cerebralized; e. g. *prā-nindāya* (*nī*- 'lead'); cp. *maṇinā* inst. of *maṇi*- 'pearl' (B. b.). This arises from a disinclination to pronounce cerebral mutes and nasals in successive syllables.

<sup>3</sup> On the absence of cerebralization in *īṣṭrānām* and *rāṣṭrānām*, see above 42 a, a.

<sup>4</sup> In some instances where the mute immediately precedes the *n*, the cerebralization does not take place; e. g. *vrtra-ghné*; *kṣepnū*- 'springing'.

<sup>5</sup> In one curious instance, *sām ... pīnāk* (beside *pīnāṣṭi*, from *pīś*- 'crush'), the cerebral lost at the end of a syllable has transferred its cerebral character to the beginning of the syllable.

<sup>6</sup> The preposition *nī* following another containing *r* is mostly cerebralized.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. above 42 a, a.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. *tri-nābhi*- 'three-naved', and *vṣṣa-nābhi*- 'strong-naved'.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. VPr. III. 87; APr. III. 88; IV. 95; TPr. XIII. 12.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 167 b e.



attainable', *dur-nihita-* (AV.) 'ill-preserved'; but (because a *r* or *s* follows) not in *-nrmua-* 'manhood', *-niṣṭhā-* 'eminent'; *-niṣṣidh-* 'gift'; *-nirñij-* 'adornment'; nor (owing to the intervening *gh* and *m*) in *dirghā-nitha-*, N., *yusmā-nīta-* 'led by you'. The cerebralization is further absent, without any preventing cause, in *akṣā-nāh-* 'tied to the axle' (beside *pari-nāh-* 'enclosure'); *tri-nākā-* 'third heaven'; *tri-nābhi-* 'three-naved', and *viśa-nābhi-* 'great-naved'; *plīnar-nava-* 'renewing itself' (but AV. *plīnar-nava-*); *dur-niyantu-* 'hard to restrain'.

2. It is less frequent medially; e. g. *pūrvāhūd-* forenoon'; *aparāhūd-* (AV.) 'afternoon'; *ṇ-vāhana-* 'conveying men'; *pra-vāhana-* (VS.) 'carrying off'; *purīṣa-vāhana-* (VS.) beside *purīṣa-vāhana-* (TS. K.) 'removing rubbish'; *ṇ-mānas-* 'kind to men', *viśa-mānas-* 'manly-spirited', but *iśi-mānas-* 'of far-seeing mind'; *dru-ghaṇḍ-* 'wooden club', but *vr̥tra-ghnē*, dat., 'Vr̥tra-slaying'; *su-śumud-*<sup>1</sup> 'very gracious'; *su-pra-pānā-* 'good drinking place'; *ṇ-pāna-* 'giving drink to men'; but *pari-pāna-* 'drink', *pari-pāna-* (AV.) 'protection'; *pary-uhyamāna-* (VS.) beside *pary-uhyamāna-* (*Vvāh-*).

c. Even in a closely connected following word cerebralization may take place after *r* or *s* in the preceding one.

1. This is frequently the case with initial *n*, most usually in *nas* 'us', rarely in other monosyllables such as *nū* 'now', *nā* 'like'<sup>2</sup>; e. g. *sahō sū naḥ* (VIII. 7<sup>32</sup>). Initial *n* occasionally appears thus in other words also; e. g. *pāri neḥi . . viśat* (IX. 103<sup>4</sup>); *śr̥ṅga-vr̥ṣo napāt* (SV., *napāt*, RV.); *asthūrī nau* (VS., no RV. TS.); (*gūmad*) *ū sū nāsatyā* (VS.) *prā nāmāni* (TS.); *plīnar nayāmasi* (AV.); *suhār naḥ* (MS.) = *suhārd naḥ*; *vār nāma* (TS. v. 6. 1<sup>3</sup>).

2. Medial *n* also occurs thus, most often in the enclitic pronoun *ena-* 'this'; e. g. *indra enam*. It occasionally appears in accented words also after final *r*: *gōr ohṣa* (I. 180<sup>5</sup>); *nir ēnasah* (AV.); *n̐bh̐hir yemānāh* (SV., *yemānāh*, RV.); *pañibhir vīyāmānah* (TS.)<sup>3</sup>. A final *n* is treated as medial and cerebralized thus in *t̐n imān* (MS.) and *akṣān āva* (MS.).

B. In a number of words *ṇ* has a Prakritic origin.

a. It is due to a preceding *r* or *ṛ* which has been replaced by *a i u* or has disappeared through assimilation. This is indicated to be the case by the appearance beside them of cognate words containing *r* or *l* sounds: 1. in Vedic itself: *āṇi-* 'pin of the axle'; *kāṇḍ-* 'one-eyed', beside *karnā-*<sup>4</sup> 'crop-eared' (MS.); *kāna-* (AV.) 'particle': *kalā-* 'small part'; *jañjanā-bhāvan* 'glittering': *jūrñi-* 'glow' (*-jan-* probably = *jñ-* from old pres. *\*jññāti*); *plīnya-* 'auspicious': *p̐-* 'fill'; *phaṇ-* 'bound' (= *\*phrñ-*, *\*pharñ-*) cp. *parpharat* 'may he scatter'; *dhāṇikā-* 'cunnus': *dhārakā-* (VS.), id.—2. in allied languages: *gaṇḍ-* 'crowd'; *paṇ-* (VS.) 'purchase'; *vañij-* 'merchant'<sup>5</sup>; *ānu-* 'minute'; *kl̥ṇāru-* 'having a withered arm'; *pāṇi-* 'hand'; *sthāṇi-* 'stump'<sup>6</sup>.

b. Owing to the predilection for cerebrals in Prakrit, which substituted *ṇ* for *n* throughout between vowels, even without the influence of neighbouring cerebrals, one or two words with such *ṇ* seem to have made their way into Vedic: *maṇi-* 'pearl' (Lat. *monile*); *amṇāh* (MS.) 'at once': *amṇāh* (AV.), id.<sup>7</sup>.

c. The exact explanation of the *ṇ* in the following words (some of which may be of foreign origin) is uncertain: *kāṇva-*, N.; *kalyāṇa-* 'fair';

<sup>1</sup> See above 47 A (end).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. BENFEY, Göttinger Abhandlungen 20, 14.

<sup>3</sup> *agn̐r āvena* (I. 128<sup>5</sup>), Pp. *agn̐h̐ | āvena*, is probably wrong for *agn̐h̐ | rav̐ṇa*. On the other hand, for *māno rūhāyā* (I. 32<sup>8</sup>), Pp. *mānah̐ | rūhāyāh̐*, the reading should per-

haps be *mānor ūhāyā*. Cp. LANMAN, Sanskrit Reader, note on this passage.

<sup>4</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 172 a (p. 192, mid.).

<sup>5</sup> See FRÖHDE, BB. 16, 209.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 172 d, note, 173, note.

<sup>7</sup> On a few doubtful instances, op. cit. I, 173, note.

*kānukā-*, of doubtful meaning; *nicumpunā-*, of doubtful meaning; *ninik* 'secretly', *ninyā-*<sup>1</sup> 'inner'; *paṇi-*, a kind of demon; *bāṇā-* 'arrow'; *vāṇā-* 'udder', 'arrow', 'music'; *vāṇā-* 'music'; *vāṇā-*, a kind of musical instrument; *sāṇā-* 'red'; *igana-* (SV. VS.), of doubtful meaning; *kīṇāpa-* (AV.) 'corpse'; *gunā-* 'division' (AV.); *cupunīkā-* (TS.), N.; *nicanīkunā-* (TS.) and *nicunīkunā-* (TS.), of doubtful meaning; *veṇū-* (AV.) 'reed'; *sāṇu-* (AV.) 'hemp'<sup>2</sup>.

48. The semivowels. — The semivowels *y*, *r*, *l*, *v* have the peculiarity that each has a vowel corresponding to it, viz. *i* *r* *l* *u* respectively. They are called *anta(l)sthā* in the Prātiśākhya<sup>3</sup>, the term doubtless meaning 'intermediate', that is, standing midway between vowels and consonants.

a. *y* and *v* regularly represent the final *i* and *u* of diphthongs before vowels, *e* and *ai* becoming *ay* and *āy*, *o* and *au* *av* and *āv*. But while *y* and *v* are regularly written for *i* and *u* before vowels, they were often pronounced as *iy* and *uv*. This is shown by the fact that:

1. *iy* and *uv* are frequently written, beside *y* and *v*, in the inflexion of *ī-* and *ū-*stems. Thus from *dhi-* 'thought', there are several compounds, in some of which the stem is written with *iy* before vowels, as *itthādhiy-* 'very devout', in others with *y*, as *ādhy-* 'longing'. Similarly *-jū-* 'hastening', regularly appears as *-jūv-*; but *-pū-* 'purifying', *-sū-* 'swelling', *-sū-* 'bringing forth', always as *-pū-*, *-sū-*, *-sū-*<sup>4</sup>. In the same way, the suffix *-ya* is often written *-iya*; e. g. *āgr-ya-* 'first', beside *āgr-ya-* (VS.); *ītu-ya-* and *ītu-ya-* 'regular'; *ūrv-ya-* and *ūrv-ya-* (VS. TS.) 'widely'. This spelling is characteristic of the TS. Here *iy* is generally written where more than one consonant precede, almost invariably so in the inflexion of stems in *i* and *ī*; e. g. *indrāgni-īs* 'of Indra and Agni', *lakṣmī-ya* 'by Lakṣmī'; very often also in the suffix *-ya*; e. g. *āśv-ya-* beside *āśv-ya-* (RV.) 'relating to horses'<sup>5</sup>. Similarly *uv* appears here for *v* in *sīvar-* and *svargā-* 'heaven', beside *svār* (RV.) and *svargā-* (RV.); in the inflexion of *tanū-* 'body', in some forms of *vāyū-* 'wind', *bāhū-* 'arm', *urū-* 'thigh'<sup>6</sup>. In the SV. and MS.<sup>7</sup> there are two or three other examples of *iy* and *uv* for *y* and *v*<sup>8</sup>.

2. according to metrical evidence, *y* and *v* (though written as pronounced in classical Sanskrit) have a syllabic value in a large number of examples in the Vedic hymns<sup>9</sup>. This was recognized to be the case by the Prātiśākhya<sup>10</sup>.

3. *r* appears instead of *r* before the suffix *-ya*; e. g. in *pitr-ya-* 'paternal', from *pitr-* 'father'.

4. *ay* *āy* *ey* appear before the suffix *-ya*<sup>11</sup>; e. g. *saha-śey-yāya*, dat., 'for lying together'. Here *yy* is always to be read as *y-iy* in the RV. (except in Book x and *dakṣīyā-* in I. 129<sup>12</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps from \**nirṇaya-*, see BENFEY, GGA. 1858, p. 1627.

<sup>2</sup> On these words see WACKERNAGEL I, 174 b and 173 d, note.

<sup>3</sup> RPr. I. 2; VPr. IV. 101; also Nirukta II. 2. Cp. WHITNEY on APr. I. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 181 a, note.

<sup>5</sup> Several other examples, loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. WHITNEY on TPr. II. 25.

<sup>7</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 181 a, note (p. 201, mid.).

<sup>8</sup> On the other hand there are some isolated instances of *y* and *v* in the Vedas as compared with *iy* and *uv* in classical Sanskrit; see WACKERNAGEL I, p. 201, bottom.

<sup>9</sup> In certain words and formatives *y* and *v* are regularly consonantal: in the relative *yā-*;

the present suffix *-ya*; the comp. suffix *-yas*; the gen. ending *-ya*, and the fut. suffix *-sya*; the initial *v* of suffixes; the *uv-* of the 5th class; in *āśva-* 'horse' and *tvāṣṭr-*, N. On the other hand the syllabic pronunciation is sometimes used artificially by the poets, as is apparent from the isolation of such occurrences. In some individual words the written *iy* and *uv* have to be pronounced as consonantal *y* and *v*: always in *svānā-*, pres. part. of *sv-* 'press'; occasionally in *bhīyās-* 'fear', *hiyānā-* 'impelled'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 181 b, note, bottom.

<sup>10</sup> RPr. VIII. 22; XVII. 14.

<sup>11</sup> See GRASSMANN, Wb. 1711, columns 4 and 5.

<sup>12</sup> WACKERNAGEL I, 181 c 7.

That this syllabic pronunciation was not simply *i* and *u* (with hiatus), but *iy* and *uv*, is rendered probable not only by the spelling *iy uv* beside *y v*, but by the consideration that *y* and *v* are respectively the natural transition from *i* and *u* to a following dissimilar vowel.

b. In the RV. *y* and *v* are pronounced with a syllabic value under the following conditions:

1. almost invariably after a group of consonants and generally after a single consonant if preceded by a long vowel. Thus the ending *-bhyas* and the suffix *-tya* are regularly pronounced as dissyllables after a long vowel, but as monosyllables after a short vowel. Hence, too, *v* is pronounced as well as written in the forms *dauidhv-āt*, *susv-ati*, *susv-āyā-*, *jukh-ā-*, *jūh-ati*<sup>1</sup>.

2. after a single initial consonant at the beginning of a verse, or, within a verse, if the preceding syllable is heavy, in some half dozen words. Thus *tyā-* 'that', and *tvām* 'thou' are nearly always pronounced as they are written after a short vowel, but *tiyā-* and *tvām* at the beginning of a Pāda or after a long vowel. The *y* is pronounced as *iy* in *jyā-* and *jyākhā-* 'bowstring' only at the beginning of a verse or after a long vowel, in *jyāyas-* 'mightier' only after a long vowel. Finally *tva-* 'many', must generally be read as *tuva-* after a long vowel, but almost invariably *tva-* after a short vowel.

3. in the inflexion of the nouns in *ī* (nom. sing. *-īs*) and *ū*<sup>2</sup>, where the stem has (with only six exceptions) to be pronounced with *iy* and *uv*.<sup>3</sup>

Thus the transition from *iy* and *uv* to *y* and *v* began in the RV., the traditional text writing for the *iy* and *uv* which was pronounced by the poets of that Veda, sometimes *iy* and *uv*, sometimes *y* and *v*.

49. The semivowel *y*.—This semivowel, when not derived from *i* before other vowels (48 a) within Vedic itself, is based either on IE. *j* (= Gk. spiritus asper) or voiced palatal spirant (= Gk. *ζ*)<sup>4</sup>; e. g. *yā-s* 'who' (*ῥ-ς*); *yaj-* 'sacrifice' (*ῥγ-ιος*); *yudh-* 'fight' (*ῥτ-μιν*); but *yāva-* 'corn' (*ῥσι-ά*); *yas-* 'boil' (*ῥέω*); *yuj-* 'yoke' (*ῥγ-γ*); *yūśān-* 'broth' (*ῥῥ-μν*). It is probably due to this difference of origin that *yas-* 'boil' and *yam-* 'restrain', reduplicate with *ya-* in the perfect, but *yaj-* 'sacrifice', with *i-*.

a. This semivowel sometimes appears without etymological justification: 1. after roots in *-ā* before vowel suffixes; e. g. *dā-y-i*, 3. sing. aor. (*dā-* 'give'), *ā-dhā-y-i* (*dhā-* 'put'), *ā-jñā-y-i* (*jñā-* 'know'); *upā-sthā-y-am*, abs. 'approaching'; *ṛṣabha-dā-y-in-* (AV.) 'bestowing bulls'. This is probably due to the influence of roots in *-ai* (27 a), which have *ā-* before consonants, but *āy-* before vowels; e. g. *pai-* 'drink': *pā-tave*, *ā-pāy-i*, *pāy-āna-*.—2. owing to the influence of closely allied words or formations, in: *yū-y-ām* 'you' (for *\*yūśam*, Av. *yūšem*, cp. *yus-mā-*, stem of other cases)<sup>5</sup> because of *vay-ām* 'we'; *bhū-y-iṣṭha-* 'most' because of *bhū-yas-* 'more'; *bhāve-y-am*, 1. sing. opt. (for *\*bhāvayam*) because of *bhāves*, *bhāvet*, etc.

b. very rarely in the later Samhitās after palatals: *tiraścyē* (AV. xv. 3<sup>5</sup>) var. lect. for *tiraścē*, dat., 'transverse'; *śnyāptra-* (TS. I. 2. 13<sup>3</sup>): *śnāptra-* (VS.) 'corner of the mouth'.

c. interchanging (after the manner of Prakrit) occasionally with *v*<sup>6</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> On *vyūrv-ān*, *vy-ūrv-ati* beside *aporuv-āntas*, see WACKERNAGEL I, 182 a α, note.

<sup>2</sup> See below 375, 382 a.

<sup>3</sup> For various explanations of this see WACKERNAGEL I. 182 a γ, note (p. 205).

<sup>4</sup> See BRUGMANN, KG. I, 302.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 86 c; 187, note.

<sup>6</sup> In *bhyā-* 'tell', *y* seems at first sight to be interchanged with the *ś* of *bhā-*, which occurs in the K. and the MS. (cp. v. SCHROEDER's ed., I, p. XLIII, 7); but the two verbs, though synonymous, have probably a different origin. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 188 c, note.

the Samhitās of the YV.; e. g. *ātatāyīn-* (VS.) beside *ātatāvīn-* (TS.) 'having one's bow drawn'<sup>1</sup>.

**50. The semivowel *v*.**—This sound was, at the time of the Prātiśākhya<sup>2</sup>, a voiced labio-dental spirant like the English *v* or the German *w*. Within Vedic it is very frequently derived from *u*<sup>3</sup>. It seems otherwise always to be based on IE. *ʷ*; there is no evidence that it is ever derived from an IE. spirant *v* which was not interchangeable with *u*<sup>4</sup>.

**a.** This semivowel is sometimes found interchanging with *b*<sup>5</sup>, with *y*<sup>6</sup>, and according to some scholars, with *m*<sup>7</sup>.

**b.** In two roots in which *v* is followed by *r*, an interchange of sonantal and consonantal pronunciation, together with metathesis takes place, *vr* becoming *ru*: hence from *dhvr-* 'bend' are derived both *-dhvr-t-* and *-dhrī-*, *-dhrī-t-*, *dhrī-ti-*; from *hvr-* 'go crooked', *-hvr-t-*, *-hvr-ta-*, *-hvr-ti-* and *hru-nā-ti*, 3. sing., *hri-t-*, *-hru-ta-*. The root *rudh-* 'grow', may be a similar variation of *vrādh-* 'grow'<sup>8</sup>.

**51. The semivowel *r*.**—The liquid sound *r* must originally have been a cerebral, as is shown by its phonetic effect on a following dental *n* (47 A). By the time of the Prātiśākhya<sup>9</sup>, it was, however, pronounced in other phonetic positions also. Being the consonantal sound corresponding to *r* before vowels (like *y v* to *i u*), it is in that position correspondingly graded with *ār*; e. g. *ā-kr-an*, *ā-kr-ata*, beside *ā-kr-thās*: *ā-kar-am*, aor. of *kṛ-* 'do'; *dr-ū-*: *dār-u-* 'wood'.

**a.** *r* generally corresponds to *r* in the cognate languages, but not infrequently to *l* also; and where these languages agree in having *l*, the latter may in these instances be assumed to be the original sound. As old Iranian here invariably has *r*, there seems to have been a tendency to rhotacism in the Indo-Iranian period<sup>10</sup>. Words in which Vedic *r* thus represents IE. *l* are the following:

**1. initially:** *raks-* 'protect'; *ragh-ū-* 'swift'; *raṁhate* 'speeds'; *rah-* 'grasp'; *ramb-* 'hang down'; *rā-* 'bark'; *ric-* 'leave'; *rip-* 'smear'; *rih-* 'lick'; *ruc-* 'shine'; *ruj-* 'break'; *rudh-* and *ruh-* 'grow'.

**2. medially:** *āṅgāra-* 'coal'; *ajirā-* 'agile'; *aratni-* 'elbow'; *arh-* 'be worthy'; *iyārti* 'sets in motion'; *ir-* 'set in motion'; *ūrṇā-* 'wool'; *ūrmī-* 'wave'; *garūtman-*, a celestial bird; *gārdabhā-* 'ass'; *gārbha-* 'womb'; *cakrā-* 'wheel'; *car-* 'move'; *caramā-* 'last'; *cirā-* 'long'; *chardā-* 'protection'; *dhārū-* (AV.) 'sucking'; *paraśū-* 'axe'; *pīparti* 'fills'; *pīr-* 'fort'; *purū-* 'much'; *prath-* 'spread out'; *prū-t-* 'swimming', *-pruta-* part. 'floating', *pravate* 'waves'; *mārdhati* 'neglects'; *-mārsana-* (AV.) 'touching'; *mūrdhān-* 'head'; *varā-* 'suitor', and various forms of *vr-* 'choose'; *vārcas-* 'light'; *śaraṇā-* 'protecting'; *śārman-* 'protection'; *śārkara-* 'gravel'; *śīśira-* (AV.) 'cold season'; *śrī-* 'lean'; *śru-* 'hear'; *śrōṇi-* 'buttock'; *sar-* in forms of *sr-* 'run', and *sariv-* (VS.) 'flood'; *sarpl-* 'clarified butter'; *śaśā-sra-* 'thousand'; *svār-* 'heaven'; *sūrya-* 'sun'; *harit-* and *hārīta-* 'yellow'; *hiraṇya-* 'gold'; *hrādīni-* 'hail'<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. BENFEY, GGA. 1852, 114 f.; WEBER, IS. 2, 28; WACKERNAGEL I, 188 c.

<sup>2</sup> See WHITNEY on APr. I. 26.

<sup>3</sup> See above 48 a.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 196; BRUGMANN, KG. I, 148 and 155.

<sup>5</sup> See 45 a, 3.

<sup>6</sup> 49 c.

<sup>7</sup> 46 c.

<sup>8</sup> For some other possible instances see WACKERNAGEL I, 18 f. b, note.

<sup>9</sup> See WHITNEY on APr. I. 20, 28.

<sup>10</sup> It seems as if the Vedic relation of *r* to *l* could only be accounted for by assuming a mixture of dialects; one dialect having preserved the IE. distinction of *r* and *l*; in another IE. *l* becoming *r* (the Vedic dialect); in a third *r* becoming *l* throughout (the later *Māgadhi*). See BRUGMANN, KG. I, 175, note.

<sup>11</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 189.

b. *r* appears in place of phonetic *ḍ* (= *ṛ*, IIr. *ṛ*)<sup>1</sup> as final of stems in *-is* and *-us*, before endings which begin with *bh-*; e. g. *havir-bhis* and *vāpur-bhis*. This substitution is due to the influence of Sandhi, where *is*, *us* would become *ir*, *ur*. *r* also takes the place of *ḍ* in *irā-* beside *idā-* 'refreshing draught'. In *urubjā-* 'wide open' *r* apparently takes the place of dental *d* (= *\*ud-ubjā-*), perhaps under the influence of the numerous compounds beginning with *uru-* 'wide', e. g. *uru-jrī-* 'wide-striding'<sup>2</sup>.

• c. Metathesis of *r* takes place when *ār* would be followed by *ṣ* or *h* + consonant. Under these conditions it appears to be phonetic, being due to the Svarabhakti after *r* being twice as great before *h* and sibilants as before other consonants<sup>3</sup>: when a vowel followed the sibilant or *h* (e. g. *darśatā-*)<sup>4</sup>, the Svarabhakti was pronounced; but if a consonant followed, *rā* took the place of *ār* + double Svarabhakti. This metathesis appears in forms of *drś-* 'see' and *srj-* 'send forth': *drśtum* (AV.), *drāṣṭ-* (AV.) 'one who sees'; *sām-sraṣṭ-* 'one who engages in battle', 2. sing. aor. *srās* (= *\*srāk*)<sup>5</sup>; also in *prās-ti-* 'side-horse', beside *pārs-u-* and *prṣṭi-* 'rib'; moreover in *brahmān-* 'priest', *brāhman-* 'devotion', beside *barhīs-* 'sacrificial litter' (from *bṛh-* or *barh-* 'make big'); perhaps also *drahydi* 'strongly' (*dṛh-* 'be firm'). The same metathesis occurs, being, however, very rare and fluctuating, before *ṣ-*: thus *tuvi-mrakṣā-* 'injuring greatly', *mrakṣa-kṛtvan-* 'rubbing to pieces' (from *mṛj-* 'wipe', or *mṛś-* 'stroke'), but *tārksya-*, N. 6.

52. The semivowel *l*. — The liquid sound *l* is the semivowel corresponding to the vowel *l* (which however occurs only in some half dozen perfect and aorist forms of the root *kṛp-* 'be adapted'). It is pronounced at the present day in India as an interdental; but it must have had a post-dental sound at the time of the Prātisākhya<sup>7</sup>, by which it is described as being pronounced in the same position as the dentals<sup>8</sup>.

a. It represents IE. *l*<sup>9</sup> and, in a few instances, IE. *r*. It is rarer in Vedic than in any cognate language except old Iranian (where it does not occur at all)<sup>10</sup>. It is much rarer than *r*, which is seven times as frequent<sup>11</sup>. The gradual increase of *l*, chiefly at the cost of *r*, but partly also owing to the appearance of new words, is unmistakable. Thus in the tenth Book of the RV. appear the verbs *mluc-* and *labh-*, and the nouns *lōman-*, *lohita-*, but in the earlier books only *mruc-* 'sink', *rabh-* 'seize', *rōman-* 'hair', *rohitā-* 'red'; similarly *daśāṅgulā-* 'length of ten fingers', *hlādaka-* and *hlādikā-vant-* 'refreshing', beside *sv-aṅgurt-* 'fair-fingered', *hradd-* 'pond'. Moreover, while in the oldest parts of the RV. *l* occurs<sup>12</sup> in a few words only, it is eight times as common in the latest parts. Again, in the AV. it is seven times as common as in the RV.<sup>13</sup>; thus for *rap-* 'chatter', *rikh-* 'scratch', *a-sṛvā-* 'ugly', appear in the AV. *lap-*, *likh-* (also VS.), *aśṭlā-*. The various texts

<sup>1</sup> Cp. above p. 35, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> On a supposed parasitic *r* in *chardis-* 'fence', *yājatra-* 'adorable', *vibhṛtra-* 'to be borne hither and thither', see WACKERNAGEL I, 189, note 7.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Apr. I. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. above 21 a.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte des Veda 83, note 7.

<sup>6</sup> On the interchange of *rā* and *ar* in *raj-* 'colour', *rajatā-* 'silvery', *rāj-* 'shine', and *arjuna-* 'bright'; *bhrāj-* 'shine', and *bhārgas-* 'brilliance'; *bhrātṛ-* 'brother', and *bhārtṛ-* 'husband'; see WACKERNAGEL I, 190 e, note (end). In *vrajā-* 'fold', *vratā-* 'ordinance',

*srāj-* 'wreath', *ra-* does not stand for *ar*, WACKERNAGEL I, 190 d, note.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. FISCHER, BB. 3, 264. An indication that it was not a cerebral is the fact that *ḷ* never occurs (while *rṣ* is common).

<sup>8</sup> See 44.

<sup>9</sup> Which, however, is largely represented by *r* also: cp. 51 a.

<sup>10</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>11</sup> See WHITNEY, JAOS. II, p. XLff.

<sup>12</sup> See ARNOLD, 'L in the Rigveda', in Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth, 1893, p. 145 — 148; Historical Vedic Grammar, JAOS. 18, 2, p. 258f.; Vedic Metre p. 37, 3.

<sup>13</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 191 c.

of the YV. also show an increased number of words with *l* as compared with the RV.; thus *babhlusá-* (VS.) 'brownish' beside *babhrí-* 'brown'; *kálāla-* (VS.) 'potter' beside *carí-* 'pot'. The MS. has a special predilection for *l*<sup>1</sup>; thus *pulitá-* 'pericardium' beside *puritá-* (AV. VS.). The SV. has *pāmsulá-* 'dusty', for *pāmsurá-* in the corresponding passage of the RV.

In a certain number of words *r* interchanges with *l* in the same period: thus *purí-* and *pulí-* 'much'; *misrá-* and *-misla-* 'mixed'; *jargur-* and *jalgul-*, intv. of *gṛ-* 'swallow'; in the AV.: *-girá-* and *-gildá-* 'swallowing', *ksudrā-* and *ksullaká-* (= \**ksudlā-ka*) 'small', *tiryā-* and *tildá-* 'sesamum'.

The above considerations render it probable that the Vedic dialect was descended from an Indo-Iranian one in which rhotacism had removed every *l*. But since the oldest parts of the RV. contain some words with IE. *l*, and in its later parts as well as in the other Samhitās *l* predominantly interchanges with *r* representing IE. *l*, there must have been another Vedic dialect in which IE. *r* and *l* were kept distinct; from the latter *l* must have found its way into the literary language to an increasing extent<sup>2</sup>.

b. In the oldest parts of the RV. there are no verbal forms which preserve IE. *l*, and only a few nouns, viz. (*u*)*loká-* 'free space', *ślōka-* 'call', and *-misla-* 'mixed'. A few other words containing *l* have no IE. cognates and may therefore be of foreign origin: *nila-* 'dark-coloured', *jālāṣa-* 'healing', *tīlvila-* 'fertile', and the denominative *tīvilāyāte*.

In the latest parts of the RV. *l* represents IE. *l* in: 1. verbal forms and primary derivatives: *lebhire*, *lebhnā-*, *labdhá-*, from *labh-* 'grasp', *layanātm-*, from *lṛ-* 'cling'; *alipsata*, aor. of *lip-* 'anoint'; *lobháyantṛ-* part. from *lobh-* 'desire'; *calā-calá-*, *-cācall-* 'swaying' (also *pūṣṣ-calí-* 'whore', AV. VS.), from *cal-* 'move'; *plāvate*, *plavá-* 'boat', from *plu-* 'swim'.

2. the following nouns: *logá-* 'clod'; *ilūka-* 'owl'; *ulká-* 'meteor'; *ilba-* 'membrane'; *kalāśa-* 'jar'; *kalí-* 'small portion'; *kāla-* 'time'; *kalyāṇa-* 'fair'; *kūla-* 'family'; *gáldā-* 'trickling' (VS. *gal-* 'drop'); *palitá-* 'grey'; *pulu-* (in compounds) 'much'; *phalgvā-* 'weakly'; *bāla-* 'strength'; *balí-* 'tax'; *māla-* 'dirty garment'; *salilá-* 'surging'; *hlīdaka-* and *hlīdikāvant-* 'refreshing'; also words with the suffix *-la*<sup>4</sup>, especially with diminutive sense; e.g. *vr̥ṣa-lá-* 'little man', *śiśū-la-* 'little child'<sup>5</sup>.

a. In the later Samhitās *l* represents IE. *l* in the following words: *-kulva-* (VS.) 'bald'; *klōman-* (AV. VS.) 'lung'; *glāhana-* (AV.) 'dicing'; *glāu-* (AV. VS.) 'excrement'; *tulā-* (VS.) 'balance'; *palīva-* (AV.) 'chaff'; *pula-sti-* (VS.) 'smooth-haired'; *plīhān-* (AV. VS.) 'spleen'; *phalgī-* (VS.) 'reddish'; *laghū-* (AV.) 'light'; *lap-* (AV.) 'prate' (= *rap-* RV.).

c. On the other hand, *l* to some extent represents IE. *r* also<sup>6</sup>.

i. In the RV. this value of *l* is rare and occurs only in the neighbourhood of labial sounds (*u*, *o*, *p*, *m*, *v*): *ulūkhala-* 'mortar' beside *urū-* 'broad'; *jalgul-*, intv. of *gṛ-* 'swallow'; *plūṣi-*, a kind of insect, beside *prus-* 'squirt'; *klōśa-* 'call' beside *krōśant-* 'calling', *krōśanā-* 'crying'; *-lohita-* 'red', *lodhá-*, a kind of red animal, beside *rohī-*, *rohitá-* 'red'; *lopāśá-* 'jackal', *lup-* (AV.) 'break', beside *rup-* 'break'; *śipala-* 'upper millstone' beside *upāri-* 'above'; *jālpi-* 'muttering'; *pippala-* 'berry'; *mā-* 'fade' beside *mṛ-* 'die'; *valā-* 'cave' beside *vārate* 'encloses'.

2. In the later Samhitās the use of this *l* = IE. *r* extends further than in the RV.; thus *ālam* (AV.) 'enough': *drum*; *līś-* (VS.) 'tear': *riś-*; *-luñcā-* (VS.)

<sup>1</sup> L. v. SCHROEDER, ZDMG. 33, 196.

<sup>2</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 192 b, and cp. above p. 42, note <sup>10</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. above p. 36, note <sup>10</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> See ARNOLD, Festgruss an Roth 147.

<sup>5</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, p. 218.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. above §1 a.

'tearing out'; *babhluśā-* (VS.) 'brownish': *babhrī-* 'brown'; *sthūli-* (AV. VS.) 'gross': *sthūrd-*<sup>1</sup>.

3. In a few instances *l* represents IE. *r* by dissimilation; thus *dlarṣi* *dlartī*, intv. of *r-* 'go' (= *arar-*); *prā tilāmi* (VS.) = *prā tirāmi* 'I promote'<sup>2</sup>.

d. In the later Samhitās *l* occasionally appears in place of phonetic *ḍ*<sup>3</sup> between vowels; and that this change could easily arise, is shown by the fact that *l* regularly appears instead of *ḍ* between vowels<sup>4</sup>. This substitution is regularly found in the Kanva recension of the VS.; e. g. *ile* = *īle* (RV. *īle*); *āśālā* = *āśālā* (RV. *āśālā*). Other instances are *ilāyati* (AV.) 'stands still', for *\*ilḍyati* (RV. *ilayati*)<sup>5</sup> from *il-* 'refreshment'; *ilā-* (MS.) 'refreshment', byform of *ilā-* (RV. *ilā-*); *mīl-* (AV.) 'close the eyes'<sup>6</sup>, connected with *mīṣ-* 'wink'.

In the later Samhitās *l* is also found for *ḍ* between vowels when the final of a word (like *l* in RV.): thus *turāṣāl āyuktāsaḥ* (VS.) for *turāṣāl* 'overpowering quickly'; *phāl iti* (AV.) for *phāt* (AV.); probably also in *sāl iti* (AV.) and *bāl iti* (AV. TS.), cp. RV. *bāl itthā*.

e. In at least one word *l* stands for dental *d*: *kṣulla-kā-* (AV.) 'small', for *\*kṣudlā-*, byform of *kṣudrā-* (VS.) 'small'.

f. Sometimes *l* has an independent Indian origin in onomatopoetic words; thus *alālā-bhāvant-* 'sounding cheerfully'.

g. On the other hand there are many words in which a foreign origin may be suspected; such are, besides those already mentioned in 45 b, the following: *kaulitard-*, N.; *ālina-* and *bhalānds-*, names of tribes; *libuja-* 'creeper'; *lavand-* (AV.) 'salt'.

53. The sibilants.—The three sibilants, the palatal *ś*, the cerebral *ṣ*, and the dental *s*, are all voiceless. Even apart from the regular phonetic change of *ś* or *s* to *ṣ*, and of *s* to *ś*, both the palatal and the dental are further liable, in many words and forms, to be substituted for each of the other two.

#### a. Assimilation of *s* is liable to occur

1. initially, when *ś* or *s* appear at the end of the same or the beginning of the next syllable. This is the case in *śvaśura-* 'father-in-law'; *śvaśrū-* 'mother-in-law'; *śmaśru-* and *śmaśaru-* 'beard'; *śāśvant-* 'ever-recurring'; in *śās-* 'six' (Lat. *sex*), and its various derivatives, *śaś-ṭi-* 'sixty', *śoḍhā* (= *\*śaś-dhā*) 'sixfold', and others<sup>7</sup>.

2. initially *s* in the RV. almost invariably becomes *ṣ* in *sah-* 'overcoming', when the final *h* (= IIr. *ḥ*), with or without a following dental, becomes cerebral: nom. sing. *sāt* 'victorious', and the compounds *janā-sāt*, *turā-sāt*, *purā-sāt*, *prtanā-sāt*, *vīrā-sāt*, *vṛthā-sāt*, *rātā-sāt* (VS.), *viśvā-sāt* (TS. AV.); also *ā-sāḍha-* 'invincible'. The only exceptions are *sādhā*, nom. sing. of *sādh-* 'conqueror', and the perf. part. pass. *sāḍhā-* (AV.)<sup>8</sup>. The *s* of the nom. has been transferred to forms with *-sāh-*, when compounded with *prtanā-*, though

<sup>1</sup> In B. passages of the TS. and MS. are found intv. forms of *lī* 'sway': *āletāyat*, pf. *letāya*, also the adv. *letāyā* 'quiveringly'. In similar passages the prepositions *prā* and *pārā* are affected: *plenikhā-* (TS.) = *prenikhā-* 'swing'; *plāḥśarayan* (MS. III. 102) 'they caused to flow' (*√kṣar-*), *palāy-ata* (TS.) 'fled' (*parā-i-*). Some uncertain or wrong explanations of *alātṛṇā-* 'miserly', *ulokā-* 'wide space', *gal-* 'drop', with *l* = IE. *r*, are discussed by WACKERNAGEL I, p. 221, top.

<sup>2</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 193 b, note.

<sup>3</sup> See above 51 b.

<sup>4</sup> See above p. 5, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> According to BÖHTLINGK, *ilāyati* is wrong for *ilāyati*. Cp. above p. 35, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> A form with the original *ḍ* is found in *mūdam* (K.) 'in a low tone'.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 197 a, note.

<sup>8</sup> A B. passage of the MS. has *sāḍhyāi* (I. 83).

there is no phonetic justification for the cerebral (as the *s* is preceded by *ā*): thus *pr̥tanā-sāham*, gen. *pr̥tanā-sāhas*, *pr̥tanā-sāhya* 'victory in battle', but *pr̥tanā-sāham* (SV.). When compounded with *dyumnā*, *dhanvā*, *rathā*, *vibhva*, *sadā*, the phonetic form *-sāh-* remains<sup>1</sup>.

3. Medial *s* has been assimilated to initial *ś* in *śasā* 'hare' (IE. *h̥asō*-<sup>2</sup>).

b. Without assimilation<sup>3</sup>, *s* or *ś* has been changed to *ś*, mostly under the influence of allied words, in the following: *kēśa* 'hair': *kēśara* (AV. VS.); *śákṛt*<sup>4</sup> 'excrement'; *śubh* 'adorn' (probably owing to *śudh* 'purify'); *śūśka* 'dry' (Ilr. *suśka*-), *śūsyati* 'dries'; *śru* 'flow', *śr̥vas* 'stream': *śru*, *śr̥vas*; *śvas*-, *śus*-'breathe'; *śvātra*, *śvātrya* 'dainty': *śvad* 'taste'<sup>5</sup>; *pyāśiṣmahi* (AV.): *pyāśiṣmahi* (VS.), aor. (534) of *pyā* 'swell'; *oṣiṣṭha-hān* (VS. TS.) 'striking very swiftly' beside *oṣiṣṭha-dāvan* (TS.) 'giving very rapidly' (from *oṣām* 'quickly', lit. 'burningly'), owing to *āsiṣṭha* 'very swift'; *kōśa* 'receptacle' (in the later language often also *kośa*-); *kūśmā* (VS.) beside *kūśmā* (MS.), a kind of demon; *ruśatī* (AV.) 'angry', beside *ruś* 'be angry', probably owing to *rūśant* 'shining'.

a. On the other hand, *s* occasionally appears in the later Samhitās, chiefly AV., for *ś*: thus *asyate* (AV. v. 19<sup>2</sup>): *as* 'eat'; *vāśī* (AV.) 'pointed knife': *vāśī*; *śāru* (AV.) 'arrow': *śāru*; *arus-sr̥ṇa* (AV.), a kind of wound preparation: *śr̥ā* 'boil'; *śaspiṇjara* (TS.) 'ruddy like young grass', owing to *śasā* 'grass', for *śas-piṇjara* (VS. MS.) = *śas[pa]-piṇjara*-<sup>6</sup>.

54. The palatal *ś*.—This sibilant is a palatal both in origin (= Ilr. *ś*), as indicated by cognate languages, and in employment, as its combination with other consonants shows. Thus it represents an old palatal in *śatām* 'a hundred', *āśva* 'horse', *śvān* 'dog', *śru* 'hear'<sup>7</sup>. In external Sandhi it regularly appears before voiceless palatal mutes, e. g. *Indras ca*. At the present day the pronunciation of *ś* in India varies between a *sh* sound (not always distinguished from *ś*) and a *s* sound followed by *y*. It is to some extent confused with the other two sibilants even in the Samhitās, but it is to be noted that here it interchanges much oftener with *s* than with *ś*<sup>8</sup>.

The aspirate of *ś* is *ch*<sup>9</sup>; its media is represented by *j* and when aspirated by *h*. These four form the old palatals (Ilr. *ś*, *śh*, *ṣ́*, *ṣ́h*), representing IE. *ṣ̣* *ṣ̣h* *ṣ̣̣* *ṣ̣̣h*. The exact phonetic character of the latter is doubtful, but it is probable that they were dialectically pronounced in two ways, either as mutes (guttural<sup>10</sup> or palatal) or as spirants, the *centum* languages later following the former, the *satem* languages the latter<sup>11</sup>.

a. In external Sandhi *ś* regularly appears for *s* before the palatals *c*, *ch*, *ś*<sup>12</sup>. It also stands for *s* internally in *paścāt* and *paścātāt* 'behind'<sup>13</sup>, and in *vr̥ścātī* 'hews' beside *-vr̥ścā-* 'lopping'.

b. Before *s* the palatal sibilant when medial is regularly replaced by *k*, and sometimes also when final; e. g. *dṛk-śase* and *-dṛk*, from *dṛś* 'see'. Otherwise *ś* very rarely interchanges with *k* or *c*; thus *rūśant* 'brilliant', beside *ruc* 'shine'; perhaps *kārṇa* 'ear': *śru* 'hear'<sup>14</sup>. There are also a few words

<sup>1</sup> WACKERNAGEL I, 197 b.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, op. cit. I, 197 c, note.

<sup>3</sup> For *ś* and *ś* are strictly distinguished in the RV.; cp. op. cit. I, 197 d α, note (end).

<sup>4</sup> Cp., however, op. cit. I, 197 d α.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit. p. 226, top.

<sup>6</sup> See op. cit., p. 226 β; and below 64, I a.

<sup>7</sup> On the relation of *ś* to the corresponding sounds in cognate languages, see WACKERNAGEL I, 200 a; BRUGMANN, KG. I, 233.

<sup>8</sup> See above 53, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. above 40.

<sup>10</sup> The fact that *ś* before *s* regularly becomes *k* and sometimes also when final, seems to favour the assumption of the guttural pronunciation.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 200 b.

<sup>12</sup> See below, Sandhi, 78.

<sup>13</sup> Cp. Av. *paśkāṣ* and *paśca*.

<sup>14</sup> For some words in which such an assumption is doubtful or wrong, see WACKERNAGEL I, 201 a.



with *ś* to which *k* corresponds in the *satem* languages; such are *krus-* 'cry'; *āśman-* 'stone'<sup>1</sup>.

**55. The dental *s*.**—This sound as a rule represents IE. dental *s*; e. g. *sa* 'he', Gothic *sa*; *āśva-s* 'horse', Lat. *equo-s*; *āsti*, Gk. *ἔστυ*. In the combinations *ts* and *ps*, when they stand for etymological *dhs* and *bhs*, the *s* represents IE. *zh*; as in *gṛtsa-* 'adroit' (from *gṛdh-* 'be eager') and *dīpsa-*, 'wish to injure' (from *dābh-* 'injure'), where the final aspirate of the root would have been thrown forward on the suffix, as in *bud-dhā-* from *√budh-*, and *-rab-dha-*, from *√rabh-*<sup>2</sup>.

The dental *s* is in Sandhi frequently changed to the palatal *ś*<sup>3</sup>, and still more frequently to the cerebral *ṣ*<sup>4</sup>.

**56. The cerebral *ṣ*.**—The cerebral sibilant is altogether of a secondary nature, since it always represents either an original palatal or an original dental sibilant.

The cerebral *ṣ* stands for a palatal before cerebral tenuis (themselves produced by this *ṣ* from dental tenuis) in the following two ways:

a. for the palatal *ś* (= Iir. *ś*) and *j* (= Iir. *ś*); e. g. *naś-tā-*, from *naś-* 'be lost'; *mṛṣ-ṭa*, 3. sing. mid., from *mṛj-* 'wipe'; *prṣ-tā-* 'asked', *prāṣ-ṭum* 'to ask', from *praś-* 'ask' in *praś-nā-* 'question' (present stem *prachā-*<sup>5</sup> with inchoative suffix *-chā*). In some instances it is shown by the evidence of cognate words to represent *ś*; thus *aṣṭāu* 'eight' beside *aṣṭi-* 'eighty'; *prṣṭi-* 'rib', *prāṣṭi-* 'side-horse', beside *pārsu-* 'rib'; *āṣṭrā-* 'goad', beside *asāni-* 'thunderbolt'; possibly also *apāṣṭhā-*<sup>6</sup> 'barb', beside *āśman-* 'bolt'.

b. for the combination *ks*, which in origin is *ś + s*; e. g. *cāṣ-ṭe*, *a-caṣṭa*, from *cakṣ-*<sup>8</sup> 'see'; *a-taṣ-ṭa*, *taṣ-tā-*, *tāṣ-ṭr-*<sup>9</sup>, beside *taks-* 'hew'; *nir-aṣ-ṭa* 'emasculated' beside *nir-akṣ-ṇu-hi* (AV.) 'emasculate'; also aorist forms like *ā-yaṣ-ṭa*, 3. sing. mid. from *yaj-* 'sacrifice', beside 3. sing. subj. *yākṣ-at*; *ā-sṛṣ-ṭa*, 3. sing. mid., beside *ā-sṛkṣ-ata*, 3. pl. mid. from *sṛj-* 'emit'. As in all these instances *ks* = *ś + s* or *j* (= *ś*) + *s*<sup>10</sup>, loss of *s* before *t* must here be assumed, the remaining *ś* or *j* combining with the following *t* as usual to *ṣṭ*<sup>11</sup>. A similar origin of *ṣ* is indicated by the evidence of cognate languages in *ṣaṣ-thā-* (AV.) 'sixth', where the final *s* has been dropped (as in Gk. *ἕκ-τος*), while retained in Lat. *sex-tus*; also in *ṣaṣ-ṭi-* 'sixty', *ṣoḍhā* 'sixfold', *ṣoḍaśā-* (AV.) 'sixteenth'. It has possibly the same origin in *aṣṭhivānt-* 'knee'<sup>12</sup>.

**57. The cerebral *ṣ* stands for dental *s* after vowels other than *a* or *ā*, and after the consonants *k*, *r*, *s*.**

**r. Medially** this change regularly<sup>13</sup> takes place, both when the *s* is radical — e. g. *tī-ṣṭhātī*, from *sthā-* 'stand'; *su-sup-ur*, 3. pl. perf. from *svap-*

<sup>1</sup> This seems to point to fluctuation in the IE. pronunciation; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 201 b.

<sup>2</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 210.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. above 54 a, and below 78, 2.

<sup>4</sup> See below 56.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. 40.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 202 b; and below p. 48, note 7.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. op. cit. I, 116 b.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. Av. *caśman-*.

<sup>9</sup> On the origin of *tvāṣṭr-* = *\*tvarṣṭr-*, see WACKERNAGEL I, 202 c, note.

<sup>10</sup> Though *ks* is regularly based on a palatal or a guttural + *s* in the Vedic language, there are some words of IE. origin in which the *s* appears to represent not *s* but a dental

spirant tenuis (*ḍ*) or media (*dh*). In a few words, *kṣip-*, *kṣu-*, *kṣubh-*, *kṣurā-*, the sibilant comes first in the cognate languages: see WACKERNAGEL I, 209.

<sup>11</sup> Similarly, when *ks* = guttural + *s* is followed by *t*, the *s* disappears and the guttural combines with the *t*; thus from *ghas-* 'eat', *gḍha-* (= *ghz-ta-*); from *jaks-* 'eat', *jagdhā-* (= *jaghz-ta-*), *jagdhivāya* (= *jaghz-tvāya*); from *bhāj-* 'share', aor. *ā-bhak-ta* (= *abhaj-s-ta*), beside *ā-bhak-ṣ-ti*.

<sup>12</sup> Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, Studien zur indogermanischen Sprachgeschichte 2, 103.

<sup>13</sup> The change does not take place in some forms of the perfect of *sic-* 'pour': *sīciev* (III. 32<sup>15</sup>), *sīsicur* (II. 24<sup>1</sup>), beside *sīsicatur*.

'sleep'; *us-ānā-*, part., from *vas-* 'wear'; *ṛṣa-bhā-* 'bull'; *ukṣān-* 'ox'; *varsā-* 'rain' — and when the *s* is suffixal; as in the superlative suffix *-iṣṭha*; in the loc. pl. suffix *-su*, e. g. *agni-su*, *akti-su*, *nī-su*, *vik-si*, *gūr-si*, *haviṣ-su*; in the *s*-suffix of the aorist, e. g. *yák-s-at*, from *yaj-* 'sacrifice'.

The change is phonetic even when Anusvāra intervenes between *ī ā ũ* and *s*; e. g. *piṁśānti* from *piṣ-* 'crush'; *haviṁṣi* 'offerings' from *haviṣ-*; *cákṣiṁṣi* 'eyes' from *cákṣus-*. The *s*, however, remains in forms of *hiṁṣ-* 'injure', *nīṁṣ-* 'kiss', and *pūṁṣ-* 'man', being probably transferred from the strong forms *hindsti*, *pilmāṁsam*, etc.

α. The *s*, however, remains when immediately followed by *r* or *ṛ*, owing to a distaste for a succession of cerebrals<sup>1</sup>; e. g. *tisrās*, *tisṛbhis*, *tisṛnām*, f. of *tri-* 'three'; *usrās* gen., *usri* and *usrām*, loc. (beside *uṣar*, voc.), *usrā-* 'matutinal'; *usrā-* 'bull'; *sarīṣpā-* 'creeping'. Owing to the influence of forms with *sr*, the *s* further remains in the syllable *sar*, instead of *ṣar*, as in *sisarsi*, *sisarti* (beside *sistrate*, *sisrat*, *sarsrē* etc.). In *kisara-* (AV. VS.) 'hair', the retention may be due to the *r* having originally followed the *s* immediately<sup>2</sup>. The *s* also remains unchanged in the combinations *stir*, *stūr*, *spār*, *spr*, *sphūr*; e. g. *tistirē*, from *stī-* 'strew'; *piṣṛṣas*, from *sprṣ-* 'touch'<sup>3</sup>. It remains in the second of three successive syllables in which *s-s-s* would be expected; thus *yāsisiṣṭhās*, beside *ayāsisaṁ*, from *yā-* 'go'; *sisakṣi*, beside *siṣakti*, from *sac-* 'follow'.

β. Words in which *s* otherwise follows *r* or any vowel but *ā*, must be of foreign origin; such as *bisa-* 'root fibre'; *bisā-* 'vapour'; *bṛṣaya*, a demon; *ṛbīsa-* 'cleft'; *kṛstā-* 'praiser'; *bārsvā-* (VS.) 'socket'; *kusūla-* (AV.), a kind of demon; *mūsala-* (AV.) 'pestle' (for *mūsra-*?); *śīsa-* (AV. VS.) 'lead'<sup>4</sup>.

γ. The cerebral *ṣ* is sometimes found even after *ā*, representing an early Prakritic change in which *aṣ* is based on *ṛṣ* and *ās* on *aṛṣ*. Instances of this are *kaṣati* (AV.) 'scratches'; *paṣṭhavāh-* (VS. TS.) 'young bull' (lit. 'carrying on the back') and *paṣṭhauh-*<sup>5</sup> 'young cow', beside *ṛṣṭhā-* 'back'; *pāṣyā-*<sup>6</sup> 'stone'; *bhaṣā-*<sup>7</sup> (VS.) 'barking'<sup>8</sup>. There are besides several unexplained instances, doubtless due to foreign influence or origin; such are *ḍatara-* 'more accessible'; *kavāṣa*, N.; *cāṣa-* 'blue jay'; *caṣāla-* 'knob'; *jālāṣa-* 'remedy'; *baṣṭhāya-* 'yearling'; *baṣṭhiha-* (VS.) 'decrepit'; *māṣa-* 'bean' (AV. VS.); *śāṣpa-* (VS.) 'young grass'<sup>9</sup>.

## 2. Initially<sup>11</sup> the change regularly takes place, in the RV.:

a. in verbal compounds after prepositions ending in *i* or *u*, and in nominal derivatives from such compound verbs; also after the preposition *nī-* 'out'; e. g. *nī śīda* (X. 98<sup>4</sup>); *ānu śṭuvanti* (VIII. 3<sup>8</sup>); *nīḥ-śāhamāṇaḥ* (I. 127<sup>3</sup>).

α. But (as when it is medial) the *s* remains unchanged when followed by *ṛ* (even when *t* or *p* intervenes) or *r* (even though *a* intervene, with an additional *m* or *v* in the roots *smar-* and *svar-*); e. g. *vi srja* 'let flow', *vi-srṣi-* 'creation'; *vi strṇūtām* 'let him extend'; *nī-sprṣe* 'to caress' (but *ā-nī-sṛta-* 'unchecked'); *pāri-srūta-* 'flowed round'; *vi-sargā-* 'end', *vi-sārjana-* 'extension' (owing to the influence of the forms with *sr* from *srj-*); *vi-sarmān-* 'dissolving', *vi-sārā-* 'extent', and even *vi sasre* (owing to the influence of forms with *sr* from *srj-* 'flow'); *prāti smarēthām* 'may ye two remember' (*√smṛ-*); *abhi-svānti* 'praise', *abhi-svār-* 'invocation', *abhi-svarē*, loc., 'behind', *abhi-svart-* 'invoker'. But *st sp sph* are changed according to the general rule, when *ār ir ur* follow; e. g. *prāti sphura* 'repel'. In roots which contain no *r*, the initial *s* rarely remains; thus in forms of *as-* 'be': *abhi santi*, *pāri santu*, *pāri santi* (beside *pāri śanti*), *abhi syāma* (beside *abhi-syāma*); and owing to dislike of repeated *ṣ*: *anu-sēṣidhat* (*sidh-* 'drive off'); *ānu-sṣaṣta-* 'noticed' (*sṣaṣ-* 'see'); *pāri sani-svaṇat* (*svan-* 'sound').

<sup>1</sup> Cp. above 42 a, α and p. 38, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 50.

<sup>3</sup> The combination *sr* is found only where *sr* would be quite isolated amid cognate forms with *ṣ*; thus *ajṣ-ṛan*, from *jṣ-* 'be satisfied', since all the other very numerous forms of this verb have *ṣ*.

<sup>4</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 203 e, note.

<sup>5</sup> Sometimes representing also IE. *ṣ* and *ḥ*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 208 b α.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 29, 579; WINDISCH, KZ. 27, 169.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. FORTUNATOV, BB. 6, 217; J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 32, 387.

<sup>8</sup> FORTUNATOV, l. c.

<sup>9</sup> On doubtful instances like *kāṣṭhā-* 'goal', *aṣṭhivāntau* 'knees', *apāṣṭhā-* 'barb', cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 208 b α, note; b β, note.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 208 b β.

<sup>11</sup> Finally, *ṣ* stands for *s* in the first

β. In the later Samhitās initial *s* is similarly changed to *ṣ*; but its retention is in some instances somewhat less restricted; thus *abhi śphūrjati* (AV.) 'sounds towards'; *āhi skanda* (AV.) and *abhi-skāndam*<sup>1</sup>, beside *pari-skandā-* (AV., VS.), from *skand-* 'leap'; *prati-spāśana-* (AV.) 'lying in wait', *prati-spāś-* (TS.) 'spying'; *anu sthana* (TS. v. 6. 1<sup>3</sup>), from *as-* 'be'; owing to the following *s* also in *abhi sisyaḍe* (AV.) from *syand-* 'run'.

γ. The divergence between the later Samhitās and the RV. is much greater when the augment intervenes between a preposition ending in *i* and the initial *s* of a root. In the RV. the *s* regularly remains unchanged (as *ny-āśīdat*, *vy-āsthāt*, etc.) except in *pari-śasvajat* 'embraced' (under the influence of *pāri śasvaje*). In the other Samhitās, however, the *s* here regularly becomes *ṣ*; thus *abhy-āśīncan* (TS.), *abhy-āśīncanta* (AV.) from *sic-* 'sprinkle'; *vy-āśahanta* (AV.)<sup>2</sup>, from *sah-* 'overcome'; *dāhy-āsthām* (AV.), *dāhy-āsthāt* (AV.), *abhy-āsthām* (AV.) from *sthā-* 'stand'. In the root *sthū-* 'spit', which first occurs in the AV., the initial *s* has been displaced by *ṣ* throughout. The form *praty-āsthīvan* indicates the transition which led to the change.

Similarly when a reduplicative syllable containing *ā* intervenes between a preposition ending in *i* and an initial radical *s*, the latter always remains unchanged in the RV.; thus *pāri śasvaje*; *ni-śasāthā* (VIII. 48<sup>3</sup>); *ati-tasthāu* (X. 60<sup>3</sup>); but the AV. has *vī-tasthīr*, *vī taṣṭhe* (owing to *vī tiṣṭhate*, *vī-ṣṭhila-*), but also *dāhi tasthīr*.

b. Initially in the second member of other than verbal compounds *ṣ* is more common than *s* when preceded by vowels other than *ā*. But *s* even in the RV. is not infrequently retained; not only when *r* or *r* follows as in *hṛdi-śpīś-* 'touching the heart', *su-sārtu-*, N., *ṛṣi-svār-* 'sung by seers', but also when there is no such cause to prevent the change; thus *gō-sakhi-* beside *gō-śakhi-* 'possessing cattle'; *go-sāni-* (AV. VS.) beside *go-śāni-* 'winning cattle'; *rayi-sthāna-* beside *rayi-ṣthāna-* (AV.) 'possessing wealth'; *tri-saptā-* beside *tri-śaptā-* (AV.) 'twenty-one'; *śiś-samiddha-* beside *śiś-samiddha-* (SV.) 'well-kindled'; *āpāke-stha-* (AV.) 'standing in the oven' beside *-ṣtha-* in other compounds after *-e*; *pṛthivī-sād-* (VS.) beside *pṛthivī-sād-* (AV.) 'seated on the earth'; *śiś-samiddha-* (AV.) 'quite perfect'. After *r* the *s* becomes *ṣ* in *svār-śā-* 'light-winning', *svār-ṣāti-* 'obtainment of light'; after *k*, probably only in *īk-sama-* (TS.) 'resembling a *re*', beside *īk-sama-* (VS.).

α. In Avyayībhāvas *ṣ* seems to appear in the RV. only; thus *anu-śvadhām* 'according to wish'; *anu-ṣatyām* 'according to truth'; *anu-śvāpam* 'sleepily'.

β. In some compounds *ṣ* appears where it is not phonetically justifiable, owing to the influence of cognate words; thus *upa-ṣṭh*, adv., 'at one's call' (because of the frequency of *-ṣtu-* after *i* and *u*), beside *upa-stut-* 'invocation'; *sa-ṣṭibh-* (TS.), a metre, owing to *anu-ṣṭubh-*, *tri-ṣṭibh-*; *savya-ṣthā-* (AV.), owing to compounds in *-e-ṣtha-*.

γ. In Āmṛeḍita compounds, however, the *s* regularly remains unchanged because of the desire to leave the repeated word unaltered; thus *sutē-sute* and *somē-some* 'at every Soma draught'; also in *stuhī stuhī* 'praise on'<sup>3</sup>.

3. Initially in external Sandhi *s* frequently becomes *ṣ* after a final *i* and *u* in the RV. This change chiefly takes place in monosyllabic pronouns and particles, such as *sā(s)*, *sā*, *syā(s)*, *sīm*, *sma*, *svīd*, and particularly *śi*. It also appears in verbal forms like *stha sthas sthana*, *santu*, *syām*, *syāma* (from *as-* 'be'); *śīdati*, *satsat*, *satsi* (from *sad-* 'sit'); *śīṇca*, *śīṇcata* (from *sic-* 'pour'); *stavāma*, *stave*, *stuhī* (from *stu-* 'praise'); in participles like *sān*, *sātis* (from *as-* 'be'); *sīdan* (from *sad* 'sit'); *svānds* (*su-* 'press'); *sītām* (*si-* 'bind'); *stutis* (*stu-* 'praise'); *skānmām* (*skand-* 'leap'). In other words the change

member of the compound and often in external Sandhi; see below 78.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. APr. II. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. WHITNEY'S Translation of the AV. I, p. LXIV (mid.).

Indo-arische Philologie I, 4.

<sup>3</sup> This is not treated as an Āmṛeḍita compound in the Padapāṭha (VIII. 130): *stuhī|stuhī|it*; but *pībā-pība* (II. 11<sup>12</sup>) is analyzed as *pība-pība|it*.

rarely takes place; e. g. *ānu rājati ślīp* (IX. 96<sup>18</sup>); *trī śadhāsthā* (III. 565); *nīh śadhāsthāt*<sup>1</sup> (V. 31<sup>9</sup>); *nū śthirām* (I. 64<sup>15</sup>); *ādhi snūnā* (IX. 97<sup>16</sup>).

The *ś* usually follows short words such as *u*, *tū*, *nū*, *sū*, *hī*, and occurs where there is a close syntactical connection of two words; e. g. *rājajisu śīdan* (VII. 34<sup>16</sup>); *vāmsu śīdati* (IX. 57<sup>3</sup>); *divī śān* (VI. 2<sup>6</sup>); *divī śantu* (V. 2<sup>10</sup>); *rcchānti śma* (X. 102<sup>6</sup>). In no word, however, even when these conditions are fulfilled, is the change of initial *ś* to *ṣ* invariably made.

a. In the later Samhitās, apart from passages adopted from the RV. this form of external Sandhi is very rare except in the combination *ū ślī*. Examples are *ūd u śfenām* (AV. IV. 3<sup>4</sup>); *māhi śād dyumān nāmāh* (TS. III. 2. 8<sup>2</sup>)<sup>2</sup>.

**58. The breathing *h*.**—The sound *h* is, at the present day, pronounced as a breathing in India, and this was its character at the period when Greek and Indian words were interchanged, as is shown e. g. by *ōpa* being reproduced by *hōpā*. It is already recognised as a breathing by the TPr. (II. 9), which identifies it with the second element of voiced aspirates (*g-h*, *d-h*, *b-h*). This is borne out by the spelling *हह* (= *dh*) beside *ह* (= *q*). The TPr. further (II. 47) assigns to it, on the authority of some, the same place of articulation as the following vowel, this being still characteristic of the pronunciation of *h* at the present day in India<sup>3</sup>. The breathing is, moreover, stated by the Prātisākhya<sup>4</sup> to have been voiced. This pronunciation is proved by the evidence of the Samhitās themselves; for *h* is here often derived from a voiced aspirate, e. g. *hitā-* from *dhā-* 'put'; it is occasionally replaced by a voiced aspirate, e. g. *jaghāna* from *han-* 'strike'; and in Sandhi initial *h* after a final mute regularly becomes a voiced aspirate, e. g. *tād dhi* for *tād hī*. It is in fact clear that whatever its origin (even when = IIr. *śh*)<sup>5</sup>, *h* was always pronounced as a voiced breathing in the Samhitās.

As *h* cannot be final owing to its phonetic character<sup>6</sup>, it is represented in that position by sounds connected with its origin<sup>7</sup>. It appears in combination with voiced sounds only; being preceded only by vowels, Anusvāra, or the semivowels *r* and *l*<sup>8</sup> (in Sandhi also by the nasals *ñ* and *n*), and followed only by vowels, the nasals *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, or the semivowels *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*.

The breathing *h* as a rule represents a voiced aspirate, regularly a palatal aspirate, occasionally the dental *dh* and the labial *bh*. It usually represents a new palatal (= IIr. *jh*, Av. *j<sup>9</sup>*), appearing beside *gh*, e. g. *druhyāt* : *drūgha-*, as *j* beside *g*, e. g. *ōjyas* : *ugrā-*. But in many words it also stands (like *j* for *ś*) for the old palatal *śh*, the voiced aspirate of *ś*, being recognizable as such in the same way as *j*<sup>10</sup>.

**1 a. *h* represents the palatalization (= IIr. *jh*) of *gh* when, in cognate forms, *gh* (or *g*) is found before other sounds than *s*;** e. g. *hān-ti* 'strikes': *ghn-anti*, *jaghāna*; *ārhati* 'is worthy': *arghā-* 'price'; *ṛh-ant-* 'weak': *ragh-ū-* 'light'; *jāmh-as-* 'gait': *jānghā-* 'leg'; *dāhati* 'burns': *dag-dhā-* 'burnt'; *dāhate* 'milks': *dūghāna-* 'milking'; *dug-dhā-* 'milked'; *dudrīha* 'have injured': *drug-dhā-* 'injured'; *drūgha-* 'injurious'; *māmhate* 'presents': *maghā-* 'gift'; *mīh-* 'mist':

<sup>1</sup> *ih* and *uh* produce the same effect as simple *i* and *u*, as they were originally pronounced as *iś* and *uś* (cp. Sandhi, p. 71, e 2); e. g. *agnī(ś) ślave*; *yājñ(ś) śkannām*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I. 207 b.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. WHITNEY on APr. I. 13 and TPr. II. 47.

<sup>4</sup> See RPr. I. 12; XII. 2; APr. I. 13.

<sup>5</sup> See below 1 b.

<sup>6</sup> See below, Sandhi, 66.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. b 6, d.

<sup>8</sup> The combination *lh* is rare; it is found in *upa-valh-* (VS.) 'test by riddles'; *viśādhā-* (AV.), of unknown meaning; and in the Kāṇva recension of the VS. as representing *dh*.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. 36. This *h* being related to *gh* as *j* is to *g*, it must represent IE. *gh*. This survives, with loss of the aspiration, in *jahi* (= IIr. *jha-dhi*), 2. sing. impv. of *han-* 'strike'.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. 41.

*meghā-* 'cloud'; *mūhyati* 'is perplexed': *mugdhā-* 'gone astray', *māgha-* 'vain'; *rāmhi-* 'speed': *raghū-* 'swift'; *hāras-* and *gharmā-* 'heat'; *harmye-śhā-* and *gharmye-śhā-* 'dwelling in the house'; *hṛṣītā-* 'glad': *ghṛṣu-* 'joyful', *ghṛṣi-* 'gladdening'. In *dhi-* 'serpent' and *duhitṛ-* 'daughter' the guttural origin of *h* is shown by cognate languages<sup>1</sup>.

b. *h* represents the old palatal aspirate (= Iir. *śh*):

a. when, either as a final or before *t*, it is replaced by a cerebral (like the old palatals *ś* and *j* = Iir. *ś*); e. g. *vah-* 'carry': *ā-vāt*, 3. sing. aor. *guh-* 'conceal': *gūdhā-*<sup>2</sup> 'concealed'; *tyhāti* 'crushes': *tydhāt-*<sup>3</sup>; *dṛyhati* 'makes; firm', *dṛhyati* 'is firm': *dṛdhā-* 'firm'; *bahū-* 'abundant': *bādhā-* 'aloud'; *mih-* 'make water': *mādhra-* (AV.) 'penis'; *rihāti* 'licks': *rēdhi* 'licks', *rūdhā-* 'licked'; *vāhati* 'carries': *vōdhum* 'to carry', *ūdha-* 'carried'; *sāhate* 'overcomes': *sādhy-* 'victor'.

β. when it is followed by sounds which do not palatalize gutturals<sup>4</sup>, before which *dh* and *bh* do not become *h*, and before which the other old palatals *ś* and *j* (= *ś*) appear; thus *āpahas-* and *āpṛhati-* 'distress' because of *āpūh-* 'narrow'; *āhan-* 'day', because of *āhnām*, g. pl., and *pūrvāhūd-* 'forenoon' (not *ghu* as in *ghnanti* from *han-*); *jāhamāna-*<sup>5</sup> 'panting', because of *jāhmā-* 'oblique'; *bāhū-* 'arm'; *brāhman-* n. 'devotion', *brahmān-* 'one who prays'; *rāhū-* (AV.), demon of eclipse; *yahvā-*, *yahvānt-* 'ever young', because of *yāhū-*, id. This applies to all words beginning with *hū-*, *hy-*, *hu-*, *hr-*, *hw-*; e. g. *hu-* 'pour'; *hṛd-* and *hṛdaya-* 'heart'; *-hṛaya-* 'ashamed'; *-hvā-*, *hū-* 'call'; *hū-* 'be crooked'.

γ. when the 'satem' languages have a corresponding voiced spirant (*z* or *ž*)<sup>6</sup>; thus *ahām* 'I'; *chā-* (AV.) 'desirous'; *garhate* 'complains of'; *dih-* 'besmear'; *pūhān-* (AV. VS.) 'spleen'; *barhū-* 'sacrificial straw'; *mah-* 'great'; *varāhā-* 'boar'; *sahāsra-* 'thousand'; *simhā-* 'lion'; *spṛh-* 'desire'; *hans-* 'goose'; *hānu-* 'jaw'; *hi-* 'impel'; *hemān-* 'zeal', *het-* 'weapon'; *hāya-* 'steed'; *hāri-* and *hārita-* 'tawny'; *hāryati* 'likes'; *hāsta-* 'hand'; *hā-* 'forsake'; *hāyand-* (AV.) 'year'; *hī-* 'for'; *himā-* 'cold'; *hīranya-* 'gold'; *hīrā-* (AV. VS.) 'vein'; *hims-* 'injure'; *hāsas-* 'wound'; *hy-* 'take'; *hyās* 'yesterday'<sup>7</sup>.

δ. *h* according to the evidence of cognate languages, represents other palatals in some words. Thus in *hṛd-* 'heart', *ś* = IE. *k* would be expected; and *j* = IE. *g* in *ahām* 'I', *mahānt-* 'great', *hānu-* 'jaw', *hāsta-* 'hand', *hvā-*, *hū-* 'call'. These irregularities are probably due to IE. dialectic variations<sup>8</sup>.

2. *h* also represents *dh* and *bh* not infrequently, and *qh* at least once.

a. It takes the place of *dh* in four or five roots (with nominal derivatives) and in a few nominal and verbal suffixes. Thus it appears initially in *hit-*, *-hiti-*, beside *-dhita-*, *dhiti-*, from *dhā-* 'put'. Medially it is found in *gāhate* 'plunges' (with the derivatives *gāhā-* 'depth', *gāhana-* 'deep', *dur-gāha-* 'impassable place') beside *gādhā-* 'ford'; *rāhati* 'rises', 'grows' (with the derivatives *rāh-* 'growth', *rāhaṇa-* 'means of ascending', *rāhas-* 'elevation') beside *rādhati* 'grows' (with the derivatives *vī-rādhi-* 'creeper', *rādha-* 'growing', *rādhas-* 'bank', *ā-rādhana-* 'ascent'); derivatives of *\*rudh-* 'be red': *rohī-*, *rōhita-*,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 214 b.

<sup>2</sup> That is for *\*guzdhā* (through *gūdh-tā-* for *gūgh-tā-*), the cerebral *z* disappearing but leaving the vowel long.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. 12 and 17, 5.

<sup>4</sup> See above 41, 2.

<sup>5</sup> See WHITNEY, Roots, under *jeh*; and cp. 41 a, 2.

<sup>6</sup> This includes several examples given under α and β.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps also in *has-* 'laugh' and *hā-* 'go', as these verbs have no forms with *gh*; also *nah-* 'bind' in spite of *nād-dhā-*. In several words the origin of the *h* is uncertain, e. g. *jāngāhe* 'struggles', as the evidence is doubtful.

<sup>8</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 216 b; for a few doubtful examples, *ibid.* 216 a, note.

-*lohita*- 'red', beside *lodhā*- 'reddish animal', *rudhirā*- (AV.) 'red'; also *rauhiṇā*- beside *rudhikrā*-, names of demons; the evidence of cognate languages further shows that *h* represents *dh* in *grhā*- 'house'<sup>1</sup>.

*h* moreover represents *dh* in the adverbial suffix *-ha* in *viśvā-ha* beside *viśvā-dha* 'always'; in *sahā* 'together', beside *sadha*- in compounds; in *ihā* 'here', as shown by the Prakrit *idha*; and doubtless also in *sama-ha* 'somehow', though there is no direct evidence. The evidence of cognate languages, moreover, shows that in the endings of the 1. du. *-vahe*, *-vahi*, *-vahai* and the 1. pl. *-mahe*, *-mahi*, *-mahai* *h* represents *dh* (cp. Gk. *-μεῖδα*, etc.)<sup>2</sup>.

b. *h* takes the place of *bh* in the verb *grāh*-, *grh*- 'seize' (with its derivatives *grāha*- 'ladleful', *grāhi*- 'demoness', *grāhy*- 'to be grasped', *grhā*- 'servant', *hasta-grāhya* 'having take the hand') beside *grabh*-, *grbh*- (with the derivatives *grābha*- 'taking possession of', *grābhā*- 'handful'); and in the nouns *kakuhā*- 'high', beside *kak'ibh*- 'height', *kakubhā*- (VS. TS.) 'high', m. (AV.) a kind of demon; *balī-hṛt*- 'paying tax' (beside *bhr*- 'bear'); probably *bārjaha*- 'udder'(?), if formed with suffix *-ha* = *-bha* (in *ṛṣa-bhā*-, etc.)<sup>3</sup>.

c. *h* takes the place of *dh* in *bārbyhi*, 2. sing. impv. of the intv. *bārbrh*- of the root *brh*- 'make strong', for *\*bārbr̥dhi* (= *\*barbr̥dhi*, with the cerebral dropped after lengthening the preceding *r* in pronunciation)<sup>4</sup>.

d. The rule is that *h* appears for *dh*, *dh*, *bh*, only between vowels<sup>5</sup>, the first of which is unaccented; e. g. *ihā*, *kakuhā*-, *grhā*- *bārjaha*-, *balī-hṛt*- *rauhiṇā*-, *sahā*-. Similarly in *grabh*- 'seize', *h* alone appears after unaccented *r* in RV. 1-19<sup>6</sup>; while on the other hand, in the 2. sing. impv. of graded roots, *-dhi* regularly appears after strong and therefore originally accented vowels; e. g. *bodhī* (from *bhū*- 'be'), *yādhi* (from *yu*- 'yoke'), *yuyodhī* (from *yu*- 'separate'); *śisādhi*, but *śisīhī* (*śā*- 'sharpen'). Again, in *rudh*- 'rise', the unaccented form of the root is regularly *ruh*-, while when it is accented, forms such as *rīdhati* appear beside *rīshati*, and in nominal derivatives *dh* predominates in accented radical syllables, the RV. having *rīdha*- and *ārōdhana*- only, but the AV. *rīsha*- and *ārīshana*-<sup>7</sup>.

a. At the same time *dh* and *bh* remain in a good many instances after an unaccented vowel; thus in the 2. sing. impv. *krāhi*, *gadhi*, *śradhi*, *śṛṇudhi*; in *adhās* 'below', *adhamā*- 'lowest', *abhi* 'towards'; *ṛbhū*- 'deft'; *mīghā*- 'reward'; *medhā*- 'wisdom'; *vidhāti* 'adores'; *vidhū*- 'solitary'; *vidhāvī*- 'widow'; *vadhū*- 'bride'; *sādhū*- 'right'; *rudhīrā*- (AV.) 'red'; derivatives formed with *-dhi*-, *-bhā*-, etc.<sup>8</sup> The retention of the *dh* and *bh* here is partly to be explained as an archaism, and partly as due to borrowing from a dialect in which these aspirates did not become *h*, and the existence of which is indicated by the Prakrit form *idha* beside the Vedic *ihā* 'here'. The guttural aspirate media is probably to be similarly explained in *meghā*- 'cloud' and *aṣhā*- 'sinful'.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 217 a.

<sup>2</sup> The *h* in the perf. *āha*, *āhīr*, may represent *dh*; not, however, in *nāhyati* 'binds', in spite of *naddhā*-, *nah*- rather stands for Ilr. *naṣh*- (cp. Lat. *necto*); the pp. instead of *\*nādhā*-, became *naddhā*- through the influence of *baddhā*- from *bandh*- 'bind'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 217 a, note, where several other wrong explanations of *h* = *dh* are discussed.

<sup>3</sup> Some erroneous etymologies in which *h* is explained as = *bh* are discussed in WACKERNAGEL I, 217 b, note.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. 12 and 17, 5.

<sup>5</sup> It appears initially in *hitā* = *-dhita*-, but originally it was doubtless preceded in this position by a final vowel. That *h*

appears, though a vowel does not follow, in *grhīnātu* (IV. 57) and *hasta-grāhya*, is due to other forms of *grabh*- in which *h* is followed by a vowel.

<sup>6</sup> In RV. x, however, *grāha*- and *grāhi*- occur; cp. above, 2 b.

<sup>7</sup> Exceptions like *rōhita*-, *viśvāha* and inflected forms such as *gāhate*, are due to normalization.

<sup>8</sup> Where the RV. fluctuates between *h* and *dh* *bh* (above 2, a, b), *h* appears throughout in the later Samhitās; thus always *-hi*, after vowels in imperatives except *edhi* 'be'; thus for *śṛṇudhī* (RV. VIII. 843), SV. has *śṛṇuḥī*. But a new *h* of this kind hardly occurs. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 219 a.

3. The various origins of *h* led to some confusion in the groups of forms belonging to roots which contain *h*.

a. roots in which *h* represents an original guttural (IIr. *jh*) show some forms which would presuppose an old palatal (IIr. *śh*). Thus from *muh-* 'be confused', phonetic derivatives of which are *mugdhá-*, *m'gha-*, are formed *mūḍhā-* (AV.) 'bewildered' and *múhur* 'suddenly'.

b. roots in which *h* represents an old palatal (IIr. *śh*) show forms with a guttural before vowels and dentals; thus from *dh-* 'besmear' is formed *digdhā-* (AV.) 'owing to the influence of *dah-* 'burn', and *duh-* 'milk'. Similarly, from *\*sarādh-* 'bee', beside *sarābhya-*, is formed *sāragdhā-* (AV. VS.) 'derived from the bee'¹.

c. the root *ruh-*, though = *rudh-* 'ascend', is treated as if the *h* represented (as in *vah-*) an old palatal (IIr. *śh*); hence aor. *áruḥṣat*, des. *rúruḥṣati*, pp. *-rūḍha-* (AV.), ger. *rūḍhva-* (AV.).

59. The cerebral *l*.—This sound, as distinguished from the ordinary dental *l*, is a cerebral *l*². It appears in our (*Sākala*) recension of the RV. as a substitute, between vowels, for the cerebral *ḷ* and, with the appended sign for *h*, for the cerebral aspirate *ḷh*³; e. g. *ilā-* 'refreshment'; *á-sālha-* 'invincible'. It also appears in Sandhi when final before an initial vowel; e. g. *turāśāḷ abhībhūtyojāḥ* (III. 43⁴). In the written Samhitā text, however, it does not appear if followed by a semivowel which must be pronounced as a vowel; e. g. *vāḷv-āṅga-* 'firm-limbed', to be pronounced as *vāḷli-āṅga-* and analysed thus by the Padapāṭha. In one passage of the RV. the readings fluctuate between *l* and *l* in *niḷavat* or *nīlavat* (VII. 97⁵)⁴.

60. Anusvāra and Anunāsika.—Anusvāra, 'after-sound', is a pure nasal sound which differs from the five class nasals; for it appears after vowels only, and its proper use is not before mutes, but before sibilants or *h* (which have no class nasal). But it resembled the class nasals in being pronounced, according to the Prātiśākhya of the RV. and the VS.⁵, after the vowel. The vowel itself might, however, be nasalized, forming a single combined sound. The Prātiśākhya of the AV.⁶, recognizes this nasal vowel, called Anunāsika, 'accompanied by a nasal', alone, ignoring Anusvāra, which with the preceding vowel represents two distinct successive sounds. WHITNEY⁷, however, denies the existence of any distinction between Anunāsika and Anusvāra. In any case, the Vedic Mss. have only the one sign ° (placed either above or after the vowel) for both⁸, employing the simple dot - where neither Anusvāra nor Anunāsika is allowable. The latter sign is used in the TS. for final *m* before *y v*, and in both the TS. and MS. before mutes instead of the class nasal⁹, a practice arising from carelessness or the desire to save trouble. There is thus no ground for the prevalent opinion that ° represents Anunāsika and - Anusvāra¹⁰. Throughout the present work *m* with a dot (*m̐*) will be used for both, except if they appear before a vowel, when *m* with the older sign (*m̐*) will be employed.

¹ The root *sagh-* 'take upon oneself', has no connexion with *sah-* 'overcome'; nor *vāghāt-* 'institutor of a sacrifice', with *vah-* 'convey'. The relation of *gū-nyoghas-* 'streaming among milk', to *vah-* is uncertain; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 220 b, note.

² Cp. above 42.

³ This practice is followed by the Mss. of secondary texts of the RV.

⁴ Cp. BENFEY, Gött. Abhandl. 19, 138, note. See also WHITNEY on APR. I. 29.

⁵ See RPR. XIII. 13; VS. I. 74f., 147f.

⁶ See WHITNEY on APR. I. 11.

⁷ On TPR. II. 30; JAOS. 10, LXXXVf.

⁸ Cp. WHITNEY on TPR. II. 30.

⁹ In the MS. also when *-am̐* is written for *-ām*.

¹⁰ See WHITNEY, JAOS. 7, 92, note.

Anusvāra and Anunāsika are commonest when final. As in that position they belong to the sphere of Sandhi, the conditions under which they then appear, will be stated below<sup>1</sup>. Medially Anusvāra and Anunāsika are found under the following conditions:

a. regularly before sibilants and *h*; e. g. *vaṃśá-* 'reed'; *havíṃsi* 'offerings'; *māṃśá-* 'flesh'; *siṃhí-* 'lion'. This is generally recognized as the sphere of Anusvāra, except by the APr.<sup>2</sup>; but *māṃścalí-* 'light yellow', is stated<sup>3</sup> to have Anunāsika, while *pūṃścalí-* (AV. VS.) is said to have both Anunāsika and Anusvāra<sup>4</sup>. The Anusvāra usually appears before *s*, and all forms with *ms* are shown to be based on original *ns* or *ms* by the evidence of cognate forms corroborated by that of allied languages<sup>5</sup>; thus *māṃśate*, 3. sing. subj. aor. of *man-* 'think'; *jíghṛṃsati*, des. from *han-* 'strike'; *piṇśánti* beside *pindśti*, from *piś-* 'crush'; the neuter plurals in *-āṃsi*, *-īṃsi*, *-ūṃsi* from stems in *-as*, *-is*, *-us*, with nasal after the analogy of *-ānti*, nom. acc. pl. from neuters in *-nti*; stems in *-yāṃs*, *-vāṃs* beside nom. sing. in *-yān*, *-vān*; *kramśyāte* (AV.) from *kram-* 'stride'. When Anusvāra appears before *s* and *h* derived from an IĒ. palatal or guttural, it represents the corresponding class nasal. The reduction of these old nasals to Anusvāra is probably IĪr. after long vowels (*ām̐*, *-īṃr*, *-ūṃr*); probably later after short vowels, for it does not appear in forms like *áhan* (for *áhans*), though *s* was not dropped after *an* in the IĪr. period; but the *s* must have been dropped early in the Indian period, before *-ans* became *-ams*<sup>6</sup>. Anusvāra before *h* (= Av. *ṛj*) must have arisen in the Indian period.

b. before any consonant in the intensive reduplicative syllable, the final of which is treated like that of the prior member of a compound; e. g. *nāṃnam-iti* (v. 83<sup>7</sup>) from *nam-* 'bend'.

c. before any consonant which is the initial of secondary suffixes; thus from *śam-* 'blessing', is formed *śam-yú-* 'beneficent'; *śam-tāti-* or *śant-ti-* 'blessing'.

6r. Voiceless Spirants.—a. The sound called Visarjanīya<sup>8</sup> in the Prātiśākyas<sup>9</sup>, must in their time have been pronounced as a voiceless breathing, since they describe it as an *ūśman*, the common term for breathings and sibilants. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that, in the RPr., Jihvāmūliya and Upadhmānīya, the sounds which are most nearly related to and may be replaced by Visarjanīya, are regarded as forming the second half of the voiceless aspirates *kḥ* and *ph* respectively, just as *h* forms the second half of the voiced aspirates *gh*, *bḥ*, etc. At the present day Visarjanīya is still pronounced in India as a voiceless breathing, which is, however, followed by a weak echo of the preceding vowel. According to the TPr.<sup>10</sup>, Visarjanīya has the same place of articulation as the end of the preceding vowel. The proper function of this sound is to represent final *s* and *r* in pausā; it may, however, also appear before certain voiceless initial sounds, viz. *k*, *kḥ*, *p*, *ph*, and the sibilants (occasionally also in compounds)<sup>11</sup>.

b. Beside and instead of Visarjanīya, the Prātiśākyas recognise two voiceless breathings as appropriate before initial voiceless gutturals (*k*, *kḥ*)<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below, Sandhi, 75.

<sup>2</sup> APr. I. 67; II. 33f.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. RPr. IV. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. VPr. IV. 7f.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 224 a.

<sup>6</sup> Loc. cit.; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 354, 17.

<sup>7</sup> In AUFRECHT's edition printed *nāṃnam-iti*.

<sup>8</sup> The term *visarga* is not found in the Prātiśākyas (nor in Pāṇini).

<sup>9</sup> RPr. I. 5 etc., VPr. I. 41 etc.; APr. I. 5 etc.; TPr. I. 12 etc.

<sup>10</sup> See WHITNEY on TPr. II. 48.

<sup>11</sup> See below, Sandhi, 78, 79.

<sup>12</sup> See RPr. I. 8; VPr. III. 11 etc.



and labials (*ṣ*, *ṣh*)<sup>1</sup> respectively. The former (*ḷ*) called *Jihvāmūliya*, or sound 'formed at the root of the tongue', is the guttural spirant *ɣ*; the latter (*ḥ*), called *Upadhmāniya*, or 'on-breathing', is the bilabial spirant *f*<sup>2</sup>. In Mss. they are regularly employed in the Kāśmirian Sāradā character.

**62. Loss of Consonants.**—Consonants have been lost almost exclusively when they have been in conjunction with others. The loss of a single consonant which is not in conjunction with another is restricted to the disappearance of *v* before *u*, and much more rarely of *y* before *i*. The *v* thus disappears finally in the Sandhi of *āv* before *u* in the RV. and VS.<sup>3</sup> Initially, *v* is lost before *ūr* derived from a *r* vowel; thus in *ūraṇa*- and *ūra*- 'sheep'; *ūras*- 'breast'; *ur-āṇā*, mid. part. (*vṛ*- 'choose'); *ūrj*- 'vigour'; *ūrjī*- 'wool'; *ūrṇōti* 'covers' (*vṛ*- 'cover'); *ūrdhvā*- 'high'; *ūrmi*- 'wave'. Such loss of *v* before *ūr* also occurs after an initial consonant in *ūrāt*- 'quick' (= *ūr. tūrāt*-); *dhūrvaṭi*, *ādhūrṣata*, *dhūrīt*-, from *dhvṛ*- 'cause to fall'; *hūrya*-, *juhūrthās*; *juhur*-, from *hṛv*- 'go crookedly'<sup>4</sup>. Before simple *u* the *v* has disappeared at the beginning of the reduplicative syllable *u*- (= *\*vu*- for original *va*-), in *u-vāc-a* from *vac*- 'speak'; *u-vāsa* from *vas*- 'shine'; *u-vāh-a* from *vah*- 'convey'.

Similarly initial *y* has disappeared from the reduplicative syllable *i*- = *\*yi*- in the desiderative *īyak-ṣati*, *īyak-ṣamāṇa*-, from *yaj*- 'sacrifice'<sup>5</sup>.

**1.** When a group of consonants is final, the last element or elements are regularly lost (the first only, as a rule, remaining) in *pausā* and in Sandhi<sup>6</sup>.

**2.** When a group of consonants is initial, the first element is frequently lost. The only certain example of an initial mute having disappeared seems to be *tur-īya*- 'fourth', from *\*ktur*-, the low grade form of *catūr*- 'four', because the Vedic language did not tolerate initial conjunct mutes<sup>7</sup>. An initial sibilant is, however, often lost before a mute or nasal. This loss was originally<sup>8</sup> doubtless caused by the group being preceded by a final consonant. There are a few survivals of this in the Vedas; thus *cit kāmdbhānena* (x. 1115), otherwise *skāmbhāna*- 'support'; and the roots *stambh*- 'support', and *sthā*- 'stand', lose there *s* after *ud*-; e. g. *ūt-thita*-, *ūt-tabhita*-. On the other hand the sibilant is preserved after a final vowel, in compounds or in Sandhi, in *ā-skrdhoyu*- 'uncurtailed', beside *krdhū*- 'shortened'; *ścandrā*- 'brilliant', in *āśva-ścandra*- 'brilliant with horses'<sup>9</sup>, *ādhi ścandrām* (viii. 65<sup>11</sup>), also in the intens. pres. part. *cāni-ścad-at* 'shining brightly', otherwise *candrā*- 'shining', and only *candrā-mas*- 'moon'. In derivatives from four other roots, forms with and without the sibilant<sup>10</sup> are used indiscriminately, without regard to the preceding

<sup>1</sup> See VPr. I. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. EBEL, KZ. 13, 277 f.

<sup>3</sup> See below, Sandhi, 73.

<sup>4</sup> The *v* has either remained or been restored before such *ūr* and *ūr* in *hṛv-ūrjya*- 'election of the invoker'; in the opt. *vūrīta*-, from *vṛ*- 'choose'; and in the 3. pl. perfect *bāhū-vūr*-, *jūhu-vūr*-, *suṣu-vūr*-, *tuṣu-vūr*-.

<sup>5</sup> The evidence of cognate languages seems to point to the loss of initial *d* in *āśru*- 'tear' (Lat. *lacruma*, Gk. *δάκρυ*). It is, however, probable that there were two different but synonymous IE. words *akru* and *daśru*. On some doubtful etymologies based on loss of initial consonants, see WACKERNAGEL I, 228 c, note.

<sup>6</sup> See below, Sandhi, 65.

<sup>7</sup> There are some words in which an initial mute seems to have been lost in the IE. period; thus *t* in *śatam* 'hundred' (= IE. *ḱentim*); *d* perhaps in *vimsati*- 'twenty' and *vi*- 'between'; *l* perhaps in *yakṛt*- 'liver'. An initial mute seems to have been lost before a sibilant (originally perhaps after a final consonant) in *stāna*- 'breast', *svid*- 'sweat'; *sas*- 'six' (KZ. 31, 415 ff.).

<sup>8</sup> Dissimilation may also have played some part in the loss of the sibilant in the reduplicative syllable of roots with initial *sk(h)* *st(h)*, *ṣ(h)*, as *caśkānda*, *tiṣṭhāmi*, *paśpārṣa*.

<sup>9</sup> See GRASSMANN's Wörterbuch sub verbo *ścandrā*-.

<sup>10</sup> The verb *kr*- 'do', after *pāri* and *sam*, shows an initial *s*; e. g. *pariśkr̥ṇvanti*, *pāri-*

sound; from *stan-* 'thunder', *stanayitnī-*, beside *tanayitnī-* 'thunder', *tanyatī-* (also AV.) 'thunder', *tanyī-* 'thundering', *tanyati* 'resounds'; *stēn-* 'thief', *stāy-ānt-* (AV.) 'stealing', *stāyī-* (VS.) 'thief', *stāya-* 'theft', beside *tāyī-* 'thief'; *stī-*, beside *tī-* 'star'; *spās-* 'spy' and *spas-* 'see' in verbal forms *ā-spaṣṭa* aor., *paspaṣ-* perf., *spāśīyati* caus., *-spaṣṭa* part., 'seen', beside *pāśīyati* 'sees'<sup>1</sup>.

The loss of initial *s* may be inferred in the following words from the evidence of cognate languages in which it has been preserved: *tij-* 'sharpen'; *tuj-* 'strike'; *tud-* 'beat'; *narmā-* (VS.) 'jest'; *nṛ-* 'dance'; *parūd-* 'wing'; *pikā-* (VS.) 'Indian cuckoo'; *plihān-* (VS. AV.) 'spleen'; *phēna-* 'foam'; *mṛd-* 'crush', *mṛāl-* (VS.) 'soft'; *vīp-* 'tremble'; *śūpti-* 'shoulder'.

A few examples occur of the loss of the semivowels *y* or *v*<sup>2</sup> as the last element of an initial consonant group. Thus *y* disappears in derivatives of roots in *ṛv* formed with suffixes beginning with consonants: *-mūta-* 'moved', *mū-rā-* 'impetuous', *mū-tra-* (AV. VS.) 'urine', from *mṛv-* 'push'; *sūcī-* 'needle', *sū-nā-* 'plaited basket', *sū-tra-* (AV.) 'thread', beside *syū-man-* 'thong', *syū-tā-* 'sewn', from *sṛv-* 'sew'. Loss of *v* seems to have taken place in *sīti-* 'white' (only at the beginning of compounds), beside *śvīt-* 'be bright', *śvīty-ānc-* 'brilliant', *śvītrā-* (AV.) 'white', *śvītrya-*, perhaps 'white'; and, on the evidence of the Avesta, in *ksīp-* 'throw' (Av. *hšīw*), *sās-* (Av. *hšrās*).

3. When the group is medial, the loss usually taken takes place between single consonants. a. The sibilants *s* and *ṣ* thus regularly disappear between mutes; e. g. *ā-bhak-ta*, 3. sing. aor., for *\*ābhak-s-ta* beside *ā-bhak-ṣ-i*, from *bhaj-*, 'share'; *caṣ-te* for *cakṣ-te* (= original *\*caṣ-s-te*)<sup>3</sup>. Similarly *a-gdha-* (TS.) 'uneaten', for *\*a-gḥs-ta*, from *ghas-* 'eat'<sup>4</sup>.

b. The dental *t* has disappeared between a sibilant and *c* in *paś-cā* and *paś-cāt* 'behind' (= IE. *post-qđ*, *post-qēt*); and between *p* and *s* in *\*nap-su* which must have been the loc. pl. (AV. *naṣṣu*), from *\*napt-*, 'weak stem of *nāpāt-*, beside the dat. *nād-bhyas* 'to the grandsons', for *napt-bhyas*, where on the other hand the *p* has been dropped.

c. A mute may disappear between a nasal and a mute; e. g. *pañt-* for *pañkt-*, *yūndhi* for *yūṅdhi*. This spelling is common in Vedic Mss.; it is prescribed in APr. II. 20, and, as regards the mediae, in VPr. VI. 30.

4. The only example of the loss of an initial<sup>5</sup> mute in a medial group of consonants seems to be that of *b* before *dbh* in *nādbhyas* for *\*nādbhyas* from *napt-* for *nāpāt-*. The semivowel *r* seems to be lost before a consonant when another *r* follows in *cakr-āt* (Pp. *cakrān*) and *cakr-iyās*<sup>6</sup> for *\*carkr-* beside *carkar-mi*, from *kṛ-* 'commemorate'; and, on the evidence of the Avesta, in *tvāṣṭṛ-* (cp. *pwaras* 'cut', *pwaršta-* 'created'),

*skṛta-*, *sām-skṛta-*; also after *nis* in *nir askṛta* (Pp. *akṛta*), perhaps owing to Sandhi forms with *ś* such as *niṣkuru* (AV.). There can be little doubt that the *s* here was not original but was due to analogy; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 230 a, β, note.

<sup>1</sup> WACKERNAGEL I, 230 a γ, note, discusses several uncertain or erroneous etymologies based on loss of initial *s* (including *maryās* interpreted as 2. sing. opt. of *smṛ-*). The evidence of Prakṛit seems to point to the loss of initial *s* in *śēpa-* 'tail', *kṛī-* 'leap', *kṛuṣ-* 'cry', *paraśū-* 'axe', *paraśā-* 'knotty'; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 230 b.

<sup>2</sup> On the possible loss of *r* in *bhañj-* (Lat. *frangere*) and of *k* in *savyā-* (Lat. *scavere*), see WACKERNAGEL I, 232 c, note.

<sup>3</sup> See above 56, b.

<sup>4</sup> On *āpnas-* 'property', *dāmpati-* 'lord of the house', see WACKERNAGEL I, 233 c, note.

<sup>5</sup> The guttural mute only seems to be lost when *ks* + *t* becomes *ṣt*: see above, 56, 6. The loss of *m* in the inst. sing. *-nā* of nouns in *-man-* is only a seeming one; for *dānā*, *prāthīnā*, *preṇā*, *bhūnā*, *maḥinā*, *varīnā* (TS.) appear beside the stems *dāman-* etc., because some of them had a stem in *-n* without *m*, so that *-nā* seemed an alternative from of *-mnā*: see BENFEX, GGA. 1846, 702. 880; Göttinger Abhandlungen 19, 234; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 17, 3; cp. IF. 8, Anzeiger, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> But see GELDNER, VS. I, 279.

probably starting from forms like *tvāṣṣ/rā* (AV.) in which the *r* immediately followed<sup>1</sup>.

But the loss of a spirant (IIr. *s*, *z*, *ṣ*, *ṣh*) at the beginning of a medial group is common.

a. The sibilant *s*<sup>2</sup> has thus been lost before *k* followed by a consonant in *vārṣktam*, *ṛṣkṇā-*, *ṛṣktvā-*, *ṛṣksi* (TS.), from *vraṣc-* 'loph' (cp. *-vraṣkū-*).

b. The voiced form (IIr. *z*) of dental *s* has disappeared<sup>3</sup> before voiced dentals, without leaving any trace, in the roots *ās-* 'sit', and *ās-* 'order'; thus *ā-dhvam*, *śaśā-dhi*. But when *ā* preceded the *z*, the disappearance of the sibilant is indicated by *e* taking the place of *az* before *d*, *dh*, *h* (= *dh*); thus *e-dhl*, from *as-* 'be'; *śaṣ-*, perfect stem of *sad-* 'sit' (for *śaṣd-*, like *śaṣc-* from *sac-*). This *e* also replaces *az* with loss of the sibilant in *de-hi* 'give'; *dhe-hi* 'put'; *kiye-dhā-* 'containing much'; *néd-tyas-* and *néd-iṣṭha-* 'very much'; *ped-ū*<sup>5</sup> N.; *medati* 'is fat'; *medhā-* and *medhās-* 'wisdom'; *médha-* 'juice'<sup>6</sup>.

c. When a vowel other than *ā* preceded, the *z* was cerebralized (like *s* before a voiceless dental) and disappeared after cerebralizing the following dental and lengthening the preceding vowel; thus *a-sto-ḡhvam*<sup>7</sup> (= *ā-sto-ḡhvam* for *a-stos-dhvam*) 2. pl. aor., beside *a-sto-s-ta*, 3. sing., from *stu-* 'praise'. Thus also are to be explained *nūḡd-* 'nest' (= *nūḡda-* for *ni-sd-a-*); *pūḡ-* 'press' (= *piḡd-* for *pi-sd-* or *piḡd-*); *mūḡhā-* 'reward' (Gk. *μίσθός*); *vūḡd-* 'strong', *vūḡdyati* 'is strong' (from *vīḡ-* 'work' + *-d*)<sup>8</sup>; *hūḡ-*<sup>9</sup> 'be angry', and its Guṇa forms, e. g. *hūḡ-as-* 'anger'; *mṛḡdā-* 'be gracious', *mṛḡdā-* 'gracious' (for *mṛḡd-* from *mṛḡ-* 'forget') with vowel pronounced long (ī2), *ā-reḡd-ant-* (TS.) 'not deceiving' (= *a-reḡd-ant-*), from *riḡ-* 'injure'.

d. Similarly the old voiced palatal spirant (IIr. *ṣ*) disappeared after cerebralizing a following *d* or *dh* and lengthening the preceding vowel; thus *tā-ḡhi* for *\*taṣ-ḡhi* (= *tak-s-dhi*) from *takṣ-* 'fashion'; *ṣo-ḡhā* for *\*ṣaṣ-dhā* (= *sak-s-dhā*), beside *ṣaṣ-ṭhā-* (AV.) 'sixth'. A similar loss is to be assumed in *ṛḡ-* 'praise' (= *iṣ-ḡ* for *yaj-+d*)<sup>10</sup>.

e. This loss is specially frequent in the case of the old voiced palatal aspirated spirant (IIr. *ṣh*) represented by *h*, which was dropped after cerebralizing and aspirating a followed *t* and lengthening the preceding vowel; thus *bāḡdhā-*

<sup>1</sup> In a few forms of the AV. the semi-vowel *y* seems to be lost at the end of the medial group *ky-*: *mekṣāmi*, *yokse*, *vidhaksān*, *sāks-e*. But these forms may be due to errors in the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> In *ch* = IE. *śh*, the original *s* was lost in a pre-Indian period.

<sup>3</sup> Before voiced mutes other than dentals, *s* became *d*, as in *madgh-* (44, 3 a) 'diver'; similarly *z* became *d*, as in *padbhis*, from *pās-* 'look' or 'cord'; and in *vi-ṭrūḡbhis* from *vi-ṭrūḡ-* 'drop'.

<sup>4</sup> The loss of the voiced sibilant (*s*) must be older than the original text of the RV., as the *e* of *śaṣ-* has been transferred to other stems which contain no sibilant, as in *bhej-iré*, from *bhāj-* 'divide'. Similarly the vowel of *hūḡ-*, though derived from *iḡ*, is regarded as a primitive *i* in the form *djithiḡat* (AV.): cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 272 (mid.).

<sup>5</sup> Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 27, 361. On *edh-* 'thrive', *miyédha-* 'broth', *vedhās-* 'virtuous', see WACKERNAGEL I, 237 c.

<sup>6</sup> In stems in *-as* before case terminations beginning with *bh*, and before secondary

suffixes beginning with *m*, *y* or *v*, the sibilant is lost (instead of becoming *d* in the former circumstances, or remaining in the latter) owing to the influence of Sandhi; e. g. *dveṣo-bhis* from *dveṣ-as-* 'hate'. An original sibilant has perhaps been lost in *mahūḡd-*, *sālvaḡms-*, *jāhuḡd-*, *hrādūni-*, *jas-* 'be exhausted'; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 237 a, β, note.

<sup>7</sup> The origin of *kroḡd-* (AV. VS.) 'breast' (Av. *hroḡdru-* 'hard') and of many words with *d* or *ch* preceded by a long vowel, and with no collateral forms containing a sibilant, is obscure.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. HÜBSCHMANN, KZ. 24, 408. In *śda-* (= *śḡda-*) from *sad-* 'sit', the *d* has been retained owing to the influence of other forms of the verb *sad-*. See, however, ROZWADOWSKI, BB. 21, 147, and cp. ZDMG. 48, 519.

<sup>9</sup> *Pinḡda-* perhaps stands for *\*piḡḡda-*, from *piḡ-* 'crush'; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 146, d.

<sup>10</sup> On *kṛūḡ-*, cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 238 b, note; PISCHEL, BB. 23, 253 ff. On *ṛḡ-*, cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 30, 2.

'strong', *ni-bāḍha-* 'dense' (= *baḍhā-* for *bah-tā-*) from *baṇh-* 'be strong'; *sādh-* 'conqueror', *ā-sādhā-* 'invincible', from *sah-*; *rūdhā-* (= *riḍhā-*), from *rih-* 'lick'; *ūdhā-* (= *uḍhā-*) from *vah-* 'carry'; *gūdhā-* 'concealed', from *guh-* 'hide'; *trḍhā-*, *trḍhuvā* (AV.), from *trh-* 'crush'; *dyḍhā-* 'firm', from *dyh-* 'be strong'. Here *e* also appears for *a* in *trṇḍhu* (AV.) from *trh-* (= *trṇaḍhuvā*); and *o* in *vodhām* (= *vaḍhām*), 2. du. aor. of *vah-* 'carry'. We also find *e* as Guṇa of *i* in *mēḍhra-* (AV.), from *mih-* 'ingere' (= *meḍhra-*).

**63. Metathesis.**—Apart from the few examples of *ra* before *s* and *h* (51 c), there are probably no certain instances of metathesis in the RV.<sup>1</sup> In the later Samhitās, however, a few other forms of metathesis are to be found. Thus *-valh-* seems to be a transposition of *hval-* 'go deviously' in *upa-valh-* (VS.) 'propound a riddle to'.<sup>2</sup> In *valmika-* (VS.) 'anthill', *m* appears transposed beside *vamri-* and *vamrā-* 'ant', *vamra-kā-* 'little ant'. Metathesis of quantity occurs in *ās-thas* for *\*as-thās*, 2. sing. mid. aor. of *as-* 'throw'. This is analogous to the shortening, in the RV., of the radical vowel of *ḍā-* 'give', in the forms *ādam*, *ādas*, *ādat*, where the verb is compounded with the verbal prefix *ā*<sup>3</sup>, while otherwise the forms *dām*, *dās*, *dāt* alone appear.

**64. Syllable.**—The notion of the syllable is already known to the late hymns of the Rgveda, though the word (*a-kṣāra-*) is there generally used as an adjective meaning 'imperishable'. Thus *akṣārena mimate sapta vāṇī* means 'with the syllable they measure the seven metres'. The vowel being according to the Prātiśākhya<sup>4</sup> the essential element of the syllable, the word *akṣara-*<sup>5</sup> is used by them in the sense of 'vowel' also. Initially, a vowel, or a consonant and the following vowel form a syllable. Medially, a simple consonant begins a syllable, e. g. *ta-pas*; when there is a group of consonants, the last begins the syllable, e. g. *tap-ta-*, and if the last is a sibilant or semivowel, the penultimate also belongs to the following syllable<sup>6</sup>, e. g. *astām-pstī*, *antya-*. A final consonant in *pausā* belongs to the preceding vowel, e. g. *i-dam*.

By the process called **haplology** one of two identical or similar syllables in juxtaposition is dropped. Syllable is here to be taken in the sense not only of a consonant with a following vowel, but of a vowel with a following consonant.

**1.** The first of the two syllables is dropped within a word in *tuvr-rā[va]vān* 'roaring mightily', beside *tuvr-rāva-*; *madh[ya]yā* 'in the middle', from *mādhyā-* (like *āsa-yā*, *nakta-yā*); *vī[ta]thā* 'at will', from *vrtā-* 'willed' (like *rtu-thā* 'according to *rtu-*'); *svapatyāi* for *svapat[ya]yai*, dat. sing. f. of *sv-apatyā-* 'having good offspring'; perhaps also *yós*, beside *yāyor*, gen. loc. du. of *yā-*<sup>7</sup>. Examples of a vowel with following consonant being dropped are: *ir[adh]ādhyai*, inf. of *iradh-* 'seek to win'; *cak[an]anta*, *r[an]anta*, *v[an]anta*<sup>8</sup>; perhaps *sād[as]as-pāti-* beside *sādasas-pāti-* 'lord of the seat'<sup>9</sup>.

**a.** The final syllable of the first member of a compound is sometimes dropped in this way; thus *śē[ra]-vāra-* 'treasury'; *śē[va]-vrāha-* 'dear'; *madīgha-* (AV.),

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *stohā-* 'drop', may stand for *\*skotā-*, from *skut-* 'drip', under the influence of *stūkā-* 'tuft'.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 212 b, note, and 239 b.

<sup>3</sup> These forms are not resolved in the Pada text, i. e. they are treated as if they did not contain the verbal prefix *ā*.

<sup>4</sup> RPr. XVIII. 17; VPr. I, 99.

<sup>5</sup> Though known to Kātyāyana and Patañjali as well as to the Prātiśākhya, *akṣara-*

as the designation of syllable is not found in Pāṇini.

<sup>6</sup> See TPr. XXI. 7, 9. On the division of syllables cp. further RPr. I. 15; VPr. I. 100ff.; APr. I. 55ff.; TPr. XXI. 1ff.; and WHITNEY on TPr. XXI. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 29, 527, 562.

<sup>8</sup> Cp., however, *en-as* for *ena-yos*.

<sup>9</sup> See KZ. 20, 70f.

<sup>10</sup> See BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 16, xxxv.

N. of a plant yielding honey, beside *madhu-dīgha-* 'shedding sweetness'; *śaś[pa]-plīnjara-* (VS.) 'tawny like young grass'<sup>1</sup>.

2. The second syllable is dropped in the datives *pīṃṣyā[ya]*, *ratnadhīyī[ya]*, *sakhyā[ya]*, and *abhikhyā* beside *abhikhyāya*; also in *vrkāt[āt]i-* 'destruction', beside *vrkātāt-* and *devā-tāti-*; and at the beginning of the second member of a compound in *śiṛṣa-[śa]ktī-* (AV.) 'headache'<sup>2</sup>.

a. A following syllable is sometimes dropped in spite of a different one intervening; thus in the dative *maryādā[ya]* 'boundary'; and somewhat peculiarly in *īvarī[ar]ur*, 3. pl. impf. beside the 3. sing. *ī varīvar* and 3. sing. pres. *ī varīvartī*.

## II. EUPHONIC COMBINATION (SANDHI).

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 21—70. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 34—87. — WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik I, 301—343. — ARNOLD, Vedic Metre p. 70—80.

65. The nature of Vedic Sandhi.—The sentence is naturally the unit of speech which forms an unbroken chain of syllables euphonically combined. It is, however, strictly so only in the prose portion of the AV.<sup>3</sup> and the prose Mantras of the YV. As the great bulk of the Vedas is metrical, the RV. and the SV. being entirely so, the editors of the Samhitā text treat the hemistich (consisting generally of two Pādas or verses)<sup>4</sup> as the euphonic unit, applying the rules of Sandhi with special stringency between the Pādas or metrical units which form the hemistich. The evidence of metre, however, shows that, in the original form of the text, Sandhi at the end of an internal Pāda is all but unknown<sup>5</sup>. The verse, therefore, is the true euphonic unit<sup>6</sup>. The final of a word appears either at the end of this unit in *pausa* (*avasāne*)<sup>7</sup>, or within it as modified by contact with a following initial. The form which the final of a word assumes in *pausa*, being regarded as the normal ending, is generally the basis of the modification appearing within the verse. It will therefore conduce to clearness if the rules relating to absolute finals are first stated.

66. Finals in *pausa*.—a. Vowels<sup>8</sup> in this position undergo no change other than occasional nasalization.

i. In all the Samhitās *ā ī ū*<sup>9</sup> are frequently nasalized when prolated; e. g. *vindatīzṃ* | = *vindatī* (X. 146<sup>1</sup>); *babhūvāzṃ* | = *babhūva* (AV. x. 2<sup>28</sup>); *viveśāzṃ* | = *viveśa* (VS. XXIII. 49); *mamāzṃ* | = *mamā* (TS. VII. 4<sup>20</sup>).

2. In the Samhitā text of the RV. there survive, at the end of a verse within a hemistich, from the period when such end also was accounted a pause, several instances of nasalized *ā*, preserved to avoid hiatus and con-

<sup>1</sup> This explanation is doubtful in *ulokā-* for *u[h]lokā-* (cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss I, 624, p. 471); *śuṣmayā-* (TS.) for *śuṣma-māya-*; *bhīmālā-* (VS.) 'terrible', for *bhīma-mālā-*; improbable in *rujānās* for *rujānā-nās*, 'with broken nose' (BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 16, XXXIV).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. WHITNEY, Translation of AV. I, 123.

<sup>3</sup> See BLOOMFIELD, The Atharvaveda, in this Encyclopedia, § 1 (beginning) and note 1.

<sup>4</sup> In the Gayatrī metre, in which there are three Pādas, the third alone constitutes the second hemistich; in the Pañkti, which has five Pādas, the last three constitute the second hemistich.

<sup>5</sup> The only probable exception is RV. IX. 113, 7 c d; cp. ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 119.

<sup>6</sup> The sentence within a Pāda, as well as the Pāda itself, is the unit of accent; cp. below, 83.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. RPr. I. 3; VI. 5; X. 5; XI. 30.

<sup>8</sup> Final *r* never occurs in the RV., its place being supplied by *ur* as nom. acc. s. n. e. g. *sthātur* 'standing' (cp. WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 25, 287 f.); but the TS. already has *janayitṛ* and *bhartṛ* (B?), WACKERNAGEL I, 259 a, note.

<sup>9</sup> The vowels *ī* and *ū*, when dual terminations (praghyā), cannot be nasalized.

traction. Thus *ā* appears as *am̐* before *e* and *o*; e. g. *ghanénam̐'kaś* (I. 33<sup>4</sup>); *ā* appears *ām̐* before *e o r*; e. g. *yām̐'rṇam̐.cayś* (v. 30<sup>14</sup>); while the prepositions *ī* 'near', and *sācā* 'together', are nasalized before any vowel; e. g. *sācām̐'udyān*. The vowel *ā* once appears as *ām̐* before *r* in *vīpanyām̐'rṭāśya* (iv. 1<sup>12</sup>), following the regular rule that unnasalized *ā* is shortened before *r* in the RV.

b. Consonants are liable to change of mode of articulation and, to some extent, of place of articulation.

1. Final mutes, whether tenuis, media, or aspirate, are without distinction, represented by the corresponding tenuis; e. g. *dūrāt* (III. 59<sup>3</sup>) = *dūrād* 'from afar'; *uṣar-bhūt* (I. 65<sup>9</sup>) = *uṣar-bhūh* 'waking at dawn'.

2. The palatals *c* and *j* revert to the original guttural, becoming *k*; thus *arvāk* (I. 118<sup>2</sup>) = *arvāc* 'coming hither'; *su-yūk* = *su-yūj* 'well yoked'. The old palatal *j*, however, becomes *ṣ*, e. g. *rāj* (I. 121<sup>3</sup>), m. f. 'king', 'queen', = *rāṣ*; in *rṭvīk*, however, it becomes the guttural, = *rṭvij* 'priest' (from *yaj*- 'sacrifice')<sup>1</sup>.

3. The ritual exclamations *vāsaṭ* (x. 115<sup>9</sup>) and *śrāusaṭ* (I. 139<sup>1</sup>), which are probably modified forms of the 3. sing. aor. subj. of *vah-* 'carry', and *śru-* 'hear', have *ṭ* for *t* owing to the analogy of the exclamations *vāt* (VS.), *vāt* (TS.), 3. sing. aor. of *√vah*-<sup>5</sup>.

4. The nasals occurring as finals, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*<sup>6</sup>, remain unchanged. Of these, *n* and *m* are very common; but *ṇ* is found very rarely and only secondarily after the loss of a following *k* (representing an original palatal; e. g. *prāṇ* for *\*prāṇik*, from *prāṇic*). Probably no instance of final *n* can be found in Vedic Mantras. The palatal *ṇ* never occurs, since final palatals become guttural (b, 2).

a. In the rare instances in which a radical *m* becomes final after dropping a following *-t* or *-s*, it appears as *n* owing to the influence of the dental; thus *dān* (= *\*dam-s*) 'of the house' (*dam-*)<sup>7</sup>; *ā-kran* (= *\*ā-kram-t*), 3. sing. aor. of *kram-* 'stride'; *ā-gan* (= *\*a-gam-s*, *\*a-gam-t*), 2. 3. sing. aor., *a-jagan* (= *\*ajagam-t*), 3. sing. plup., *aganīgan* (VS.), 3. sing. intv. of *gam-* 'go'; *ā-yān* (= *\*a-yam-s-t*), 3. sing. aor. of *yam-* 'reach'<sup>8</sup>.

5. The semivowels *y v l*<sup>9</sup> do not occur as finals. *r* is represented by Visarga; thus *pūnar* 'again', is written *pūnaḥ*<sup>10</sup>.

6. The sibilants and *h* are all changed when final.

a. The dental *s*, which is by far the commonest of final sibilants, becomes Visarga; e. g. *ketis* is written *ketiḥ* (III. 61<sup>3</sup>).

β. The cerebral *ṣ*, which is very rare as a final, becomes cerebral *ṣ* in *ṣāt* 'six', for *śāṣ*; *-dviṣ* 'hating', for *-dviṣ*; *vi-prīṣ* (AV.) 'sprinkling',

<sup>1</sup> The ritual interjection *om* (VS.) may be due to the nasalization of an original *o* prolated (cp. RPr. xv. 3). Thus the JUB. I. 24. 3ff., mentions the pronunciations *o* as well as *om*, both of which it rejects in favour of *om*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. RPr. I. 13; WHITNEY on APR. I. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 149 a α.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. above 42 c (p. 34).

<sup>5</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Final *m* is often incorrectly written as Anusvāra in Mss. (as conversely in Prakrit Mss. *m* is often written as *n* under Sanskrit influence: cp. FISCHER, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, in this Encyclopedia, 339, 348), and their example is sometimes followed in printed editions.

<sup>7</sup> In the K. also occurs the 'form *a-nān* = *\*nām-s-t*, from *nam-* 'bend'. The ŚB. has *praśān* 'painless', = *\*pra-śam-s*.

<sup>8</sup> See 46 d, β.

<sup>9</sup> Final *l* is spoken of as occurring rarely (WACKERNAGEL I, 260 c), or as very rare (WHITNEY 144), but I have been unable to find a single example in the Vedas (or even in post-Vedic Sanskrit). But though no etymologically final *l* seems to occur either in pausā or in Sandhi, it is found as a substitute for *ḷ* in two or three words in the later Samhitās (see above 52 d, p. 45).

<sup>10</sup> When *ḥ* stands for etymological *r*, this is indicated by an added *iti* in the Pada-pāṭha; e. g. *pūnar iti* (x. 85<sup>18</sup>).

for *vi-prīṣ*. These are the only examples occurring in the RV. and AV. In the only two examples in which *s* occurs in the RV. as a final in the compound form *kṣ*, it is dropped: *andk* 'eyeless', from *an-āks*; *ā-myaḥ*, 3. sing. aor. of *myakṣ*- 'be situated' (?).

γ. The palatal *ś* becomes either *k* or *t*; e. g. *-dṛk* for *dṛś*- (III. 619); *vīpāt*, N. of a river, for *vīpātś*.

δ. According as it is guttural or palatal in origin, *h* become *k* or *t*; thus *ā-dhok*, 3. sing. impf. of *duh*- 'milk'; but *ā-vāt*, 3. sing. aor. of *vah*- 'carry'.

ε. The rule is, that only a single consonant may be final. Hence all but the first of a group of consonants are dropped; e. g. *ābhavan* for *\*ābhavant*; *tān* for *\*tāns*; *tudān* for *tudānts*; *prān* for *\*prānks* (= *\*prāñcs*); *acchān* for *\*acchanst*, 3. sing. aor. of *chand*- 'be pleasing'.

α. *k* *t* or *ṭ*, when they follow an *r* and belong to the root, are allowed to remain; e. g. *vārk*, 2. 3. sing. aor. of *vṛj*- 'bend'; *ṛrk* (VS), nom. of *ṛrj*- 'strength'; *d-māṛt*, 3. sing. impf. of *mṛj*- 'wipe'; *d-vart*, 3. sing. aor. of *vṛt*- 'turn'; *suhārt* (AV.), nom. of *suhārd*- 'friend'. The only instance of a suffix remaining after *r* is *dar-*, 3. sing. aor. of *dṛ*- 'cleave', used also for 2. sing. beside *ā-dah* = *ā-dar* (for *\*ā-dars*).

β. Some half-dozen instances have been noted, in the Samhitās, in which a suffixal *s* or *t* seems to have been retained instead of the preceding consonant; but they are probably all to be explained as due to analogical influence. They are:

1. the nominatives *sadha-mās* (beside *sadha-māś*) 'companion of the feast'; *ava-yās* 'sacrificial share', and *puro-ṭās* (acc. *puro-ṭāsam*) 'sacrificial cake'. *Sadha-mās* may be due to the influence of nom. with phonetic *s* like *-mās* 'moon', beside inst. pl. *mā-bhīs* (44 a 3). *Ava-yās*, in the only passage in which it occurs in the RV., has to be read as quadrisyllabic (also in AV.), i. e. as *ava-yājaś*, and is probably to be explained as a contraction which retains the living *-s* of the nom. (and not the prehistoric *s* of *\*yāj-s*). *Puro-ṭās* (from *dīś*- 'worship'), occurring only twice in the RV., may be due to the influence of a frequent nom. like *dāviṣo-dīs* 'wealth-giver'. That the prehistoric nom. *-s* should in these three forms have survived in the linguistic consciousness of the Vedic poets, and as such have ousted the preceding consonant, which in all other analogous nominatives alone remains, is hardly conceivable<sup>2</sup>. The only reasonable explanation is to assume the analogical influence of the nom. *-s* which was in living use after vowels.

2. The four verbal preterite forms (*a-yās* (for *\*a-yāj-s*) beside *a-yāj*, 2. sing. aor. of *yaj*- 'sacrifice'; *sṛās* (AV.) = *\*a-srāj-s*, 2. sing. aor. of *srj*- 'emit'; *a-bhanas* (AV.) = *\*a-bhanak-s*, 2. sing. impf. of *bhañ*- 'break'; and *a-sral* (VS.) = *\*a-sras-t*, 3. sing. aor. of *sras*- 'fall') are the beginnings of the tendency (of which there are several other examples in the Brāhmaṇas)<sup>3</sup>, to normalize the terminations, so as to have *-s* in 2. sing. and *-t* in 3. sing. This tendency is extended in the RV. from the *s* and *t* of 2. 3. sing. even to 1. sing. in the forms *a-kramīm* (beside *a-kramiṣam*) owing to *a-kram-īs*, *a-kram-īt*; and *vam* (for *var-am*) owing to 2. sing. *vaḥ* (for *var*), aor. of *vṛ*- 'cover'.

67. Rules of Sandhi.—The body of euphonic rules by which final consonants are assimilated to following initials and hiatus is avoided between final and initial vowels is called Sandhi in the Prāṭisākhya<sup>4</sup>. The editors of the Samhitā of the RV. have greatly obscured the true condition of the text with which they dealt by applying to it rules of euphonic combination which did not prevail at the time when the text was composed. Thus though the Sandhi between the verses of a hemistich is (excepting a few survivals from the older form of the text)<sup>5</sup> applied with greater stringency than elsewhere, the metre clearly shows that the end of the first verse of a hemistich constitutes a pause as much as the end of the last. Within the verse, moreover, Sandhi is, according to metrical evidence, not applied where the caesura occurs; *nā*, when it means 'like' (as opposed to *nā* 'not'), is never contracted with any following vowel, nor *ād* 'then' with a preceding *a*<sup>6</sup>; *ī* and *ū* before

<sup>1</sup> Cp. 43 a.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 146 a; BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 3, 28 ff.; BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 29, 578 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 555 a.

<sup>4</sup> RPr. II. 2. 7. 13; VII. 1; VPr. III. 2; APr. IV. 414.

<sup>5</sup> E. g. *manīṣā | agnīḥ* (I. 701).

<sup>6</sup> In these instances there is a pause in

dissimilar initial vowels are hardly ever changed to the corresponding semi-vowels<sup>1</sup>, and often remain uncontracted even before similar vowels<sup>2</sup>; the elision of *a* after *e o* is rare<sup>3</sup>; contraction is commonly avoided by the final vowel of monosyllabic words, and by an initial vowel followed by conjunct consonants<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless, it may be said in a general way that the poets of the RV. show a tendency to avoid the meeting of vowels<sup>5</sup>. The divergences between the apparent and the real Sandhi which appear in the RV., decrease in the later Veda, while the application of particular rules of Sandhi becomes more uniform<sup>6</sup>.

**a. External Sandhi**, or that which applies between words in the sentence, is to a considerable extent identical with internal Sandhi, or that which applies within words. The most striking difference is, that in the latter consonants remain unchanged before verbal and nominal terminations beginning with vowels, semi-vowels, or nasals<sup>7</sup>. External Sandhi is on the whole followed in the formation of compounds, the divergences from it in the latter being merely survivals of an earlier stage of external Sandhi due to the closer connexion between members of a compound that renders them less liable than separate words to be affected by modifications of phonetic laws.

External Sandhi is to a considerable extent affected by the law of finals in *pausā*. Under that influence it avoids final aspirates and palatals. There are, however, in the treatment of final *n r*, and *s*, certain survivals which do not agree with the corresponding forms in *pausā*.

**b.** There are certain **duplicate forms** which were originally due to divergent euphonic conditions. Thus the tendency was to employ the dual ending *ā* before consonants, but *au* before vowels. Similarly, the word *sādā* 'always', was used before consonants, but *sādam* before vowels<sup>8</sup>.

**68. Lengthening of final vowels.**—Final vowels as a rule remain unchanged before consonants. But *ā ī ū* are very frequently lengthened<sup>9</sup> before a single initial consonant<sup>10</sup> both in the metrical portion of the Samhitās and in the prose formulas of the Yajurveda; e. g. *śrudhē hāvam* 'hear (our) call'. This practice includes examples in which the consonant is followed by a written *y* or *v*, to be pronounced, however, as *i* or *u*; e. g. *ādha hy āgne* (iv. 10<sup>2a</sup>) = *ādha hī agne*; *abhē sv āryāh* (x. 59<sup>3a</sup>) = *abhē śh āryāh*. The lengthening here appears to have arisen from an ancient rhythmic tendency of the language to pronounce long, between two short syllables, a final short vowel which was liable to be lengthened elsewhere as well<sup>11</sup>; this tendency being utilized by the poets of the Samhitās where metrical exigencies required a long syllable. Thus *ādha* 'then', appears as *ādha* when a short syllable follows. Similarly *tū* 'but' generally becomes *tū* before a short syllable; and *sū* 'well' nearly always becomes *sū* between short syllables<sup>12</sup>.

the sense; cp. OLDENBERG, Prolegomena 443, note 2; ARNOLD 122.

<sup>1</sup> ARNOLD 125.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. 127.

<sup>4</sup> Thus *māpsavaḥ* (iv. 47<sup>d</sup>) must be read *mā āpsavaḥ*, but *māduvaḥ* (for *mā āduvaḥ*) remains (ibid.).

<sup>5</sup> Cp. OLDENBERG 434f.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. BARTHOLOMAE in KZ. 29, 37, p. 511f.

<sup>7</sup> Thus *sakat*, *ā-saknuvan*, *sakra*, *śākvān* (from *śak* 'be able'), in all which forms *g* would be required by external Sandhi.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 309, bottom.

<sup>9</sup> The Padapāṭha in these instances regularly gives the original unlengthened vowel.

<sup>10</sup> Except in compounds, this lengthening disappears in the later language; there are, however, several survivals in the Brāhmaṇas; see AUFRECHT, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 427; and cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 264 b.

<sup>11</sup> This tendency survived in the post-Vedic language in compounds, in words (which followed the analogy of compounds) before suffixes beginning with consonants, and in reduplicative syllables.

<sup>12</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 266 b.



a. The short vowel regularly remains unchanged at the end of a verse<sup>1</sup> (even within a hemistich); and often before the caesura of a Triṣṭubh or Jagatī Pāda (even in terminations otherwise liable to be lengthened)<sup>2</sup>.

b. The final vowel is not lengthened in 1. vocatives (except *vṛṣabhā* VIII. 45<sup>38</sup>, and *hariyojanā* I. 61<sup>16</sup>); 2. datives in *-āya*; 3. nom. plur. neuter in *-ī*; 4. verbal forms ending in *-i* and *-u* (excepting imperatives in *-dhi* and the 3. sing. *rākṣati* II. 26<sup>4</sup>); 5. the prepositions *ūpa*<sup>4</sup> and *āpa* (except *āpā vṛdhi* VI. 27<sup>2</sup>).

c. In some instances final vowels appear to be lengthened before vowels<sup>5</sup> or two consonants<sup>6</sup>.

69. **Contraction of similar vowels.**—When a final *ā ī ū* or *ā ī ū* is followed by corresponding initial *ā ī ū* or *ā ī ū*, contraction resulting in the long form of the respective vowel regularly takes place; e. g. *ihāsti* = *ihā asti*; *īndrā* = *īndra ā*; *tvāgne* = *tvā agne*; *vīdām* (VI. 9<sup>9</sup>) = *vī idām*;

a. The contraction of *ā + a* and of *ū + ū* occasionally does not take place even in the written text of the RV. both at the end of and within a Pāda; thus *manīṣā* | *agnī* (I. 70<sup>1</sup>); *manīṣā abhi* (I. 101<sup>7</sup>); *pūṣā āsura* (V. 51<sup>11</sup>), *pūṣā abhi* (VI. 50<sup>5</sup>), *pūṣā aviṣtu* (X. 26<sup>14</sup>); *vīlī utā* (I. 39<sup>2</sup>); *sū nṛdhvā* (VI. 24<sup>9</sup>); *sū ūtibhi* (I. 112<sup>1-23</sup>); the compound *suātīyā* (VIII. 47<sup>1-18</sup>)<sup>8</sup>.

b. On the other hand, in many instances where the contraction is written, the original vowels have to be restored in pronunciation with hiatus<sup>9</sup>. The restored initial in these instances is long by nature or position, and the preceding final if long must be shortened in pronunciation<sup>10</sup>; e. g. *cāsāt* (I. 27<sup>3</sup>) = *ca āsāt*; *cārcata* (I. 155<sup>1</sup>) = *ca arcata*; *māpē* = *mā āpē*; *māpsāva* = *mā āpsāva*; *mṛlatīdīṣe* (IV. 57<sup>1</sup>) = *mṛlati dīṣe*; *yāntīndava* (IV. 47<sup>2</sup>) = *yānti indava*; *bhavantūksāna* (VI. 16<sup>17</sup>) = *bhavantu ūksāna*. After monosyllables, the hiatus is regular in the case of the written contractions *ī* and *ū*, especially when the monosyllables are *vī* and *hī*; e. g. *vīndra* (X. 32<sup>2</sup>) = *vī indra*; *hīndra* (I. 102<sup>5</sup>) = *hī indra*<sup>11</sup>.

c. Duals in *ā ī ū* are regularly uncombined. Such *ī* and *ū* are usually written with hiatus in the Samhitā text; the dual *ā* always appears before *u*<sup>12</sup>, but at the end of internal Pādas invariably coalesces in the written text.

70. **Contraction of ā with dissimilar vowels.**—1. When final *ā* is followed by *ī ū*, contraction takes place resulting in *e o*<sup>13</sup> respectively; e. g. *pitāva* = *pitā va*; *ām* = *ā m*; *ūbhā* = *ū ubhā*. When *ā* is followed by *r*, contraction is never written in the RV. and VS.<sup>14</sup>, but the metre shows that the combination is sometimes pronounced as *ar*, as is the case in the compound *saptarṣāya* 'the seven seers'<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Apparent exceptions are due to erroneous metrical division of Pādas by the editors of the Samhitās, or to mechanical repetition of formulas originally used in a different position in the verse. Thus *śrudhī* | *hāvām* (I. 25<sup>19</sup>) appears in imitation of *śrudhī hāvām* which is frequent at the beginning of a verse (II. 11<sup>1</sup>, etc.). Cp. OLDENBERG 420 f.

<sup>2</sup> See ZUBATY, Der Quantitätswechsel im Auslaute vedischer Wörter, Vienna Or. Journal 2, 315.

<sup>3</sup> See ZUBATY, op. cit. 3, 89.

<sup>4</sup> See OLDENBERG 399.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit. 60.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I. 265 b, note.

<sup>7</sup> There is no example of contracted *r* in the Samhitās, as *r* never meet; and in the RV. final *r* never occurs (cp. above, p. 59, note 8).

<sup>8</sup> Cp. BENFEY, SV. XXXII f.; ROTH, Literatur 67 f.

<sup>9</sup> *nā* 'like', is never combined in pronunciation, see above 67; cp. ARNOLD 120.

<sup>10</sup> Long vowels being regularly shortened before vowels; see OLDENBERG 465 f.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. ARNOLD 124.

<sup>12</sup> Op. cit. 120. Before other vowels, *āv*, the Sandhi form of *au*, the alternative dual ending, appears.

<sup>13</sup> Because the long monophthongs *ē* and *ō* represent IE. *ai* and *au*.

<sup>14</sup> The MS. does not contract either, but on the contrary often lengthens *ā* to *ā*, even where the metre requires contraction. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I. 267 a *ā*, note.

<sup>15</sup> See GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch p. VII.

a. In the RV.  $\tilde{a}+i$  is once contracted to  $ai$ - in *prāṣayāyū* (I. 120<sup>5</sup>) = *prā ṣayāyū* (Pp.)<sup>1</sup>; in the SV.  $\tilde{a}+i$  is once contracted to  $ai$ - in *dindra* = *ā indra* (I. 2. I. 45); and in the AV. and VS. the preposition  $\tilde{a}$  contracts with  $r$  to  $\tilde{ar}$  in *ār-ti* =  $\tilde{a}-r-ti$  'suffering', and *ārchatu* =  $\tilde{a}-rchatu$ <sup>2</sup>. The last three instances are perhaps survivals of an older contraction. That  $\tilde{a}$  is not otherwise contracted with  $\tilde{r}$  to  $ai$  or  $au$  or  $\tilde{ar}$ , is doubtless to be accounted for by the previous shortening of  $\tilde{a}$  in hiatus<sup>3</sup>.

b. Occasionally  $\tilde{a}$  followed by  $i$  remains uncontracted in the written text of the RV.; thus *jyā iyām* (VI. 75<sup>3</sup>); *pibā imām* (VIII. 17<sup>1</sup>); *raṇayā ihā* (VIII. 34<sup>11</sup>)<sup>4</sup>. When  $\tilde{a}$  is followed by  $r$ , it is either shortened<sup>5</sup> or nasalized; e. g. *tātha r-ti* for *tāthā r-*; *kadām rtiad* (V. 39) = *kadā r-*; *vibhvaṁ rbhūr* (IV. 33<sup>6</sup>) = *vibhva r-*; *vīpanyān* | *rīdāya* (IV. 1<sup>12</sup>) = *vīpanyā rīdāya*.

c. On the other hand, in many instances where the contraction  $e$  or  $o$  is written, the original simple vowels must be restored with hiatus; e. g. *ēndrāgnī* (I. 108<sup>1</sup>) = *ā indrāgnī*; *subhāgosaḥ* (I. 48<sup>7</sup>) = *subhāgā uṣāḥ*<sup>8</sup>.

2. Final  $\tilde{a}$  contracts with a following  $e$  or  $ai$  to  $ai$ ; and with  $o$  or  $au$  to  $au$ ; e. g. *ābhīh* for  $\tilde{a}$  *ebhīh*. But though the contraction is written, the original vowels must sometimes be restored; e. g. *dīṣu* (I. 61<sup>10</sup>) must be read *ā eṣu*.

a. Final  $\tilde{a}$ , instead of being contracted with  $e$  and  $o$ , is in a few instances elided before those diphthongs; thus *taṭār evēd* (VII. 33<sup>1</sup>) = *taṭāra evēd*; *ivā ṭayah* (X. 91<sup>4</sup>) = *iva ṭayah*; *āvin evē* (VII. 99) = *āvinā | evē*; *yāthi ohīṣe* (VIII. 53) = *yāthi oh ṣe*; *ūp' eṣatu* = *ūpa eṣatu*<sup>9</sup>. An example of a compound with this elision seems to be *dāśa-ṇi*-<sup>10</sup> = *dāśa-ṇi* 'having ten aids'.

b. Final  $\tilde{a}$ , instead of being contracted with  $e$  is, in a few instances, nasalized before that diphthong; thus *aminantaṁ evaiḥ*<sup>11</sup> (I. 79<sup>3</sup>) for  $-a$   $\tilde{e}$ ; *śāsadānāṁ ṭsi* (I. 123<sup>10</sup>) for  $-ā$   $\tilde{e}$ ; *upāsthān* | *ēkī* (I. 35<sup>6</sup>) for  $-ā$   $\tilde{e}$ .

3. When  $\tilde{a}$  remains after a final  $y$  or  $s$  has been dropped, it does not as a rule contract with the following vowel. Nevertheless such contraction is not infrequent in the Samhitās. In some instances it is actually written; thus *sārtavājāu* (III. 32<sup>6</sup>) = Pp. *sārtavāi ājāu*; *vāsāu* (V. 17<sup>3</sup>) = Pp. *vāi asāu*; and the compound *rājeṣitam* (VIII. 46<sup>28</sup>) = Pp. *rājāh-iṣitam*; in the later Samhitās are found *kītyēti* (AV. X. 1<sup>15</sup>) = Pp. *kītyah iti*; *pīvopavasānanām* (VS. XXI. 43) = Pp. *pīvah-upavasānanām*<sup>12</sup>.

In other instances the contraction, though not written, is required by the metre; thus *ta indra* (VII. 21<sup>9</sup>), Pp. *te indra*, must be read as *tendra*; *pṛithivī antāriḥṣāt* (AV. IX. 1<sup>9</sup>), Pp. *pṛithivīāh*, as *pṛithivīantāriḥṣāt*<sup>13</sup>; *goṣṭhā ūpa* (AV. IX. 4<sup>23</sup>), Pp. *goṣṭhē ūpa*, as *goṣṭhāpa*.

a. There appear to be several other instances of such written contraction, which are however otherwise explained by the Padapāṭha; thus *rīyātā* (X. 93<sup>10</sup>) = *rīyē utā*,

<sup>1</sup> Several instances of this contraction occur in B and later.

<sup>2</sup> The TS. extends this contraction to prepositions ending in  $a$ : *ūpārcha-ti*, *avārcha-ti*; see WHITNEY, APr. III. 47f., TPr. III. 9f. In the post-Vedic language this contraction was extended to all prepositions ending in  $\tilde{a}$ .

<sup>3</sup> Cp. BENFEY, GGA. 1846, p. 822.

<sup>4</sup> The Pp. explains *pibā* and *raṇayā* as imperatives (*piba*, *raṇaya*); but the  $\tilde{a}$  here may represent  $-ās$  of the subjunctive (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 311 mid.). Occasionally  $\tilde{a}$  remain uncontracted because the editors regarded them as representing  $a$ - $e$ , or  $\tilde{a}$ - $h$ , as in *raṇta ityā* (VII. 363) *jmayā ātra* (VII. 39<sup>1</sup>). Cp. RPr. II. 28f.; BENFEY, SV. xxxf.; WACKERNAGEL I, 267 a β.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 63, note <sup>10</sup>;  $\tilde{a}$  is shortened before  $r$  in the AB.; see AUFRECHT's ed. 427.

<sup>6</sup> *vibhvaṁ* occurs thus three times; see LANMAN 529.

<sup>7</sup> In opposition to the Mss. MAX MÜLLER, RV<sup>2</sup> reads *vīpanyām rīdāya* because Sāyana appears to favour that reading.

<sup>8</sup> See ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 123.

<sup>9</sup> This is a precursor of the post-Vedic rule by which the  $\tilde{a}$  of a preposition before initial  $e$  and  $o$  of verbs (except *eti* etc. and *edhate* etc.) is elided.

<sup>10</sup> Though the AV. has *pāñcaudana* = *pāñca odana*- the elision of  $\tilde{a}$  before  $-odana$ - often takes place in the Sūtras and later.

<sup>11</sup> The old hiatus is here treated as it would be at the end of an internal Pada. The TS. (III. 1, 115) retains the hiatus in the same verse without nasalization; cp. OLDENBERG 469ff.

<sup>12</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 268 b.

<sup>13</sup> In the Paippalāda recension this contraction is actually written.

Pp. *rāyā utā*; *bhūmyopāri* (x. 75<sup>3</sup>) = *bhūmyāh upāri*, Pp. *bhūmyā upāri*<sup>1</sup>. In a few of these the contraction must be removed as contrary to metre; thus *uṣa yāti* (III. 61<sup>4</sup>), Pp. *uṣāh yāti*, which means 'Dawn goes', should be read as *uṣā ā yāti*, as the sense requires 'Dawn comes', and the metre requires an additional syllable; *abhiṣṭipāsi* (II. 20<sup>2</sup>), Pp. *-pā asi*, should be read as *abhiṣṭipā(h) asi*; *vṛṣabhēva* (VI. 46<sup>4</sup>), Pp. *vṛṣabhā iva*<sup>2</sup>, as *vṛṣabhā(h) iva*.

b. In a very few instances a final *m* is dropped after *a*, which then combines with a following vowel. This contraction is actually written in *durgāhātī* (IV. 18<sup>2</sup>) for *durgāham etātī* (but Pp. *durgāhā etātī*)<sup>3</sup>, and *sāvanedām* (TS. I. 4. 44<sup>2</sup>) for *sāvanam idām* (Pp. *sāvanā idām*). Occasionally this contraction though not written is required by the metre; thus *rāstrām ihā* (AV.) must be read *rāstrēhā*.

71. Final *ī* and *ū* before dissimilar vowels.—1. The final vowels *ī* and *ū*<sup>4</sup> before dissimilar initial vowels and before diphthongs are in the Samhitās regularly written as *y* and *v*<sup>5</sup> respectively; e. g. *prāty āyam* (I. 11<sup>6</sup>) = *prāti āyam*; *ā tv ēā* (I. 5<sup>1</sup>) = *ā th ēā*; *jānitry ajījanat* (x. 134<sup>1</sup>) = *jānitri ajījanat*. The evidence of the metre, however, shows that this *y* or *v* nearly always has the syllabic value of *i* or *u*<sup>6</sup>; e. g. *vy āṣāh* (I. 92<sup>4</sup>) must be read as *vī uṣāh*: *vidātheṣu añjān* (I. 92<sup>5</sup>) as *vidātheṣu añjān*.

a. The final of disyllabic prepositions must, however, frequently be pronounced as a semivowel, especially before augmented forms; e. g. *adhvāsthāh* (I. 49<sup>2</sup>); *dnv acāriṣam* (I. 23<sup>23</sup>); also *dnv ihi* (x. 53<sup>6</sup>)<sup>7</sup>.

b. In all the Samhitās the particle *u* following a consonant is written as *v* and pronounced as *u* before a vowel; e. g. *dvādv v indra* (I. 281<sup>8</sup>); but the long form of the same particle occasionally remains unchanged in the RV. even after a consonant; e. g. *id āyām* (VI. 71<sup>9</sup>); *tām ū akṛvvan* (x. 88<sup>10</sup>).

c. In RV. I—IX there are other instances of monosyllabic and disyllabic words at the end of which *y* and *v* are pronounced; but the only example of a trisyllabic word in which this occurs is *śvayati* in *śvayato āpah* (II. 32<sup>4</sup>). In RV. X there are a few further examples; e. g. *deviṣv dāhi* (x. 121<sup>8</sup>)<sup>9</sup>.

d. The semivowel is regular in the compounds *ṛtv-ij-*, *gāvi-ūti-*<sup>10</sup>, *sv-āhā*, and *sv-id-*<sup>11</sup>.

2. Unchangeable *ī* and *ū*. a. The dual *ī* and *ū* never change to *y* or *v*; nor is the former ever prosodically shortened, though the latter sometimes is; e. g. *hārī* (—) *ṛtāsya*; but *sādhi* (—) *asmai* (II. 27<sup>15</sup>). The dual *ī* may remain even before *i*; e. g. *hārī iva*, *hārī indra*, *akṣī iva*; but the contraction is written in *upadhīva*, *pradhīva*, *dāmpatīva*, *viṣpātīva*, *nṛpātīva* (AV.), *rōdasīmī* (VII. 90<sup>3</sup>) = *rōdasī imē* 'these two worlds'. There are also several passages in which the contraction, though not written, must be read<sup>12</sup>.

b. The rare locatives in *ī* and *ū*<sup>13</sup> (from stems in *ī* and *ū*) are regularly written unchanged in the Samhitā text of the RV., except *vēdy asyām* (II. 3<sup>4</sup>),

<sup>1</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 268 a.

<sup>2</sup> In instances in which contraction with *iva* seems to take place, the existence of a byform *va* has to be taken into consideration; cp. GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch, column 221; WACKERNAGEL I, 268 a, note.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 67, end.

<sup>4</sup> In the RV. *ṛ* is never final, and I doubt whether any example can be quoted from the other Samhitās in which it is followed by an initial vowel.

<sup>5</sup> The Sandhi which changes a vowel to the semivowel is called *kṣaipra* 'gliding', in the Prātiśākhya; cp. RPr. II. 8; III. 7; VII. 5.

<sup>6</sup> The long vowel being regularly shortened; cp. OLDENBERG 465.

<sup>7</sup> WACKERNAGEL I, 271 b; OLDENBERG 438, note, ZDMG. 44, 326 note; ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 125.

<sup>8</sup> The TS. has *uv* for *v*. Elsewhere also Indo-arische Philologie. I. 4.

*iy* and *uv* are sometimes written for *i* and *u*; e. g. *sv-ūtā* = *sv-ūtā* 'accessible'; hence the pronunciation may have been *iy*, *uv*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 270 c, 271 a.

<sup>9</sup> See ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 125.

<sup>10</sup> If the analysis of BR., *gāvi-ūti-*, is correct; the Pp. divides *gā- yūti-*.

<sup>11</sup> See ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 125.

<sup>12</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 270 b, note. Here we have probably not contracted forms with *iva*, but the dual *ī + va*, the byform of *iva*.

<sup>13</sup> The vowels which regularly remain unchanged are called *pragṛhya*, 'separated', by the native phoneticians; see RPr. I. 16 etc.; VPr. I. 92 etc.; APr. I. 73 etc. They are indicated as such in the Pp. by an appended *iti*. The particle *u* is indicated as *pragṛhya* in the Pp. of RV. and AV. by its nasalized form *ūṁ* (nasalization being employed to avoid hiatus: see above 66, I).

where, however, the vowel must be pronounced (—o—). The vowels here (unlike the dual *ī*) seem always to be treated as prosodically short<sup>1</sup>.

c. The final *ī* of other cases also occasionally remains unchanged; thus the nominatives *prthivī*, *prthujrāyī*, *samrājī* and the instrumental *suśāmtī* sometimes retain their *ī*, and the inst. *atī* frequently does so<sup>2</sup>.

72. Final *e* and *o*.—i. a. Before *a*. The diphthongs *e* and *o* remain unchanged before an initial *a*. This *a* is often not written in the Samhitās<sup>3</sup>, being dropped in about three-fourths of its occurrences in the RV. and in about two-thirds in the AV.<sup>4</sup>; but the evidence of metre shows that, in 99 instances out of 100 in the RV., and in about 80 in the AV. and the metrical parts of the YV., it is, whether written or not, to be read, and at the same time shortens the preceding diphthong to *ē* or *ō*<sup>5</sup>. In *viśve devāso aptīrah* (I. 3<sup>8</sup>) the *a* is both written and pronounced; in *sūnāve* | *gñe* (I. 1<sup>9</sup>) it must be restored: *sūnāve* | *gñe*<sup>6</sup>. The exceptional treatment of *e* in *stātava ambyām* (VIII. 72<sup>5</sup>), for *stātave ambyām*, indicates that the Sandhi of *e* and *o* before *a* was originally the same as before other vowels<sup>7</sup>. But their unchanged form, as before consonants, gained the day, because the short close *ē*, when coming immediately after them in their character of monophthongs, would have a natural tendency to disappear and thus leave a consonant to follow.

b. Before other vowels. The diphthongs *e* and *o* before any vowels but *ā* would naturally become *ay* and *av*, as being originally = *āi* and *āu*, and as having the form of *ay* and *av* within a word. But *ay* regularly drops the *y*; e. g. *agna ihā* (I. 22<sup>10</sup>); *av* on the other hand generally retains the *v*, dropping it before *ū*<sup>8</sup>; e. g. *vāyav ā yāhi* (I. 2<sup>1</sup>); but *vāya ukthēbhīr* (I. 2<sup>2</sup>).

2. Unchangeable *e*. a. The *e* of the dual nom. acc. f. n. of *a*-stems, e. g. *ūbhe* 'both', is regularly uncontracted (*pragrhya*), because it consists of *a* + the dual *ī*<sup>9</sup>.

b. Under the influence of this nominal dual *e*, the verbal dual *e*<sup>10</sup> of the 2. 3. present and perfect middle, e. g. *vāhāthe* 'ye two bring', *bruvāte* 'they two speak', *ās-āthe* 'ye two have obtained', come to be uncontractable, though the *e* is nearly always prosodically shortened; e. g. *yuñjāthe apāh* (I. 151<sup>4</sup>); but *parimānāthē asmān* (VII. 93<sup>3</sup>).

c. The *e* of the locative *tvē* 'in thee', is uncontractable. Under its influence the other pronominal forms *asmē* 'us', and *yusmē* 'you', are also always treated as *pragrhya* by the Samhitā as well as the Padapāṭha; it is,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. OLDENBERG 456, note; WACKERNAGEL I, 270 b.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. op. cit. I, 270 b, note. Such forms, in which the abscence of contraction is only occasional, are not indicated by *iti* in the Pp.

<sup>3</sup> This form of Sandhi is in the Prātiśākhya called *abhihiṭa* 'elided'; RPr. II. 13 etc.; VPr. I. 114, 125; APr. III. 54; TPr. II. 8.

<sup>4</sup> See WHITNEY 135 c.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. OLDENBERG 435 f., 453 ff., ZDMG. 44, 331 ff.; WACKERNAGEL I, p. 324.

<sup>6</sup> The few instances (70 out of 4500) of the elision of *a* in the RV. are the forerunners of the invariable practice of post-Vedic Sandhi.

<sup>7</sup> Internally the original Sandhi of the compound *gō-agra-* must have been *gāu-agra-*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 325, note.

<sup>8</sup> There are a few survivals of *ay*; e. g. *atīy ā* (MS. I. 1<sup>1</sup>) = *tā ā* (TS.); cp. TPr. x. 23; OLDENBERG 447 ff. In the MS., the K., and Mantras occurring in the Mānavasūtras, unaccented *a* for *e* before an accented initial vowel is lengthened; e. g. *ā dadhā itī*.

<sup>9</sup> See above 71, 2. A dual *e* once appears contracted in *dhiṣṇyemē* (VII. 72<sup>3</sup>), which, however, should probably be read uncontracted as *dhiṣṇye imē*. The *-eva* which occurs several times (I. 186<sup>4</sup> etc.) and looks like a contraction of the dual *e* with *iva*, in reality probably stands for the dual *e* + *va*, the byform of *iva*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 317, note, top.

<sup>10</sup> There was originally no difference between this dual *e* and any other *e* in middle forms, such as that of the dual *-vāhe*, the singular *-te*, and the plural *-ante*.

however, doubtful whether they were so treated in the original text of the RV.<sup>1</sup>.

3. **Unchangeable *o*.** a. When *o* is the result of combining the final *ā* of particles with *u* (which itself is often unchangeable)<sup>2</sup>, it is *pragr̥hya*; thus *ō* (= *ā u*), *ātho* (= *ātha u*), *utō* (= *utā u*), *mō* (= *mā u*).

b. Following this analogy, the vocative in *o* of *u*-stems is sometimes treated as *pragr̥hya* in the Samhitā of the TS.; e. g. *pīto ā* (TS.v.7.24). It is regularly so treated in the Padapāṭhas of the RV., AV., VS., TS. (but not SV.). Thus in *vāyav ā* (I. 2<sup>1</sup>), *vāya ukthūbhir* (I. 2<sup>2</sup>), *vāyo tāva* (I. 2<sup>3</sup>) the vocative is equally given in the Padapāṭha as *vāyo īti*.

73. **The diphthongs *ai* and *au*.**—The diphthongs *ai* and *au* are treated throughout in the same way as *e* and *o* before vowels other than *a*. Thus *ai* is regularly written *ā* (having dropped the *y* of *āy*); e. g. *tāsmā akṣē* (I. 116<sup>16</sup>); *tāsmā indrāya* (I. 4<sup>9</sup>). On the other hand, *au* is generally written *āv*, but always *ā* before *ū* in the RV. and VS.; e. g. *tāv ā* (I. 2<sup>5</sup>); *tāv indragr̥nī* (I. 108<sup>3</sup>); but *sujihvā īpa* (I. 13<sup>8</sup>). In the AV. *ā* appears before *u* in *pādū ucye* (AV. XIX. 6<sup>5</sup>). In the MS. *ā* appears before other vowels also<sup>3</sup>.

74. **Euphonic combination of consonants.**—The Sandhi of final consonants, generally speaking, starts from the form which they assume in pausā. Thus an aspirate first loses its aspiration; the palatal *c* becomes *k*; *j ś h* become *k* or *ṭ*<sup>4</sup>; and of a group of consonants the first alone remains. Final *n* is, however, to a great extent differently treated from what it is in pausā; and the Sandhi of *s* and *r* is, for the most part, based not on *h*, their form in pausā, but on the original letter.

A final consonant is assimilated<sup>5</sup> in quality<sup>6</sup> to the following initial, becoming voiceless before a voiceless consonant, and voiced before a voiced sound<sup>7</sup>; e. g. *tāt satyām* (I. 1<sup>5</sup>) for *tād*; *yāt tvā* (I. 15<sup>10</sup>) for *yād*; *havyavāṭ juhvāsyah* (I. 12<sup>6</sup>), through *-vāt* for *-vāh*; *gāmad vājebhiḥ* (I. 5<sup>3</sup>) for *gūmat*; *arvāg rādhaḥ* (I. 9<sup>5</sup>) for *arvāc* through *arvāh*.

a. A final media before a nasal may become the nasal of its own class. There seems to be no certain instance of this in the RV.; *cakrān nā* (X. 95<sup>12. 13</sup>), however, probably stands for *cakrāt nā*, though the Pp. has *cakrān nā*. This assimilation is regular in some compounds; e. g. *sān-ṇavati*- '96' for *sāt-ṇavati*. From here it penetrated into internal Sandhi; e. g. *ṣan-ṇām*.

b. Assimilation not only in quality, but also largely in the place of articulation occurs in the Sandhi of final *m*, of the final dentals<sup>8</sup> *t n s*, and of final *r* (under the influence of *s*).

75. **Euphonic combination of final *m*.**—1. Before vowels, final *m* remains unchanged; e. g. *agnīm r̥le* (I. 1<sup>1</sup>). In a very few instances, however, the *m* is dropped, and the vowels then contract. This Sandhi is mostly indicated by the metre only: it is very rarely written<sup>9</sup>, as in *durgāhaitāt*

<sup>1</sup> Cp. OLDENBERG 455, note.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above 71, 1 b.

<sup>3</sup> See GARBE, GGA. 1882, 117 f.; WACKER-NAGEL I, 274; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 60, 755—758 (Duale auf *-ā* und *-au*).

<sup>4</sup> Some compounds, however, preserve survivals of an earlier phase of Sandhi; e. g. *viś-pāti*- 'lord of the house'; *viśpātā*-N., not *viṣ*; *nabh-rāj*- (MS.) 'cloud-king', not *nab-rāj*-. Cp. L. v. SCHROEDER, ed. of MS. I, p. XVI.

<sup>5</sup> Final *t* before vowels becomes *ṭ* in the RV., not *ṭ* as later; e. g. *bāt itthā*, for *bāt*.

<sup>6</sup> Within a word a voiced consonant is not necessary before vowels, semivowels, and nasals.

<sup>7</sup> Some scholars think that the 3. sing. impv., e. g. *bhāvatu* represents *bhavat u* for original *bhavad u*, the *t* being retained owing to the influence of the innumerable forms of the 3. sing. with *-ti*, *-te*, etc. (cp. WACKER-NAGEL I, 276 b); but this is doubtful; DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax 517 ff., thinks it may originally have been *bhāva + tū* (particle); cp. IF. 18, 71.

<sup>8</sup> An example of a final guttural becoming a dental before a dental occurs in TS. I. 2. 7<sup>1</sup>, where *samyāt te* stands for *samyāk te*. There are a few other examples in B. passages of the TS.; see WACKER-NAGEL I, 277 b.

<sup>9</sup> See above 70, 3 b.

(iv. 18<sup>2</sup>) for *durgāham dāt*, and it is never analysed by the Padapāṭha in this way. It may perhaps have started from the analogy of the doublet *tibhya* beside *tibhyam* 'to thee'<sup>1</sup>.

2. Before mutes, final *m* is regularly assimilated<sup>2</sup>, becoming the corresponding nasal, and before *n* similarly becoming *n*. The Mss. and printed texts, however, represent this assimilated *m* by the Anusvāra sign; e. g. *bhadrāṃ kariṣyāsi* (i. 1<sup>6</sup>) for *bhadrāṃ kariṣyāsi*; *bhadrāṃ no* (x. 20<sup>4</sup>) for *bhadrāṃ no*. This actual change of *m* to *n* before dentals led to some errors in the Pāda text; e. g. *yān ni-pāsi* (iv. 11<sup>6</sup>), analysed as *yāt* instead of *yām*; *śvi-venan tīm* (iv. 24<sup>6</sup>), analysed as *śvi-venan* instead of *śvi-venam* (cp. iv. 25<sup>3</sup>).

3. Before *r ś s* and *h*<sup>3</sup>, final *m* becomes Anusvāra (*m*); e. g. *hātāraṃ rainadhātāmam* (i. 1<sup>1</sup>); *vārdhamānaṃ svē* (i. 19<sup>9</sup>); *mitrāṃ huve* (i. 27<sup>1</sup>). From its original use before sibilants and *h*, Anusvāra came to be employed before the semivowel also<sup>4</sup>. A compound like *sam-rāj-* 'overlord' shows that *m* originally remained unchanged in Sandhi before *r*.

4. Before *y l v*, final *m* is assimilated as nasalized *y ĩ ĩ*. The TPr.<sup>o</sup>, however, allows Anusvāra beside these, while the APr. even requires Anunāsika before *y* and *v*; and the printed texts regularly use Anusvāra; e. g. *sām yudhī* (i. 8<sup>3</sup>); *yajñam vaṣṭu* (i. 30<sup>10</sup>). Forms like *yamydmāna-* 'extended' and *āpamlukta-* 'concealed' show that final *m* originally remained unchanged in Sandhi before *y* and *l*<sup>5</sup>; and forms like *jaganvān*, from *gam-* 'go', point to its having at one time become *n* before *v* in Sandhi.

76. Euphonic combination of final *t*. — 1. Before *l*, final *t*<sup>6</sup> becomes fully assimilated as *l*; e. g. *āngāt lōmnaḥ* (x. 163<sup>6</sup>) for *āngāt lōmnaḥ*.

2. Before palatals (including *ś*)<sup>7</sup> final *t*<sup>1</sup> becomes palatal<sup>8</sup>; e. g. *tāc cākṣuḥ* (vii. 66<sup>16</sup>) for *tād cākṣuḥ*; *rohīc chyāvā* (i. 100<sup>16</sup>) for *rohīt śyāvā*; and in a compound *yātayā-jana-* 'marshalling men', for *yātayāt-jana-*.

77. Euphonic combination of final *n*. — 1. Before vowels. Final *n*<sup>9</sup>, a. if preceded by a short vowel, is doubled<sup>10</sup>; e. g. *āhann āhim* (ii. 11<sup>5</sup>) for *āhan*. The final *n* is here chiefly based on original *ns* or *nt*. Though it is always written double<sup>11</sup>, the evidence of metre shows that this rule was only partially applied in the RV.<sup>12</sup>

b. If preceded by a long vowel, it becomes within<sup>13</sup> a Pāda in the RV. *n* after *ā*<sup>14</sup>, but *n̄r* after *ī ū*<sup>15</sup>; e. g. *sārgān̄ iva*, for *sārgān*; *paridhīm̄r āti*, for *paridhīn*; *abhīśum̄r iva*, for *abhīśun*; *n̄m̄r abhī*, for *n̄m̄n*. This Sandhi was caused by the *n* having originally been followed by *s*<sup>16</sup>; e. g. *vṛk̄n* originally

<sup>1</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 283 a, note.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. I, 283, b a.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. I, 283 d.

<sup>4</sup> In the post-Vedic language Anusvāra came to be allowed before mutes and nasals also.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 283 c.

<sup>6</sup> Representing *th d dh* also, if they occur.

<sup>7</sup> In the MS. *t* anomalously becomes *ñ*, instead of *ç*, before *ç*; see L. V. SCHROEDER, ZDMG. 33, 185; ed. of MS. I, p. xxix. On the aspiration of *ç* in this Sandhi, see below 80 a.

<sup>8</sup> Final dentals never come into contact with initial cerebrals in the Samhitās.

<sup>9</sup> This rule applies to final guttural *n̄* also; e. g. *kīd̄r̄n̄ ī-* (x. 1083), cp. LANMAN 490; *hīn̄ ak̄ṣnot* (i. 164<sup>28</sup>) for *hīn̄ ā-*.

<sup>10</sup> The compound *vṛṣaṇ-āśvā-* 'having stallions as steeds', forms an exception.

<sup>11</sup> For various explanations of this doubling, see WACKERNAGEL I, 279 a (p. 330).

<sup>12</sup> Cp. OLDENBERG 424 f., 429 ff.

<sup>13</sup> At the end of a Pāda, *-ān -in -ūn* remain unchanged (as being in *pausa*) before a vowel. For passages in which *-ān* is unchanged within a Pāda, see below and OLDENBERG 428.

<sup>14</sup> In the MS. and K., *-āñ* is shortened to *-añ*; e. g. *asmāñ āśvotu* for *asmān*. Cp. V. SCHROEDER, ed. of the MS. I, p. xxix.

<sup>15</sup> *ṛn* becomes *ṛn̄r* only once (v. 54<sup>15</sup>), remaining unchanged elsewhere because two *r* sounds are avoided in the same syllable (see below 79).

<sup>16</sup> For examples of this Sandhi applied to nominatives in *-ān*, see LANMAN 506 A, note (*māhān*), 512 (*-vān*), 514 (*-jān*), 517 (*-mān*); for accusatives, 346.

\**vyrkans*<sup>1</sup>; *mahān* for \**mahānts*; *d-yān*, 3. sing. aor. for \**ḍ-yān-sṭ* (1. sing. *d-yāṁsam*)<sup>2</sup>. The *n* became Anusvāra (or Anunāsika) before this *s*, which was treated in exactly the same way as when it followed an unnasalized vowel (*ās* becoming *ā*, but *īs*, *ūs*, *ṛs* becoming *īr*, *ūr*, *ṛr*).

a. The *ān* of the 3. pl. subjunctive (originally *ānī*), however, remains unchanged before vowels within a Pāda, obviously owing to the *-t* which at one time followed. There happen to be only five occurrences of this form under the conditions required: *ā vahān āsī* (I. 84<sup>18</sup>); *ghōsān ūtarā* (III. 33<sup>8</sup>); *sphurān ṛjipyām* (VI. 67<sup>11</sup>); *gacchān id* (VIII. 79<sup>5</sup>); *gacchān ūtarā* (X. 10<sup>10</sup>)<sup>3</sup>.

2. Before consonants. Final *n* remains unchanged before all gutturals and labials (including *m*), as well as before voiced dentals (including *n*). It is, however, liable to be changed before the following sounds:

a. Before *p*, final *n*, when etymologically = *ns*, sometimes becomes *ṇh*; thus *nṛṇh pāhi* (VIII. 84<sup>3</sup>)<sup>4</sup>; *nṛṇh pāttram* (I. 121<sup>1</sup>).

b. Before all palatals that occur it becomes palatal *ñ*; e. g. *ūrdhvāñ carāthāya* (I. 36<sup>14</sup>) for *ūrdhvān*; *tāñ juṣethām* (V. 51<sup>6</sup>) for *tān*; *vajriñ chnathihī* (I. 63<sup>5</sup>) for *vajrin śnathihī*<sup>5</sup>; *devāñ chlokāḥ* (X. 12<sup>5</sup>) for *devān ślokāḥ*.

Before *c*, however, the palatal sibilant is sometimes inserted<sup>6</sup> in the RV., the *n* then becoming Anusvāra. This insertion occurs only when the sibilant is etymologically justified (that is, in the nom. sing. and acc. pl. masc.) almost exclusively (though not invariably) before *ca* and *cīd*; thus *anuyājāṁs ca* (X. 51<sup>8</sup>), *amenāṁs cīd* (V. 31<sup>2</sup>)<sup>7</sup>. In the other Samhitās the inserted sibilant becomes commoner, occurring even where it is not etymologically justified (that is, in the 3. pl. impf., and the voc. and loc. of *n*-stems)<sup>8</sup>.

c. Before dental *t*<sup>9</sup>, final *n* usually remains; but the dental sibilant is sometimes inserted in the RV., the *n* then becoming Anusvāra. This insertion, however, occurs in the RV. only when it is etymologically justified; it is commoner in the other Samhitās<sup>10</sup>, where it appears even when not etymologically justified.

d. Before *y r v h*, final *n* as a rule remains unchanged; but *-ān*, *-īn*, *-ūn* sometimes become *-āñ*<sup>11</sup>, *-īñr*, *-ūñr*, as before vowels; e. g. *-annām rayivādhāḥ* (VII. 91<sup>3</sup>) for *-annān*; *dadvāñ vā* (X. 132<sup>3</sup>) for *dadvān*; *pañīmṛ hatam* (I. 184<sup>2</sup>) for *pañin*; *dāsyañm yónau* (I. 63<sup>4</sup>) for *dāsyañ*.

e. Before *l*, final *n* always becomes nasalized *l̥*<sup>12</sup>; e. g. *jigvāñ lakṣām* (II. 124<sup>4</sup>).

f. Before the dental sibilant, final *n* remains; but a transitional *t̥*<sup>13</sup> may be inserted; e. g. *ahant sāhasā* (I. 80<sup>10</sup>) 'he slew with might'; *tāñ sám* may also be written *tānt sám*<sup>14</sup>. In the former example the *t̥* is organic; from such survivals it spread to cases where it was not justified. A similar insertion may take place before *ś*; that is, *vajrin śnathihī* may become *vajriñ śnathihī* or *vajriñ chnathihī* (through *vajriñc śnathihī* for *vajrint śnathihī*)<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Cretic λόκου.

<sup>2</sup> In all the other Samhitās the pause forms *-ān -īn -ūn -ṛn* predominate. In the post-Vedic language they became the only allowable forms.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. OLDENBERG 428.

<sup>4</sup> The MS. (II. 13<sup>11</sup>) has *nṛñs pāhi*.

<sup>5</sup> For examples of nominatives with this Sandhi, see LANMAN 506A, note, 512 (top), 517.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., 506 A, note, and 514.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., 512.

<sup>8</sup> There are no examples of the inserted sibilant before *ch* in the Samhitās. In the

post-Vedic language a sibilant is invariably inserted after *n* before all voiceless palatals, cerebrals, and dentals.

<sup>9</sup> Neither *th* nor *l̥* *h* occur in the Samhitās after final *n*.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. LANMAN 516 A, note.

<sup>11</sup> For *dadharvāñ yāḥ* of the RV. (IX. 107<sup>1</sup>) and SV., the VS. (XIX. 2) has *dadharvā yāḥ*.

<sup>12</sup> As *m* does before *l̥*; see above 75, 4.

<sup>13</sup> Before *s* a transitional *k̥* may similarly be inserted after a final *n*; e. g. *pratyāñ sā* may also be written *pratyāñk sā*.

<sup>14</sup> See LANMAN 506 A, note, and 346.

<sup>15</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 282, note.

78. Euphonic combination of final *s*. — 1. Before voiced sounds.

a. Final *s* after all vowels except *ā*, assumes its voiced form *r* before all vowels and voiced consonants<sup>1</sup>; e. g. *ṛṣibhīr hūyo* (I. 1<sup>2</sup>) for *ṛṣibhis*; *agnīr hūta* (I. 1<sup>5</sup>) for *agnis*; *paribhūr āsi* (I. 1<sup>4</sup>) for *paribhūs*; *nūtanair utā* (I. 1<sup>2</sup>) for *nūtanais*.

The *s* doubtless became *r* through an older transitional voiced cerebral *ṣ*<sup>2</sup>, as is shown by the Avesta, e. g. in *duṣita-* = *dur-ita*<sup>3</sup>.

b. Final *s* after *ā* must originally have become *z* before voiced sounds. But *āz* drops the sibilant before vowels and voiced consonants, while *az* drops it before vowels except *a*<sup>4</sup>, but becomes *o*<sup>5</sup> before voiced consonants<sup>6</sup> and *a*; thus *sutā imē* (I. 3<sup>4</sup>) for *sutās*; *viśvā vi* (I. 3<sup>12</sup>), for *viśvās*; *khyā ā* for *khyas* (I. 4<sup>3</sup>); *no diti* (I. 4<sup>3</sup>) for *nas*; *indavo vām* (I. 2<sup>1</sup>) for *indavas*.

2. Before voiceless consonants. a. Before the palatals *c*, *ch*, *ś* final *s* becomes the palatal sibilant *ṣ*<sup>7</sup>; e. g. *devās cakymā* (X. 37<sup>12</sup>).

b. Before the dental *t*<sup>9</sup>, final *s* following *ā* always remains; e. g. *yās te* (I. 4<sup>1</sup>); *médhīrās tīṣām* (I. 11<sup>7</sup>). After *ī* *ū*<sup>10</sup>, it remains as a rule; e. g. *āpṛibhis tīnā* (I. 3<sup>4</sup>). But *s* becomes *ṣ*, which cerebralizes the following *t* to *ṭ*: a. regularly in compounds<sup>11</sup> in all the Samhitās; e. g. *dīṣ-ṭara-* 'insuperable' for *dīs-tara-* (but *rajas-tūr-* 'traversing the air'); β. often in external Sandhi in the RV. This occurs chiefly, and in the independent passages of the other Samhitās<sup>12</sup> only, before pronouns; e. g. *agnis te*; *krātus tām*; otherwise it occurs occasionally only in the RV.; thus *niṣ-jatakṣūr* (X. 31<sup>7</sup>); *gobhis ṭarema* (X. 42<sup>10</sup>); *nākiṣ janūṣu* (VIII. 20<sup>12</sup>)<sup>13</sup>.

c. Before *k* *kh* *p* *ph*, final *s* as a rule becomes Visarjanīya (its pause

<sup>1</sup> When final *s* becomes *r* before *r*, it is treated like an original *r*, being dropped after lengthening the preceding vowel.

<sup>2</sup> This *ṣ* would be the voiced cerebral corresponding to the voiceless *ś* which appears before voiceless consonants (e. g. in *duskha-*).

<sup>3</sup> This *ṣ* would account for the Sandhi of some Vedic compounds formed with *du-* 'ill': *dū-dābha-*, *dū-dās-*, *dū-dhī-*, *dū-nāsa-*, *dū-nāsa-*, beside *dur-niyantu-*. It may possibly also account for the forms *svādhītva* (V. 8<sup>7</sup>), for *svādhītva va* (Pp. *svādhītva*-*va*), and *uvā va* (IX. 96<sup>15</sup>), where the metre requires *urā va* (Pp. *urā-va*); the cerebral being dropped after lengthening the preceding vowel.

<sup>4</sup> In the MS. unaccented *-a* for *-as* is lengthened before an accented vowel; e. g. *tātā indrah*. In TS. II. 4. 7<sup>1</sup> *ar* for *a* in *jinvār āpṛt* is merely a bad reading (MS. II. 4<sup>7</sup> *jinvā rūdāt*); cp. above p. 33, note <sup>13</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> In the compound *ānar-viś-* (I. 121<sup>7</sup>) 'having a wain as his abode', *ar* instead of *o* (cp. *ānas-vant-* 'possessed of a wain') is perhaps due to the influence of *vanar-*, beside *vanas-* and *vana-*. On a still more anomalous compound of the same word, *anaḍ-vāh-* 'drawer of a cart', 'bull', cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 339, top. The vowel *ā* appears instead of *o* in *pracetā | rājan* (I. 24<sup>14</sup>) 'O wise king' (*pracetō rājan* in the same verse, TS. I. 5. 113), probably owing to the voc. *pracetah*, as it would have been pronounced at the end of a Pāda in the original text, having been misunderstood as

a voc. in *-tar* (from a stem in *-tṛ*), which would become *-tā* before *r*.

<sup>6</sup> The starting point of this Sandhi was probably the treatment of *as* before voiced dentals, where the sibilant was dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened to *e* or *o*. The latter finally carried the day, *e* surviving only in *sīre dukitā* (I. 345); cp. BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 1 f.; WACKERNAGEL I, p. 338. <sup>7</sup> *Sā cit* does not stand for *sāh cit*, but for *sā u cit*.

<sup>8</sup> If initial cerebral mutes had existed in the Samhitās, final *s* would doubtless have become the cerebral sibilant *ṣ* before them.

<sup>9</sup> No example of initial *th* occurs in the Samhitās; but the internal Sandhi of *sthā-* 'stand', in *ti-ṣṭhāli* (for *ti-sṭha-ti*) shows that initial *th* would have been treated in the same way as *t*.

<sup>10</sup> Final *ṣ* never occurs; *ṛṣ*, occurring only once in the RV., remains unchanged in *mālṛṣ trīn* (I. 164<sup>10</sup>).

<sup>11</sup> The only exception in the RV. is *cātus-trimśat* 'thirty-four', doubtless due to the avoidance of the combination *ṣtr*.

<sup>12</sup> The TS. also has *niṣ-ṭap-* 'heat'. On the usage of the SV., see BENFEY, SV. p. XLIII; on that of the AV., see WHITNEY, APr. II. 84.

<sup>13</sup> Owing to the far more numerous occurrences of *ās* before *t*, combined with the disinclination to change the following initial, the retention of *s* after *ī* *ū* gradually gained ground and finally prevailed in the post-Vedic language, even in compounds.



form), or *Jihvāmūliya* (*h*) before the gutturals and *Upadhmāniya* (*h*) before the labials; e. g. *indrah pāñca* (I. 79). But *ās* remains and *īs ūs ṛs* become *īś ūś ṛś*<sup>1</sup>: *a.* regularly in compounds in all the *Samhitās*; e. g. *paras-pā-* 'far-protecting'; *haviṣ-pā-* 'drinking the offering'; *duṣ-kṛt* 'evil-doing'; *duṣ-pād* 'evil-footed'. The general rule, however, applies in the following compounds: *purūḥ-prasavana-* 'streaming forth'; *chāndah-pakṣa-* (AV.) 'borne on the wings of desire'; *śrējah-keta-* (AV.) 'striving after superiority'; *sadyah-kṛt-* (AV.) 'bought on the same day'; *bahih-paridhī* (TS.) 'outside the enclosure'; *itih-pradāna-* (TS.) 'offering from hence (= this world)'.

The repeated (or *Anreṣita*) compounds also follow the general rule, doubtless from a desire to change the repeated word as little as possible; thus *pūrvah-pūrvō* 'each first'; *parāh-parah* 'always without' (AV.); *pāruṣah-paruṣas* (VS.) 'from every knot'; *pāruṣah-puruṣo* (TS.) 'every man'; *pāruḥ-paruḥ* (TS.) 'joint by joint', but *pāruṣ-paruḥ* also in RV. AV. TS.

*β.* Often in external Sandhi in the RV.<sup>2</sup>; e. g. *dīvās pūri* (x. 45<sup>1</sup>) 'from the sky'; *pātnvatas kṛdhi* (I. 14<sup>1</sup>) 'make them possessed of wives'; *dyaus pitā* (iv. 1<sup>10</sup>) 'Father Heaven'.

*d.* Before mutes immediately followed by *s* or *ś*, final *s* regularly becomes Visarjaniya; e. g. *śatākratuḥ tsārat* (VIII. 1<sup>11</sup>); *ubhayataḥ-kṣnūr* (TS.) 'two-edged'. Occasionally the sibilant disappears, as in *dāha kṣārantir* (VII. 34<sup>2</sup>)<sup>3</sup>.

*e. r.* Before a simple sibilant final *s* is either assimilated or becomes Visarjaniya; e. g. *vaś śivātamo* or *vaḥ śivātamo* (x. 9<sup>1</sup>); *dēvṣ ṣaḥ* or *dēvḥ ṣaḥ* (x. 128<sup>5</sup>); *naś sapātnā* or *naḥ sapātnā* (x. 128<sup>9</sup>). Assimilation is undoubtedly the original Sandhi<sup>4</sup> and is required by some of the *Prātiśākyas*<sup>5</sup>; but the Mss. usually employ Visarjaniya, and European editions regularly follow this practice<sup>6</sup>.

*a.* The sibilant disappears in the compounds *barhi-sāś-* 'sitting on the sacrificial litter'; *dyāu-saṁśita-* (AV.) 'sky-sharpened'; and, after lengthening the preceding *a*, *ayī-śayā rajā-śayā harā-śayā* (TS. I. 2. 11<sup>2</sup> = MS. I. 27) for *ayaś-, rajaś-, haraś-*.

2. Before a sibilant immediately followed by a voiceless mute, a final sibilant is dropped; e. g. *mandibhi stōmehhir* (I. 9<sup>3</sup>) for *mand'bhīś*; *mitha-sṗādhyā* (I. 1669) for *mithas-*; *du-sṣut-* 'ill praise' for *duṣ-ṣ*. The omission is required by the *Prātiśākyas* of the RV., VS., TS., and is the practice of all the Mss. of the MS.

3. Before a sibilant immediately followed by a nasal or semivowel, a final sibilant is optionally dropped; thus *kṛta śrāvah* (VI. 58<sup>3</sup>), beside which (though the Pp. reads *kṛta*) the MS. reads *kṛtaḥ śrāvah*<sup>8</sup>; *ni-svarām* (VII. 1<sup>7</sup>) for *ni-svarām* 'noiseless' (Pp., however, *ni-svarām*).

79. Euphonic combination of final *r*. — As *ḥ* is the pause form of both *r* and *s*, a certain amount of mutual contamination appears in their Sandhi; *r*, however, suffers much more in this respect than *s*. Since both *s* and *r* when preceded by *ī ū* have the same natural Sandhi, it is in a few

<sup>1</sup> This treatment of final *s* before voiceless gutturals and labials, which is parallel to that before *t*, was doubtless the original from of sentence Sandhi.

<sup>2</sup> *adō pīto* (I. 1877) is probably only an apparent exception, as *adō* = *āda u*, not *ādas* (Pp. *adāḥ*); the Paippalāda recension of the AV., however, has *ādaṣ pīto*, for *adās*.

<sup>3</sup> Though the Pp. reads *ādha*, the PB. in quoting the verse has *ādahā*; see OLDENBERG 369, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. WHITNEY on APr. II. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 342, top.

<sup>6</sup> In *pārītō śiṅcata* (x. 107<sup>1</sup>), *itō* probably = *itā u* (Pp. *pārū itāḥ*).

<sup>7</sup> The omission was doubtless due to the fact that it made no difference to the pronunciation. Hence probably the wrong analysis of *iśastūt* by the Pp. as *iśah-stūt*, instead of *iśa-stūt*, as in *iśa-vant-* (cp. BR.).

<sup>8</sup> Cp. BOLLENS, ZDMG. 45, 24; FISCHER, *Vedische Studien* I, 13.

instances uncertain which was the original sound. Thus it is somewhat doubtful whether the *-uḥ* of the abl. gen. sing. of *r*-stems and of the 3. pl. act. of past tenses represents original *us* or *ur*. In the verbal form, the *r* in the corresponding middle termination of the perfect, *-re*, seems to decide in favour of *ur*<sup>1</sup>.

1. a. Before vowels and voiced consonants (except *r* itself) *r* remains not only when preceded by *ī ū*<sup>2</sup>, but by *ā* also<sup>3</sup>; e. g. *gír* | *iṣā* (I. 117<sup>1</sup>); *pūr devatrā* (VII. 52<sup>1</sup>); *prātār agniḥ* (V. 18<sup>1</sup>); *pīnar naḥ* (X. 57<sup>5</sup>); *svār druhū* (II. 35<sup>6</sup>)<sup>4</sup>.

b. Before *r*, *r* disappears, after lengthening a preceding vowel; e. g. *pīnā rūpāni* (AV. I. 24<sup>4</sup>). In a few instances, however, *o* appears instead of *ā* (= *ar*), under the influence of *-aḥ* as the pause form of neuters in *-as*; thus *ūdho romaśām* (VIII. 31<sup>9</sup>), for *ūdḥā*; and the compound *aho-rātrā* 'day and night', for *ahār*.

2. Before voiceless consonants final *r* is as a rule treated like *s*.

a. Before the gutturals *k kh* and the labials *p ph*, it becomes *ḥ* under the influence of the pause form; e. g. *pīnaḥ kalēḥ* (X. 39<sup>8</sup>); *pīnaḥ pātnīm* (X. 85<sup>29</sup>); *pīnaḥ-punar* (I. 92<sup>10</sup>). But that the *r* originally remained before these consonants is shown by its survival in the compounds *pūr-pati*-, *svār-pati*-, *vār-kāryā*-, *ahār-pati*- (VS.). But even here the pause form was gradually introduced; e. g. *svāḥ-pati*- (SV.); it supplanted the *r* of *antar* throughout; e. g. *antaḥ-pya* 'drinking up'; *antaḥ-kośā* (AV.) 'inside of a store-room'; *antaḥ-parsavyā*- (VS.) 'flesh between the ribs'; *antaḥ-pātrā*- (AV.) 'interior of a vessel'; and because the pause form of *r* and *s* was identical, the Sandhi of *s* came to be applied here even in the RV.; thus *āntas-patha* 'being on the way' (for *āntar*-); *cātuṣ-kapardā* 'having four braids', *cātuṣ-pād* 'four-footed' (for *catur*-).

b. Before the palatals *c ch*, final *r* invariably (like *s*) becomes the palatal sibilant *ś*; e. g. *pūs ca* (I. 189<sup>2</sup>) for *pūr ca*. This applies almost always even in compounds; e. g. *cātuṣ-catvāriṃśat* (VS.) 'forty-four'. There are only two examples of the *r* being retained even here: *svār-caḥṣas* 'brilliant as light', *svār-canas* 'lovely as light'.

c. Before dental *t*, final *r* is without exception treated like *s*; e. g. *gīs tribarhīsi* (I. 181<sup>8</sup>) for *gír*; *cātuṣ-triṃśat* 'thirty-four' for *catur*-. The retention of *r* before *t* in *āvar tāmaḥ* (I. 92<sup>4</sup>) is only apparently an exception, as this really stands for *āvart tāmaḥ*<sup>5</sup>.

d. Before sibilants, final *r* appears in its pause form as Visarjanīya in sentence Sandhi, e. g. *pīnaḥ sām* (II. 38<sup>4</sup>). In compounds, however, it

<sup>1</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 284 note (p. 335).

<sup>2</sup> A list of root-stems in *-ir* and *-ur* will be found in GRASSMANN'S Wörterbuch 1693—1694, columns 3—4.

<sup>3</sup> *r* is original in *dūr*- 'door'; *vār*- 'protector'; *vār*- 'water'; *dhar*- 'day'; *usār*- 'dawn'; *ūdhar*- 'udder'; *vādhar*- 'weapon'; *vanar*- 'wood'; *svār*- 'light'; *antar*- 'within'; *avār*- 'down'; *pīnar*- 'again'; *prātār*- 'early'; the voc. of *r*-stems, e. g. *bhrātār*; the 2. 3. sing. of past tenses from roots in *-r*, e. g. *āvar*, from *vr*- 'cover'.

<sup>4</sup> *āha evā* (VI. 48<sup>7</sup>) for *āhar evā* is due to *āhaḥ*, the pause form of *āhar*, being treated like that of a neuter in *-as*, *āhas*. In *akṣā indur* (IX. 98<sup>3</sup>) for *akṣār indur* (Pp. *akṣār*), the editors of the Samhitā misunderstood *akṣāḥ*,

as the form would originally have been pronounced at the end of an internal Pāda. *ūdho* for *ūdhar*, which appears before *a* and *m*, is due to the influence of neuters in *as*, the pause form of which, *-aḥ*, would be the same as of those in *-ar*. The form *avā*, for *avār* 'down', which appears before *d* (*avā dvāḥ* V. 40<sup>6</sup>, etc.; but before *m*, *avār mahāḥ*, I. 133<sup>9</sup>), is due to the influence of *pāro dvāḥ* and *pāro dvā* (for *pāras*), cp. RPr. I. 32. *āvo* before *a*, *d*, *m*, explained by BENFEY (SV. XL and 176) as standing for *āvar* is probably from *vas*- 'shine' (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 335, top).

<sup>5</sup> Cp. above 62, I.

frequently remains; thus *vanar-sād-* and *vanar-śād-* 'sitting in the wood'; *dhūr-sād-* 'being on the yoke'; *svār-śā-* 'winning light'; *svār-sāti-* 'acquisition of light'; *dhūr-śāh-* (VS.) 'bearing the yoke'. This indicates that it originally remained before sibilants in sentence Sandhi also.

**80. Initial aspiration.**—The palatal sibilant *ś* and the breathing *h*, when initial, may under certain conditions be changed to aspirates.

a. After a final *c*, initial *ś* may become, and in practice always does become, *ch*; e. g. *yác chaknāvāma* (x. 2<sup>3</sup>) for *yād śaknāvāma*. The same change occasionally takes place after *t*; thus *vīpāt chutudrī* (III. 33<sup>1</sup>), for *śutudrī*; *turāśāt chusmī* (v. 40<sup>4</sup>) for *śusmī*.

b. After a final voiced mute, initial *h* may be and usually is changed to the aspirate of that mute; e. g. *tād dhi* (I. 126<sup>2</sup>) for *tād hi*; *sīdād dhōtā* (x. 12<sup>1</sup>) for *sīdād* (= *sīdāt*) *hōtā*; *āvād dhavyāni* (x. 16<sup>12</sup>) for *havyāni*.

**81. Sandhi of compounds**<sup>1</sup>.—The euphonic combination at the junction of the members of compounds is on the whole subject to the rules prevailing in external Sandhi or between words in a sentence. Thus the evidence of metre shows that contracted vowels are often even in compounds to be read with hiatus, when the initial vowel of the second member is in a heavy syllable; e. g. *yuktā-asva-* 'having yoked horses', *devā-iddha-* 'kindled by the gods', *āccha-ukti-* 'invitation'. Many archaisms of Sandhi are, however, preserved in compounds which have either disappeared from or are obsolescent in the sentence.

**1. An earlier stage** of Sandhi has been preserved by compounds alone in the following instances:

a. Several old phonetic combinations appear in single words: *dvi-bārha-jman-* 'having a double course' for *dvi-bārhaj-jman-* (= \**dvi-bārhad-* from *bārḥ-as*, with *-ad* before the voiced palatal)<sup>2</sup>; *barhi-śād-* 'sitting on the sacrificial litter' (from *barhis-* for *barhiṣ-śād-*); *viś-pāti-* 'lord of the house' and *viś-pātnī-* 'mistress of the house' (with *ś* retained instead of *t*)<sup>3</sup>, *sam-rāj-* 'sovereign ruler' (with *m* preserved before *r*)<sup>4</sup>.

b. In a group of compounds with *dur-* 'ill' as first member, the combinations *dū-d* = *du;-d* and *dū-n* = *du;-n* appear instead of *dur-d* and *dur-n*: *dū-dābha-* 'hard to deceive', *dū-dhī-* 'malevolent', *dū-nāsa-* 'hard to attain', *dū-nāsa-* 'hard to attain' and 'hard to destroy', *dū-dāś-* (AV.) 'not worshipping'. But *dur-*, the form which would be required by external Sandhi, is already commoner in the RV.; e. g. *dur-dīśika-* 'looking bad', *dur-dhār-ī-tu-* 'hard to restrain', *dur-nāman-* 'having a bad name', *dur-nāsa-* (AV.) 'hard to attain'.

c. Final *r* in the first member is preserved in the RV. before voiceless sounds<sup>5</sup>; thus *vār-kāryā-* 'producing water', *svār-cakṣas-* 'brilliant as light', *pūr-pati-* 'lord of the stronghold', *svār-pati-* 'lord of heaven', *dhūr-śād-*<sup>6</sup> 'being on the yoke'.

d. Radical stems ending in *-ir* and *-ur* mostly lengthen their vowel before consonants (as within words), e. g. *dhūr-śād-* 'being on the yoke', *dhūr-śāh-* (VS.) 'bearing the yoke', *pūr-pati-* 'lord of the stronghold', *pūr-bhīd-* 'breaking down forts', *pūr-bhīdya-* n. 'destruction of forts', *pūr-yāna-*<sup>7</sup> 'leading to the fort'.

<sup>1</sup> See BENFEY, Göttingische Abhandlungen 15, 105 ff.; WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, 125—139.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above 44 a, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Later *vīp-pati-* (TB. II. 5. 7<sup>4</sup>), and even in the RV. *pād-bīṣa-* 'fetter' from *paś-* 'bind'.

<sup>4</sup> Otherwise Anusvāra, as in *sam-rājantam*.

<sup>5</sup> While in external Sandhi it would become Visarjaniya or a sibilant.

<sup>6</sup> External Sandhi gradually encroaches here in the later Samhitās, as in *svār-pati-* (SV.). On *pūmah-* for *pūmar-* in *pūmah-sarā-*, *āntas-* for *āntar-* in *āntas-patha-*, and *antah-* in *antah-pāya-* see WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, 126 γ, note, and above 79, 2 a.

<sup>7</sup> But *gir* retains the short vowel in *gir-vaṇas-* 'fond of praise', *gir-vāhas-* 'praised in

e. As first member of a compound *dyu-* 'heaven' appears as *div-* before vowels<sup>1</sup> (while *yu* would in external Sandhi become *yv*), as *d/v-iṣṭi-* 'striving for heaven', *div-it-* 'going to heaven'.

2. Compounds in the Saṃhitās preserve many euphonic archaisms which, while still existing in external Sandhi, disappear from the sentence in later periods of the language though still partially surviving in compounds.

a. A final consonant disappears before the same consonant when the latter is the initial of a group: *upá(s)-stha-* 'lap', *ná(k)-kṣatra-* 'star', *hṛ(d)-dyotá-* (AV.), an internal disease, *hṛ(d)-dyótana* (AV.) 'breaking the heart'<sup>2</sup>.

b. A final sibilant disappears before a mute followed by a sibilant, as in *divá-kṣa-* 'heavenly' ('ruling over heaven', *div-ds*, gen.)<sup>3</sup>.

c. A sibilant as initial of the second member is retained; thus *ścandra-* 'bright' in *puru-ścandrá-* 'much-shining' and many other compounds, but almost invariably *candrá-* as an independent word<sup>4</sup>.

d. A final *s* in the first member or an initial *s* in the second is cerebralized; e. g. *duṣ-śára-* 'invincible', *niṣ-śákvarī-* (AV.) 'running away', *duṣ-śvápnya-* 'evil dream'.

e. An original *n* in the second member is cerebralized after a *r* or *ṣ* with the necessary phonetic restrictions (47) a. In derivatives from verbs compounded with prepositions containing *r*, initial, medial, or final *n* of the root is almost invariably cerebralized in the Saṃhitās; thus *nir-níj-* 'bright garment', *pari-hṇuta-* (AV.) 'denied' (*1' hnu-*), *pari-náh-* 'enclosure', *pari-ā-naddha-* (AV.) 'tied up', *pra-ní-* and *pra-netí-* 'leader', *prá-nūti-* 'guidance', *prānā-* 'breath', *prānana-* and *prānātha-* (VS.) 'respiration' (*an-* 'breathe'). The cerebralization appears even in suffixes, as *pra-yāna-* 'advance'<sup>5</sup>.

β. In other compounds *n* greatly predominates when the second member is a verbal noun; e. g. *grāma-ní-* 'chief of a village', *dur-gāni* 'dangers'; *ny-pāna-* 'giving drink to men', *pítṛ-yāna-* 'trodden by the fathers', *pūr-yāna-* (AV.) 'leading to the fort', *rakṣo-hān-* 'demon-slaying', *vṛtra-hān-* 'Vṛtra-slaying'. The cerebralization fluctuates in *-yāvan-*: thus *prātar-yāvan-* 'going out early', *vṛṣa-pra-yāvan-* 'going with stallions', but *puro-yāvan-* 'going in front', *śubhra-yāvan-* 'going in a radiant chariot'; also in *purīṣa-vāhana-* (VS.) and *purīṣa-vāhana-* (TS. K.) 'removing rubbish'. Cerebralization never takes place in *-ghn-*, the weak form of *-han-* 'killing'; nor in *akṣā-nāh-* 'tied to the axle', *kravya-vāhana-*<sup>6</sup> 'conveying corpses', *carma-mnā-* 'tanner', *yuṣmā-nīta-* 'led by you'.

γ. The cerebralization takes place somewhat less regularly when the second member is an ordinary (non-verbal) noun; e. g. *urū-nāsī-* 'broad-nosed', *tri-navá-* (VS.) 'consisting of three times nine parts', *tri-nāman-* (AV.)<sup>7</sup> 'having three names', *dru-ghaṇá-* 'mallet', *nr-mānas-* 'friendly to men', *purī-nāman-* 'many-named', *pūrvāhān-* 'forenoon', *prá-nāpāt-* 'great-grandson'. There is

song'. The long vowel in *án-āśīr-dā-* 'not fulfilling expectation', *āśīr-dā-* and *āśīr-dāyā-* 'fulfilment of a benediction' is due to analogy, as *ā-sis-* is derived from the root *śīṣ-*.

<sup>1</sup> *dyu-* remains before consonants: *dyu-kṣá-*, *dyu-gá-t-*, *dyū-bhaktā-*.

<sup>2</sup> Also in external Sandhi *tá dyām* (AV. iv. 106) for *tád dyām*.

<sup>3</sup> Also in external Sandhi *ádha kṣáranīr* (vii. 34<sup>2</sup>), cp. above 78, 2 d.

<sup>4</sup> Divergence from external Sandhi is sometimes not archaic but due to innovation;

as *go-* 'cow' instead of *gav-* before vowels, e. g. *gá-agra-* 'headed by cows'; cp. WACKER-NAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 129 e. Another kind of innovation in compounds is due to haplology; cp. WACKER-NAGEL I, 241 a β; 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 128 bottom.

<sup>5</sup> There are a few exceptions: *pari-pāna-* 'drink', *pari-niyámāna-* 'being led home' (*ṽvah-*), *prá-pāna-* (VS.) 'distended'.

<sup>6</sup> Like *havya-vāhana-* 'conveying oblations'.

<sup>7</sup> The later Saṃhitās always have *n* after *tri-*, while the RV. always has *n*; as *tri-*

fluctuation when *dus-* 'ill' assumes the later Sandhi form of *dur-*, as *dur-nāman-* 'having a bad name', *dur-haṇu-* 'having ugly jaws', but *dur-niyāntu-* 'hard to restrain'<sup>1</sup>; also in *vārdhrā-nasā-* (TS.) 'rhinoceros' and *vārdhrī-nasā-* (VS.) 'having streaks on the nose'; *śrī-māṇas-* (TS.) and *śrī-manas-* (VS.) 'well-disposed'.

But *n* often remains in this type of compound: initially in *kṛpā-nīla-* 'whose home is splendour', *candrā-nirṇij-* 'having a brilliant garment', *varṣā-nirṇij-* 'clothed with rain', *treṣṭ-nṛmya-* 'of brilliant power', *dirghā-nītha-*, N. of a man, *pīṇar-nava-* 'again renewed', *babhrī-nikaśa-* (VS.) 'looking brownish', *vīśa-nābhi-* 'having a mighty nave'; medially in *īśi-manas-*<sup>2</sup> 'inspired', *indrāgnī* 'Indra and Agni', *śasatra-vāni-* (AV.) 'addicted to military rule', *brāhma-vani-* (VS.) 'well disposed to the priesthood', *catur-anika-* 'four-faced', *try-anikā-* 'three-faced', *jyōtir-anika-*<sup>3</sup> 'having a shining face', *citrā-bhānu-* 'having bright lustre', *dhruvā-yoni-* (VS.) 'having a fixed abode', *pṛa-mānas-* (AV.) 'careful', *hāri-manyu-sīyaka-*<sup>4</sup> (RV. x) 'stimulating the mettle of the bays'.

f. The final vowel of the first member is often lengthened. This frequently occurs before *v*; e. g. *annā-vyādh-* 'prospering by food', *prattī-varitā-* (AV.) 'returning into itself', *prā-vīś-*<sup>5</sup> 'rainy season'. It is often due to the rhythmical tendency (which also prevails in the sentence) to lengthen a vowel before a single consonant between two short syllables; e. g. *ahī-śīva-*, N. of a demon (from *ahi-*), *urū-nasā-* 'broad-nosed', *ṛtā-sāh-* (VS.) 'maintaining the sacred law', *pavī-nasā-* (AV.) 'having a nose like a spearhead', *naghā-riśā-*<sup>6</sup> (AV.) N. of a plant, *rathā-sāh-* 'able to draw the car'. Lengthening of a vowel between other than two short syllables is less common, being probably due to imitation of compounds in which the long vowel is produced by the normal rhythm; e. g. *dhanvā-sāh-* 'skilled in archery' and *vibhū-sāh-* 'overcoming the rich' like *rathā-sāh-*; *sahasrā-magha-* 'having a thousand gifts' like *śatā-magha-* 'having a hundred gifts'. The interchange of short and long is entirely regulated by the rhythmic principle in *sanā-* 'of old' and almost entirely in *tuvi-* 'much'; e. g. *sanā-jūr-* 'long since aged' and *sāna-śrūta-* 'famous of old', *tuvi-maghad-* 'very rich' and *tuvi-bādhā-* 'killing many'<sup>7</sup>. The final vowel of prepositions is particularly often lengthened in the later Samhitās without reference to rhythm, especially before nouns ending in *-a* with long radical vowel, e. g. *nī-vīd-* (AV.) 'liturgical invitation', *abhī-moda-mīd-* (AV.) 'excessively joyful', *nī-nāhā-* (AV.) 'girth', *prati-bodhā-* (AV.) 'vigilance', *vī-barhā-* (AV.) 'scattering'. Sometimes the final vowel is left unlengthened between two short syllables; e. g. *rayi-pāti-* 'lord of wealth', *ghṛta-duh-as* (voc. pl.) 'yielding ghee'<sup>8</sup>.

g. On the other hand, final *ā* and *ī* of the first member are often shortened before a group of consonants or a long syllable; e. g. *amīva-cāṇana-* (AV.) 'driving away disease' and *amīva-hān-* 'destroying disease' (*āmīvā-*); *ūrṇa-mradas-* 'soft as wool' (*ūrṇā-*) and *\*ūrṇa-vābhi-* 'spinning wool', 'spider', in the patronymic *aurṇavābhā-*; *kaksya-prā-* 'filling out the girth' (*kaksyā-*);

*nākā-* 'third heaven', *tri-nābhi-* 'having three naves'.

<sup>1</sup> The AV. here always has the cerebral, as *dur-nihita-* 'badly kept'.

<sup>2</sup> But *nṛ-māṇas-* 'friendly to men' and *vīśa-māṇas-* 'manly-spirited'.

<sup>3</sup> But *puru-anika-* 'having many faces'.

<sup>4</sup> But *vīśa-manyu-* (RV. I) 'vigorous-minded'.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 42.

<sup>6</sup> Beside *nagha-mārā-* (AV.) N. of a plant.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. also *prā-sāh-* and *pṛa-sāh-* 'victorious'. The long vowel in the former is probably historic, = IE. *prō*.

<sup>8</sup> The vowel is originally long, in *aṣṭā-* 'eight', probably also in *acchā-* 'to' and *vīśvā-* 'all', and may be differently explained in *ā-deva-* 'hostile to the gods', *ā-rupita-* (IV. 57) meaning, and *ā-sat-*; see WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>d</sup>, p. 131, note.

*sena-jit-* (VS.) 'vanquishing armies' (*sēnā-*); *gāuri-vṛti-* N. of a seer (from *gauri-*), *pr̥thivi-śhā-* 'standing on the earth'; even before a short syllable in *pr̥thivi-śād-* (AV.) and *pr̥thivi-sād-* (VS.) 'sitting on the earth' (*pr̥thiv-*), *sārasvati-kṛta-* (VS.) 'made by Sarasvati'<sup>1</sup>.

**82. Extension of external to internal Sandhi.** — The rules of sentence Sandhi as applied between members of a compound are often found to affect the internal form of words.

**a. Nominal** (chiefly secondary) suffixes with initial consonants are frequently treated like the second member of a compound; e. g. beside *duvas-yi-* 'worshipping', appears *duvo-yi-*<sup>2</sup>. This influence extends even to radical finals before primary suffixes; e. g. *ān-na-* 'food' for *ād-na-*; *ṣaṇ-ṇām* for *ṣaṇ-nām*, from *śās-* 'six'; *nāmo-bhis*, from *nāmas-* 'obedience', with *o* for *ad* (as in *uśād-bhis* from *uśās-* 'dawn')<sup>3</sup>; *haviḥ-ṣu*<sup>4</sup> for *haviṣ-ṣu*, from *haviṣ-* 'oblation'; *jigī-vāms-* for *jigī-vāms-* 'having conquered', with radical final lengthened as in sentence Sandhi.

**b. In the verb** the influence of sentence Sandhi is seen in reduplicated forms. Thus parallel with the lengthening of final syllables in the sentence, the final radical vowel is made long before the ending *-hi* in *dīdṛhi* beside the more usual *dīdihī*, from *ḍī-* 'shine'. The rhythmical lengthening in the reduplicated aorist is probably due to a similar influence.

### III. ACCENT.

ROTH, Nirukta LVII—LXXII: Ueber die Elemente des indischen Accenten nach den Prātiśākhya Sūtren. — BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 9—13. — WHITNEY, 'On the nature and designation of the accent in Sanskrit', Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1869—70; Oriental and Linguistic Studies 2, 318 ff.; Sanskrit Grammar, p. 28—33; see also General Index, s. v. 'Accent'. — HAUG, Ueber das Wesen und den Werth des wedischen Accents, München 1873 (cp. WEBER, Indische Streifen 3, 335 ff.; WHITNEY, JAOS. 10, IX ff., CHU f.). — WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik I, 243 ff. — Cp. also HIRT, Der indogermanische Akzent, Strassburg 1895, and Akzentstudien in IF. VI—IX; BRUGMANN, Kurze vergleichende Grammatik I (Strassburg 1902), p. 52—66.

Besides the Prātiśākhyas several other native authorities refer to the accent. Pāṇini and his commentators give an account of it; all the Sūtras of Pāṇini relating to accentuation are collected in a chapter of the Siddhānta-kaumudī called *pr̥thivī-śāda-śikṣā* 'section on the Vedic accent'. The accent is further dealt with in the Bhaṣikasūtra, in the Pratiñāsūtra, in the Śikṣās, and as regards the position of the accent in individual words, in the Uṇādisūtras and especially in the Phitsūtras.

**83. General character of the Vedic accent.** — In Vedic literature sacred texts only, primarily all the Samhitās<sup>5</sup> have been handed down in an accented form. Of all other sacred texts, only those to which a special importance was attached, have preserved the accent. These are the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (together with its Āraṇyaka) and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (including the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad). There is, however, evidence to show that the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa<sup>6</sup> and other Brāhmaṇas were at one time accented<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On the relation of this shortening to the lengthening in the same position, and its probable explanation, see WACKERNAGEL 27, p. 135 (56 g).

<sup>2</sup> Hence the Padapāṭha treats a nominal stem which takes a suffix with initial consonant like the first member of a compound, separating it from the suffix by Avagraha; e. g. *duvaḥśyñiḥ* for *duvoyniḥ*; *adriṣvāḥ* for *adriṣvāḥ*, voc., 'armed with a bolt'; *ūtīśbhiḥ* for *ūtībhis* 'with aids'.

<sup>3</sup> See above 44 a, 3.

<sup>4</sup> See 57, 1.

<sup>5</sup> The Mss. of the Kāthaka are so defective as regards accentuation that L. v. SCHROEDER found it possible to print parts only of his edition of the text (vol. I, 1900) with accents.

<sup>6</sup> WEBER, Indische Studien 10, 421; cp. MAX MÜLLER, ASL. 348; BURNELL, Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa p. VI. The Mantra parts of the Aitareya-Āraṇyaka are accented (KEITH's ed. p. 10).

<sup>7</sup> The Suparṇadhyāya, an artificially archaic

The Sūtras, though not themselves accented, occasionally accent the Mantras which they quote.

The **Vedic accent**, like that of ancient Greece, was of an essentially **musical** nature. This is indicated by the fact that the accent exercises no influence on the rhythm of versification. The phoneticians of the Prātiśākhya, in describing it, speak only of its pitch, which is also indicated by the name of the chief tone, *ud-atta* 'raised', 'high'<sup>1</sup>. But that the Vedic accent was accompanied by some stress<sup>2</sup>, is shown by certain phonetic changes which cannot otherwise be explained<sup>3</sup>.

In the Vedic accent **three degrees of pitch** may be distinguished: the high, properly represented by the *udatta*, the middle by the *svarita* ('sounded'), and the low by the *an-udatta* ('not raised'). That the **Udatta** originally denoted the **highest pitch** in the oldest form of the Vedic language, is shown by the evidence of Comparative Philology, and especially of Greek which, as far as its peculiar laws of accent will admit, has the acute on the same syllable as in the Vedic language has the Udatta (e. g. Διφῶς : *divās*; ἐπτά : *saptá*; ἄσπευ : *aspeu*). This conclusion is also supported by the method of marking the Udatta in the Sāmaveda, the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā, and the Kāthaka. In the Ṛgveda, however, the Udatta has a middle pitch, lower than that of the Svarita, as is shown both by the way in which it is marked and by the account given of it in the Prātiśākhya. This must be an innovation, though an old one.

The **Svarita** is a **falling accent** of a dependent nature, marking the transition from an accented to a toneless syllable. It regularly follows an Udatta, to the rise of which its fall corresponds in pitch. It assumes an independent appearance when the preceding Udatta is lost in consequence of the vowel that bears the Udatta being changed to a semivowel in Sandhi. It is described in Pāṇini 1. 2<sup>34</sup> as a combination of Udatta and Anudatta, which means that it falls from the high pitch of the acute to the low pitch of unaccented syllables. According to the RV. Prātiśākhya and the TS. Prātiśākhya, however, the first part of the Svarita sounds higher than the Udatta. This means that, instead of falling immediately from the high pitch of the preceding Udatta, it first rises somewhat before falling to low pitch<sup>5</sup>. It would thus have something of the nature of a circumflex in the RV.; only the rise in pitch above the highest level of the Udatta is but slight (corresponding to the initial rise of the Udatta from Anudattatara to Anudatta level), while the fall corresponds to the total rise of the Udatta<sup>6</sup>. The **low tone** of the syllables preceding an accented syllable (with Udatta or Svarita) is called *an-udatta* 'not raised' in the Prātiśākhya<sup>7</sup>. When it follows a Svarita it is called the *pracaya*<sup>8</sup> (*svara*), or 'accumulated pitch' (as several such unaccented syllables often occur in succession) which continues at the low level reached by the preceding Svarita till the syllable immediately

poem composed in the style of the Vedic hymns, is also accented, but with many mistakes; see GRUBE's edition in Indische Studien, vol. XIV.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. HAUG, op. cit. 19.

<sup>2</sup> The Vedic accent, like the Greek, was, after the beginning of our era, changed to a stress accent which, however, unlike the modern Greek stress accent, did not remain on the original syllable, but is regulated by the quantity of the last two or three syllables, much as in Latin; cp. HAUG 99, end.

<sup>3</sup> See WACKERNAGEL I, 218 and cp. OSTHOFF, Morphologische Untersuchungen 4, 73.

<sup>4</sup> In agreement with VPr. I. 126; APr. I. 17; cp. HAUG 73.

<sup>5</sup> See OLDENBERG, Prolegomena 483 f.

<sup>6</sup> According to Pāṇini's account the Svarita does not rise above Udatta pitch before falling; see OLDENBERG, loc. cit.

<sup>7</sup> See RPr. III. 1; cp. HAUG 91.

<sup>8</sup> HAUG 92 f.

preceding the next accent<sup>1</sup>. The latter syllable, called *sanna-tara* 'lower' or *anudatta-tara*<sup>2</sup> 'more lowered', sinks somewhat below this monotone.

84. Methods of marking the accent.—The accent is marked in the Vedic texts in four different ways.

1. The system of the *Ṛgveda* is followed also by the *Atharvaveda*<sup>3</sup>, the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (along with its *Brāhmaṇa*) and, with only slight deviations in the treatment of the Svarita, by the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*. This system is peculiar in not marking the principal accent at all. The explanation is doubtless to be found in the fact that the pitch of the Udātta is in the RV. intermediate between that of the other two tones. Hence the preceding **Anudātta**, as having low pitch, is marked by a horizontal stroke **below** the syllable, while the following **Svarita**, as rising to a higher pitch, is marked by a vertical stroke **above** the syllable<sup>4</sup>; e.g. अग्निना *agninā* = *agninā*. The presence of successive Udāttas at the beginning of a hemistich is recognizable by the absence of all marks till the Svarita which follows the last of them, or the Anudātta which follows the last of them and precedes the next accented syllable; thus तावा यातम् *tāv ā yātam* = *tāv ā yātam*; तवत् तत् सत्यम् = *tāvāt tāt satyam*. On the other hand, all the unaccented syllables at the beginning of a hemistich are marked; e.g. वैश्वानरम् = *vaiśvānarām* = *vaiśvānarām*. But all the syllables following a Svarita remain unmarked till the one immediately preceding the next Udātta or Svarita; e.g. इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शतुद्रि *imaṃ me gaṅge yamune sarasvatī śatudri* = *imaṃ me gaṅge yamunc sarasvatī śitudri*<sup>5</sup>.

a. The hemistich being treated as the unit with regard to accentuation<sup>6</sup>, the marking of the Anudātta and of the Svarita is not limited to the word containing the Udātta which those accents precede and follow respectively<sup>7</sup>. Hence the final syllable of one word may be marked with an Anudātta as preceding an Udātta of the next initial syllable; or the initial syllable of one word may be marked with the Svarita following the Udātta at the end of the preceding word; e.g. पूर्वभिर्भिरिभिरि *pūrvēbhir iṣibhir* = *pūrvēbhir iṣibhir*; यज्ञमध्वरम् *yajñam adhvaram* = *yajñam adhvaram*. But if an initial syllable after a final Udātta precedes an accented syllable, it loses the enclitic Svarita and must be marked as Anudātta; e.g. देवमत्विजम् *devam ṛtvijam* = *devam ṛtvijam*.

b. If an independent Svarita<sup>8</sup> precedes an Udātta, it is marked with the numeral १ (1) when its vowel is short, and with ३ (3) when it is long, the figures receiving both the sign of the Svarita and that of the Anudātta<sup>9</sup> which precedes an Udātta; e.g. अप्सवन्तर *apsv antār*; रायो वनि *rāyo vāniḥ*. The phenomenon is described by the phoneticians with the words *kamṇa*

<sup>1</sup> See OLDENBERG, Prolegomena 485, end.

<sup>2</sup> *Sanna-tara*, APr. I. 43; *anudatta-tara* in *Kāśikā vṛtti* on Pāṇini I. 210.

<sup>3</sup> The Mss. of the AV., however, show considerable variations; see WHITNEY's Translation p. CXXI ff.

<sup>4</sup> In the Kashmir Ms. of the RV. the Udātta and the independent Svarita only are marked, the former by a vertical stroke above the accented syllable, the latter by a hook (◡) above the accented syllable; see SCHEFFELOWITZ, Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda 48 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. HAUG, op. cit. 92 f.

<sup>6</sup> From the point of view of the sentence accent the Pada is the unit; thus a verb or vocative is always accented at its beginning.

<sup>7</sup> In the *Padapāṭha*, on the other hand, each word receives its natural accent only, so that where the one text has a Svarita, the other may have an Anudātta; e.g. in I. 13 the *Samhitā* has *rayim ānavaṭ*, the *Paṭha* *rayim ānavaṭ* (the latter word being unaccented has the Anudātta marked under each syllable).

<sup>8</sup> Examples of independent Svarita are *svār* for *śār*; *kvā* for *kūā*; *vīryam* for *vīriam*. 'Independent' Svarita in the above rule is intended to include that which results from change to a semivowel (*ksaipra*), from contraction (*praśliṣa*) and from elision of a (*abhinihita*).

<sup>9</sup> The long vowel before the ३ receives the Anudātta stroke as well.





a. Its chief peculiarity is that it marks **only** the main accent, the **Udātta**. This is done by means of a horizontal stroke **below** the accented syllable; e. g. **पुरुषः** *pīruṣaḥ*. If there are two or more successive Udāttas, only the last is marked; e. g. *agnir hi vai dhūr ātha* = *agnir hi vai dhūr ātha*. When, however, an Udātta is thrown back as the result of Sandhi, an immediately preceding Udātta is also marked; e. g. *so 'gnim evābhīkṣamānaḥ* = *só 'gnim evābhīkṣamānaḥ*, where *evābhī-* stands for *evābhī-* = *evā abhī-*. Two successive syllables are also sometimes marked when a compound receives a secondary Udātta; e. g. *sprhayad-varṇaḥ*, for *sprhayād-varṇaḥ*.

b. An **independent Svarita** is thrown back on the preceding syllable in the form of an Udātta; e. g. *manuṣyeṣu*, that is, *manuṣyeṣu* for *manuṣyeṣu*. The Svarita resulting from change to a semivowel (*kṣaipra*), from contraction (*prāṣṭiṣṭa*), or elision of a (*abhinihita*), is similarly treated; e. g. *katham nu imam*, that is, *kathām nu imām* for *kathām nu imām*; *evaitad*, that is, *evaitād* from *evā ead*; *te 'rcantaḥ*, that is, *tē 'rcantaḥ* for *tē 'rcantaḥ*.

When, however, the prepositions *ā* and *prā*, and final *ā* in the first member of a compound, combine with an unaccented vowel, the contracted syllable retains the Udātta; e. g. *chi* (= *ā ihi*); *prāha* (= *prā āha*); *citrōti-* (= *citrā-ūti-*) 'bestowing wondrous gifts'.

c. Before a pause an accented syllable may lose its Udātta or receive a reduced accent marked with three dots, if the initial syllable after the pause has an Udātta or independent Svarita; e. g. *sa bhāgaḥ | saṁsthite*, for *sā bhāgaḥ | saṁsthite*. The penultimate syllable may also be thus reduced; e. g. *juhōti || ātha*, for *juhōti || ātha*. This may occur even when the following initial syllable is unaccented; e. g. *nāpsu || āpa*, for *nāpsu || āpā*.

d. Reduplicated forms or long compounds accented on the first syllable or prior member, sometimes receive a **secondary accent** near the end of the word; e. g. *bālbalīti*, that is *bālbalīti* for *bālbalīti*; *eka-catvāriṁśat*, that is, *eka-catvāriṁśat* for *eka-catvāriṁśat*. Sometimes, in such case, the primary accent itself is lost; e. g. *eka-saptatī* beside *eka-saptatī*. Somewhat analogous to this double accentuation of compounds is the frequent accentuation of both verbal prefix and verb at the same time; e. g. *abhi gopayād* (cp. 109). Finally, the accent occasionally appears on a syllable different from that on which it usually rests. The irregularities mentioned here (d) are much commoner in Books x-xiii than in the earlier Books; they are commonest of all in xiv<sup>1</sup>.

**85. Normal accentuation of words.**—As a general rule, every Vedic word is both accented and has one main accent only. The Udātta is the only main accent in the original text of the Ṛgveda. It is generally found on the syllable which, according to the evidence of Comparative Philology<sup>2</sup>, bore it in the Indo-European period<sup>3</sup>. Sometimes, however, the Udātta is secondary, being a substitute for the independent Svarita (itself the result of an original Udātta). Thus there is already a tendency in the RV. to change a final Svarita into a final Udātta: the vocative *dyāus* (= *dīaus*) 'O Heaven', appears as *dyāus* (viii. 89<sup>12</sup>); *aryā-* (= *arīa-*) 'kind', occurring only once (i. 123<sup>1</sup>), otherwise and very frequently appears as *aryā-*; thus, too, *śvān-* 'dog', was probably at one time *śvān-* for *ślān-* (Gk. *κύων*), which would explain the

<sup>1</sup> For further details, see HAUG, 43-48; LEUMANN, Die accentuation des Ṛgveda; Brāhmaṇa, KZ. 31, 22-51; cp. also WACKER-NAGEL I, 252; Bhāṣikavṛtti, ed. by KIEL-HORN IS. 10, 397 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN. KG. 45, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Under the influence of analogy the

Vedic Udātta shifted, in a few instances, to other syllables in the Brāhmaṇas and in Pāṇini's system; thus *saptā*, ŚB. and C. *sāpta*, *aṣṭau*, C. *aṣṭau*; AV. VS. ŚB. *tīlā* 'sesamum', C. *tīlā*; *sīdāti* 'sit', C. also *sūdāti*; AV. *gāhvara-* 'deep', C. *gahvarā-*.

abnormal accentuation *śīmas* etc. instead of the regular accentuation \**śūnds* etc. prevailing in monosyllabic stems (93). Or the final Svarita is thrown back as an Udātta on the preceding syllable: thus *mitrya-* 'friendly', beside *mitryā-*<sup>1</sup>.

In some Vedic words, however, the only accent which is written is the 'independent' Svarita, by the native phoneticians called the 'genuine' (*jātya*)<sup>2</sup> or also the 'invariable' (*nitya*). Always following a *y* or *v*, it is, however, just as much due to a preceding Udātta (lost by the change of *i* and *ū* to *y* and *v*), as the dependent Svarita is; e. g. *kvā* (= *kūā*) 'where?'; *svār* (= *sūār*, TS. *śīvar*) 'light'; *rathyām* (= *rathlām*, from *rathī-* 'charioteer'); *tanvām* (= *tanūām* from *tanū-* 'body'); *ok-yā-* (= *ok-lā-*) 'belonging to home'; *vasav-yā-* (= *vasav-lā-*) 'wealthy'. In reading the RV. the original vowel with its Udātta must be restored except in a very few late passages<sup>3</sup>.

**a. Double accent.** Contrary to the general rule that a word has a single accent only, a certain class of infinitives and a special type of compounds have a 'double accent'. The infinitives in *-tavai*, of which more than a dozen examples occur, accent both the first and the last syllable; e. g. *ā-tavāi* 'to go', *āpa-bhartavāi* 'to take away'. The Udātta on the final syllable is probably to be explained as a secondary accent like that of the ŚB. in intensives and compounds (*bālbāliti*, *ēka-catvāriṣṣāt*, cp. 84, 4 d), where an accent at the beginning of a word is counterbalanced by another at the end.

A good many compounds of a syntactical type, in which both members are duals in form or in which the first member is nearly always a genitive in form, accent both members; e. g. *mitrā-varuṇā* 'Mitra and Varuṇa', *bṛhas-pāti-* 'Lord of prayer'<sup>4</sup>.

**b. Lack of accent.** Contrary to the general rule that every word is accented, some words never have an accent, while others lose their accent under special conditions.

**1. The following are invariably enclitic:**

**a. pronouns:** *tva-* 'another'; *sama-* 'some'; *ena-* 'he', 'she'<sup>5</sup>; *me*, D. G., 'of or to me'; *mā*, A., 'me'; *nau*, du. A. D. G., 'us two', etc.; *nas*, A. D. G., 'us', etc.; *te*, D. G., 'of or to thee'; *tvā*, A., 'thee'; *vām*, A. D. G., 'ye two', etc.; *vas*, A. D. G., 'you', etc.; *īm*, *sīm* 'him', 'her', 'it', 'them', etc.; *kis* 'some one' in *nā-kis*, *mā-kis* 'no one'; *kīm* in *ā-kīm* 'from', *nā-kīm*, *mā-kīm* 'never'.

**β. particles:** *ca* 'and'; *u* 'on the other hand'; *vā* 'or'; *iva* 'like', 'as it were'; *kam* 'indeed' (after *nū*, *śū*, *hl*); *gha*, *ha* 'just' (emphasizing); *cid* 'at all'; *bhala* 'indeed'; *sama-ha* 'somehow'; *sma* 'just', 'indeed' (almost invariably with the present tense); *svīd* 'probably'.

**2. The following classes of forms or individual words are subject to loss of accent according to their position or function in the sentence:**

**a. vocatives**, unless beginning the sentence or Pāda.

**β. finite verbs**, in principal clauses, unless beginning the sentence or Pāda.

**γ. all oblique cases** formed from the demonstrative pronoun *a-*, when used merely to replace a preceding substantive, and not occurring at the beginning of a sentence or Pāda; e. g. *asya jānimāni* 'his (i. e. Agni's) births' (but *asyā uṣṣaḥ* 'of that Dawn').

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the accentuation of the ŚB., 84, 4 b. In Pāṇini's system of accentuation this tendency went still further; thus V. *vīryā-* (= *vīria-*), becomes in C. *vīrya-*; and the gerundive in *-tavyā* (= *-taviā*) appears in C. as *-tavya* also.

<sup>2</sup> RPr. III. 4, VPr. I. 111 f.; cp. HAUG 75.

Indo-arysche Philologie. I. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. BENFEY, Gött. Abhandlungen 27, 31 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In the Brahmanas also the particle *vāvā-*

<sup>5</sup> See below, on the accentuation of compounds, 91.

<sup>6</sup> The A. sing. f. occurs once (VIII. 619) accented at the beginning of a Pāda as *enām*.

δ. *yāthā* 'as', when used in the sense of *iva* 'like', 'as it were', at the end of a Pāda; e. g. *tāyāvo yathā* (I. 50<sup>3</sup>) 'like thieves'.

ε. *nū* 'not', when followed by *hi* 'for'<sup>1</sup>, the two particles being treated as one word; e. g. *nahī tvā ... invatahi* (I. 10<sup>8</sup>) 'for the two do not restrain thee'; similarly when combined with the particle *nū* 'now': *na-nū* 'certainly not'.

### I. Accentuation of Nominal Stems.

86. A. In primary derivation no general law for the accentuation of nominal suffixes can be stated; but there is a tendency, when *-a*, *-ana*, *-as*, *-an*, *-man* are added, to accent the root in action nouns, and the suffix in agent nouns; and in nouns formed with *-as* and *-man* difference of gender is to some extent accompanied by difference of accent.

1. Root stems when reduplicated or compounded with prepositions as a rule retain the accent on the radical syllable; e. g. *juhū-* 'tongue' and 'ladle', *yavī-yīdh-* 'eager to fight'; *pra-nenī-* 'guiding constantly'. In stems formed with intensive reduplication, however, the reduplicative syllable is sometimes accented; thus *jūgū-* 'singing aloud', *vānīvan-* 'desiring', *dāridra-* (VS.) 'roving'. The prefix is accented in *dva-sā-* 'deliverance', *ūpa-stu-t-* 'invocation', *pāri-jri-* 'running round'<sup>2</sup>.

2. When the suffix *-a* is added, the root is accented in action nouns, but the suffix in agent nouns; e. g. *vīd-a-* 'knowledge', *śiśnāth-a-* 'perforation'; but *cod-ā-* 'instigator', *cacar-ā-* 'moveable'<sup>3</sup>. When there is a verbal prefix, the final syllable is as a rule accented; e. g. *saṃ-gam-ā-* m. 'coming together'. In a few of these compounds, however, the root is accented, as *ut-pāt-a-* (AV.) 'portent', *ā-śrēṣ-a-* (AV.) 'plague'; and in some others (mostly agent nouns) the prefix: *ā-bhag-a-* 'sharing', *prāti-veś-a-* 'neighbour', *vy-ḍṣ-a-* (AV.) 'burning', *sāṃ-kāś-a-* (AV.) 'appearance'.

3. The suffix *-ata* is always accented on the final syllable; e. g. *dars-ata-* 'visible', *pac-ata-* 'cooked', *yaḥ-ata-* 'to be adored'.

4. Of the participial suffixes *-at* and *-ant* the former is never accented when the sense is verbal; e. g. *dād-at-* 'giving', *dās-at-* 'worshipping'. A few old participles, however, which have become substantives, have shifted the accent to the suffix: *vah-āt-* 'stream', *vegh-āt-* (AV. VS.) 'barren cow', *vāgh-āt-* 'sacrificer', *śrav-āt-* 'stream', *śaśc-āt-* 'pursuer'. The suffix *-ant* is accented in the present participle of the second (450) and sixth (429) classes and of the denominative (562), e. g. *ad-ant-*, *tud-ant-*, *aghāy-ant-*; in the future (537), e. g. *dāsy-ant-* (AV.); in the root aorist, e. g. *bhid-ant-* and sometimes in the *a*-aorist, e. g. *vr̥dh-ant-*; also in the old present participles which have become adjectives, *ṛh-ant-* 'weak', *bṛh-ant-* 'great', and (with lengthened vowel) *mah-ant-* 'great'.

5. The suffix *-an* is generally accented; e. g. *uks-ān-* m. 'bull', *ud-ān-* n. 'water'. The radical syllable is, however, not infrequently accented; e. g. *rāj-an-* m. 'king', *ūdh-an-* n. 'udder'.

6. Stems formed with *-ana* predominantly accent the root; e. g. *kār-ana-* n. 'act', *cōd-ana-* (AV.) 'impelling'. The final syllable is, however, accented fairly often; e. g. *kar-anā-* 'active', *kros-anā-* 'yelling', *ksay-anā-* (VS.) 'habitable', *tvar-anā-* (AV.) 'hastening', *roc-anā-* 'shining' (AV.), n. 'light', *svap-anā-* (VS.) 'sleepy'. The penultimate is also accented in several words: the substantives

<sup>1</sup> The ŚB., however, accents both particles; cp. LEUMANN, KZ. 31, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 1147 g.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 1148; LINDNER p. 34.

*kir-āna-* m. 'dust', *kṛp-āna-* n. 'misery' (but *kṛp-ānā-* 'miserable' AV.), *danu-āna-* n. 'great deed', *vṛj-āna-* n. 'enclosure', *veś-āna-* n. 'service'; and the adjectives *tur-āna-* 'hastening', *doh-āna-* 'milking', *bhand-āna-* (VS. TS.) 'rejoicing', *man-āna-* 'considerate', *mand-āna-* 'joyful', *saks-āna-* 'overcoming'. When the stem is compounded with a verbal prefix, the root is nearly always accented; e. g. *saṃ-gāmana-* 'gathering together'; but the final syllable is accented in *vi-caṣṣand-* 'conspicuous', *upari-śayand-* (AV.) 'couch'.

7. The suffix *-anā*, whether forming the feminine of adjectives in *-ana* or f. action nouns, is always accented either on the penultimate or the final syllable; e. g. *tur-ānā-* 'speeding', *spand-anā-* (AV.) 'kicking'; *arh-ānā-* 'inherit', *jar-anā-* 'old age'. The word *pīṭ-anā-* 'fight' is irregularly accented on the radical syllable.

8. The suffix *-ani* is always accented, either on the final or the penultimate syllable; e. g. *dyot-ani-* 'brilliance'; *aś-āni-* 'missile'.

9. The suffix *-anī* being the feminine form of action and agent nouns in *-ana*, is similarly accented; e. g. *pśś-anī-* (AV.) 'beautiful' (*pśś-ana-*). The accent is, however, sometimes shifted to the final syllable; e. g. *tap-anī-* 'heat' (*tāp-ana-*).

10. Stems formed with the suffix *-as* accent the root if they are action nouns, but the suffix if they are agent nouns; e. g. *āp-as-* n. 'work', but *ap-ās-* 'active'. There are also some masc. substantives with the accent on the suffix; e. g. *rakṣ-ās-* m. beside *rākṣ-as-* n. 'demon'.

11. The suffix *-ā*, forming action nouns from roots and secondary conjugation stems, is invariably<sup>1</sup> accented; e. g. *nind-ā-* (AV.) 'blame'; *jigīs-ā-* 'desire to win'; *gamay-ā-* (AV.) 'causing to go'; *aśvay-ā-* 'desire for horses'.

12. The suffix *-āna*, forming middle participles, is normally accented on the final syllable; e. g. *ad-ānā-* 'eating'. Reduplicated stems, however, regularly accent the first syllable; e. g. *dād-āna-* 'giving', *jōhuv-āna-* 'invoking'. A few others accent the root; e. g. *cit-āna-* (AV.) 'shining', *dyūt-āna-* (RV.) 'beaming' (beside the usual *dyūt-ānā-*)<sup>2</sup>. There are also a few adjectives and substantives ending in *-āna* in which the primary character of the suffix or the derivation of the word is doubtful. These also accent the first syllable; e. g. *vāsav-āna-* 'possessing wealth', *pārs-āna-* m. 'abyss'<sup>3</sup>.

13. No general rule can be stated regarding the suffix *-i*, either the suffix or the root being accented with about equal frequency; e. g. *āj-i-* 'race', *grāh-i-* 'seizure'. Action nouns used as infinitives, however, regularly accent the suffix; e. g. *dṛś-āye* 'to see'. Reduplicated derivatives tend to accent the initial syllable; e. g. *cāker-i-* 'active'; while stems compounded with a preposition usually accent the final syllable; e. g. *parā-dad-i-* 'delivering over'.

14. Stems formed with the superlative suffix *-iṣṭha* regularly accent the root; e. g. *yāj-iṣṭha-* 'sacrificing best'. The only exceptions are *jyēṣṭhā-* when meaning 'eldest' (but *jyēṣṭha-* 'greatest') and *kan-iṣṭhā-* 'youngest' (but *kān-iṣṭha-* 'smallest', TS. B). When the stem is compounded with a preposition the latter is accented; e. g. *ā-gam-iṣṭha-* 'coming best'.

15. The suffix *-is* is nearly always accented; e. g. *arc-is-* 'flame'. The exceptions are *ām-is-* 'raw flesh', *jyōt-is-* 'light', and *vyāth-is-* 'course'(?).

16. The few action and agent nouns formed with the suffix *-ī*, are accented either on the root or the suffix; e. g. *deh-ī-* 'rampart', *śāc-ī-* 'power'.

<sup>1</sup> If *jānghā-* 'leg' is formed with this suffix, it is the only exception.

<sup>2</sup> See LINDNER p. 54, top.

<sup>3</sup> See below, Nominal stem formation, under *-āna-* (130).

17. Stems formed with the comparative suffix *-īyāms* invariably accent the root; e. g. *jāv-īyāms-* 'swifter'. When the stem is compounded with a preposition the latter is accented; e. g. *prāti-cyav-īyāms-* 'pressing closer against'.

18. The suffix *-u* is usually accented; e. g. *ur-ū-* 'wide', *pād-ū-* m. 'foot'. The radical syllable is, however, not infrequently accented; e. g. *tāḥ-u-* 'speeding', *ās-u-* m. 'life'. The suffix is regularly accented in adjectives formed from desiderative, causative, and denominative stems; e. g. *dīps-ū-* 'wishing to harm', *bhāṣay-ū-* 'cherishing', *aghāy-ū-* 'malignant'.

19. Substantives formed with the suffix *-us* regularly accent the root (excepting *jan-īs-* 'birth'); e. g. *dhān-us-* 'bow'. But a few adjectives which are never used as substantives accent the suffix; e. g. *jay-īs-* 'victorious', but *tāp-us-* both 'hot' and 'heat'.

20. The suffix *-ū* forming independent feminine substantives is regularly accented; as *cam-ū-* 'dish', *vadh-ū-* 'bride'.

21. When the suffix *-ta* forms past passive participles it is invariably accented; e. g. *jā-tū-* 'born', *rakṣ-i-tū-* 'protected'. But a few ordinary nouns formed with this suffix accent the radical syllable: *ś-ta-* 'variegated'; m.: *gār-ta-* 'car-seat', *mār-ta-* 'mortal', *vā-ta-* 'wind', *hās-ta-* 'hand'; n.: *ās-ta-* 'home', *nāḥ-ta-* 'night'.

22. Stems formed with the suffix *-tar* generally accent the root when the meaning is participial, but the suffix when it is purely nominal; e. g. *dā-tar-* 'giving' (with acc.), but *dā-tār-* 'giver'.

23. Stems formed with the suffix *-ti* accent the root more frequently than the suffix; e. g. *īs-ti-* 'offering', *kṣi-ti-* (AV.) 'destruction', *dhū-ti-* m. 'shaker', but *īś-ti-* 'desire', *kṣi-ti-* 'abode', *jñā-ti-* m. 'relative', *rā-ti-* 'gift'. Reduplicated derivatives seem to have accented either the first syllable or the suffix; e. g. *dīdhi-ti-* 'devotion' and *carkṛ-ti-* 'fame'. When these stems are compounded with prepositions, the latter are nearly always accented; e. g. *ā-hu-ti-* 'offering'; the only exceptions are *ā-sak-ti-* 'pursuit', *ā-su-ti-* 'brew' and 'enlivening', and *abhi-s-ti-* m. 'helper' beside *abhi-s-ti-* f. 'help'.

24. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-tu*, with some half dozen exceptions, accent the root (invariably when they are used as infinitives); e. g. *tān-tu-* 'thread', but *ak-tū-* 'ray'.

25. The suffix *-tnu* is always accented; e. g. *ha-tnū-* 'deadly', *jigha-tnū-* 'harming'.

26. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-tra* generally accent the root; e. g. *mān-tra-* 'prayer', but *kṣa-trā-* 'dominion'.

27. Gerundives formed with the suffix *-tva* regularly accent the root; e. g. *kār-tva-* 'to be made', *vāk-tva-* 'to be said', *bhāv-i-tva-* 'future'.

28. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-tha* generally accent the latter; e. g. *uk-thā-* n. 'saying'. Sometimes, however, the root is accented; e. g. *ār-i-tha-* 'goal'. When the suffix is added with the connecting vowel *-a-*, the latter is generally accented; e. g. *uc-ā-tha-* n. 'praise'.

29. The suffix *-na* when forming past passive participles is invariably accented; e. g. *bhin-nā-* 'split'. When forming ordinary nouns, whether adjectives or masc. substantives, it is usually accented; e. g. *ṛ-nā-* 'guilty', *ghṛ-nā-* m. 'heat'; but a few masculines accent the root, as *kār-na-* 'ear', *vār-na-* 'colour', *svāp-na-* 'sleep'. Neuters (except *śu-nā-* 'welfare') and feminines (*-nā*) accent the root; e. g. *ān-na-*<sup>1</sup> 'food', *tṛ-na-* 'grass', *tṛs-nā-* 'thirst'.

<sup>1</sup> Originally a past participle of *ad-* 'eat'.

30. Derivatives formed with *-ni* accent either the root or the suffix; e. g. *yó-ni*- m. 'receptacle', but *ag-ní*- m. 'fire'.

31. The suffix *-nu* is almost invariably accented; e. g. *vag-níl*- 'sound'. An exception is *vís-nu*-<sup>1</sup>, N. of god.

32. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-ma* accent the suffix more than twice as often as the root; e. g. *tig-má*- 'sharp', *ghar-má*- 'heat', *dhū-má*- 'smoke', but *ú-ma*- 'friend', *só-ma*- 'Soma'.

33. Derivatives formed with *-man* regularly accent the root in neuter substantives; e. g. *kár-man*- 'action', *ján-man*- 'birth', *ná-man*- 'name'. There are, however, several masculine agent nouns which accent the suffix; e. g. *dar-mán*- 'breaker'. In several instances the accent varies in the same word according to the gender and meaning; e. g. *bráh-man*- n. 'prayer', *brah-mán*- m. 'one who prays'; *sád-man*- n. 'seat', *sad-mán*- m. 'sitter'. These stems when compounded with prepositions nearly always accent the latter; e. g. *prá-bharman*- n. 'presentation'.

34. The participial suffix *-māna* is never accented except in the anomalous perfect participle *sasr-māná*- (RV<sup>1</sup>.) = *sasr-āná*- 'speeding'. The accent of these derivatives is regularly on the same syllable as in the tense-stem to which the suffix is added; e. g. *yíja-māna*- 'sacrificing', *icchá-māna*- 'desiring', *idhyá-māna*- 'being kindled', *yakṣyá-māna*- 'about to sacrifice'.

35. Gerundives formed with the suffix *-ya* invariably accent the root; e. g. *háv-ya*- 'to be invoked'.

36. The suffix *-ra* is usually accented; e. g. *ak-rá*- m. 'banner', *rud-rá*-, m. N. of a god, *abh-rá*- n. 'cloud'. The root is, however, accented in a good many words; e. g. *gírdh-ra*- 'greedy', *áj-ra*- m. 'field', *ind-ra*-, N. of a god, *ág-ra*- n. 'point'.

37. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-ri* accent the root oftener than the suffix; e. g. *bhí-ri*- 'abundant', but also *sū-ri*- m. 'patron'.

38. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-va* accent the suffix rather oftener than the root; e. g. *ṛk-vá*- 'praising', but also *ṛbh-va*- 'skilful'.

39. The root is regularly accented in derivatives formed with the suffix *-van*; e. g. *kí-t-van*- 'active', *pát-van*- 'flying', *yáj-van*- 'sacrificing'. This is the case even when the stem is compounded with a preposition; e. g. *ví-míg-van*- (AV.) 'cleansing'.

40. The suffixes *-vana*, *-vanu*, *-vani* are always accented, the first two on the final, the last on the initial syllable; e. g. *vag-vaná*- 'talkative', *vag-vaníl*- m. 'noise', *bhur-váni*- 'restless'.

41. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-vara* chiefly accent the final syllable when they are masc. nouns, but the root when they are neuter substantives; e. g. *í-t-vará*- 'going', *ís-vará*- (AV.) 'able', but *kár-vara*- n. 'deed', *gáh-vara*- (AV.) n. 'thicket'. The suffix appears with *l* instead of *r* in the adjective *vid-valá*- 'cunning'.

42. The suffix *-vāms* of the perfect participle is always accented, even in the reduced form *-us* appearing in the weak cases; e. g. *cakṛ-vāms*- and *cakṛ-ús*- 'having made'.

43. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-vi* from the simple root accent the radical syllable, but the first syllable of the reduplicated root; thus *ghṛś-vi*- 'lively', but *jīgṛ-vi*- 'watchful'.

<sup>1</sup> This word may, however, be differently derived; possibly *ví-ṣnu*- 'der in die Weite strebende', according to UHLENBECK, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache*, Amsterdam 1898; cp. BLOOMFIELD, *AJPh.* 17, 427 f., 'crossing the back (of the world)'.

44. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-sa* sometimes accent the root, sometimes the suffix; e. g. *gīt-sa* 'adroit', *ūt-sa* m. 'fountain', but *prk-ṣā* 'dappled', *ghraṇ-sā* m. 'sun's heat'.

45. The suffix *-snu* is always accented; e. g. *jī-ṣnū* 'victorious', *vr̥dh-a-snū* 'joyful', *car-i-ṣnū* 'wandering', *ni-ṣat-snū* 'sitting down', *tāpay-i-ṣnū* 'tormenting', *abhi-śocay-i-ṣnū* (AV.) 'causing torments'.

B. In secondary derivation five groups of stems may be distinguished with regard to accentuation: a. those which accent the suffix, being formed with *-āyand*, *-āyī*, *-āyā*, *-īn*, *-īya*, *-īna*, *-īya*, *-enī*, *-ēnya*, *-tā*, *-tar-yā*, *-tōd*, *-tōd-tā*, *-tvand*, *-mā*, *-māya*, *-m'n*, *-mūdā*, *-y'n*, *-vā*, *-vāt*, *-valī*, *-v'n*; b. those in which the suffix is not accented, being formed with *-taya*, *-tara*, *-tā*, *-tāt*, *-tāti*, *-tya*, *-vya*; c. those in which only the first syllable is accented, being formed with *-i* and *-nī*; d. those in which either the first or the last syllable is accented, being formed by means of Vṛddhi with the suffixes *-eya*, *-a* or *-na* (the last two also without Vṛddhi); e. those in which the accent is sometimes on the suffix, and sometimes on one or other syllable of the primitive stem, being formed with the suffixes *-ā*, *-āni*, *-īna*, *-ī*, *-ka*, *-tana* or *-tna*, *-tama*, *-tha*, *-bha*, *-mant*, *-ya*, *-ra*, *-la*, *-van*, *-vant*, *-vaya*, *-śa*. The following is a detailed account of the accent in derivatives formed with the above secondary suffixes in their alphabetical order.

1. Stems formed with the suffix *-a* and Vṛddhi of the first syllable from primitive stems ending in *-a* are predominantly accented on the final syllable. This is, however, mostly the case when the primitive is accented on any syllable other than the last; e. g. *āmītrā* 'hostile' from *amītra* 'foe', *nārāśaṃsā* 'belonging to Nārāśaṃsa', *śaucadrathā*, patronymic from *śucādratha* 'having a shining car', *pāvamānā* 'relating to the clear-flowing (*pāvamāna*) Soma'. In several instances, however, the primitive stem is also oxytone, e. g. *kauśikā* 'belonging to Kuśikā'. On the other hand, stems formed with Vṛddhi sometimes accent the first syllable, when the primitive is otherwise accented; e. g. *mādhyaṃdīna* 'belonging to midday' (*madhyam-dīna*), *śubhaga* n. 'luck' from *su-bhāga* 'lucky', *vādhr̥yaśva* 'descendant of Vadhryaśvá'. The derivative *dīvodāsa* 'belonging to Divodāsa' is, however, formed from a stem similarly accented (*dīvo-dāsa*).

A similar rule prevails in the accentuation of stems derived from other primitives by means of the suffix *-a* and Vṛddhi of the first syllable; e. g. *āyas-d* 'made of metal' (*dyas*), *saumanas-d* 'benevolence' from *su-mānas* 'well-disposed'; also sometimes from stems similarly accented, as *paidv-d* 'belonging to Pedū'. On the other hand, the first syllable is accented in derivatives from primitives mostly accented on the last; e. g. *pārthiva* 'earthly' from *pr̥thivī* 'earth', *māghona* 'belonging to the bountiful one' (*maghāvan*); but sometimes also from stems similarly accented, as *nāhus-a* 'neighbouring' from *nāhus* 'neighbour'. The accentuation is similar when the secondary *-a* is added without Vṛddhi; e. g. *parus-d* 'knotty' from *pārus* 'knot', but *hārit-a* 'fallow' from *harit*.

2. The suffix *-ā* forming feminines to masculines in *-a* retains the accent on the same syllable as in the masculine; e. g. *pr̥iyā* beside *pr̥iyā* 'dear'.

3. Stems formed with the somewhat rare suffix *-ānī* accent one of the last three syllables; e. g. *indrāñī* 'wife of Indra', *mudgalāñī* 'wife of Mūdgala', *purukūtsānī* 'wife of Purukūtsa', *uśīnārāñī* 'queen of the Uśīnaras'.

4. The only example of the patronymic suffix *-āyana* in the RV. *kāṇva-āyana* 'descendant of Kaṇva' is unaccented (occurring in the voc. only); the final syllable seems to have been accented judging by *dākṣ-āyand*-



(VS. AV.) 'son of Dakṣa', and the fem. *rāmāyaṇī-* (AV.) 'daughter of the Black one'. The derivative *ukṣaṇyāyana-*, N. of a man, is unique both in accentuation and absence of Vṛddhi.

5. The suffix *-āyī* occurs accented on the first syllable only in *agn-āyī-* 'wife of Agni'; *vṛṣākāp-āyī-* (RV<sup>1</sup>.) 'wife of Vṛṣākapi', occurring in the voc. only, is unaccented.

6. The suffix *-āyya-* forming gerundival adjectives is always accented on its first syllable; e. g. *pan-āyya-* 'to be admired'.

7. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-i* and Vṛddhi, being almost exclusively patronymics, always accent the first syllable; thus *āgniveś-i-* 'son of Agniveśa', *pūturukuts-i-* 'descendant of Purukūtsa', *prātardan-i-* 'descendant of Pratardana', *prāhrād-i-* (AV.) 'son of Prahrāda', *samvāraṇ-i-* 'descendant of Samvāraṇa'. Similarly formed and accented is *sārath-i-* 'charioteer' (from *sa-rātha-m* 'on the same chariot'). Two other words, formed without Vṛddhi, take the secondary *-i-*: *tāpus-i-* 'burning' (*tāpus-* 'heat') and, accented on the final syllable, *śucant-i-*, N. of a man.

8. The very frequent suffix *-in* forming possessive adjectives is always accented; e. g. *aśv-in-* 'possessing horses', *dhan-in-* 'wealthy'; *manīs-in-* 'wise'; *abhimāt-in-* 'insidious'. The adjective *śāk-in-* 'powerful' occurs once accented on the first syllable: *śāk-i-* (I. 51<sup>8</sup>); the accentuation of this form and of the two nominatives (each occurring once) *ir-i-* 'violent' and *sār-i-* 'speeding' is perhaps due to error.

9. The accentuation of the suffix *-ima*, which is attached to three stems in *-tra-* and to one in *-ra-*, varies: *khanitr-ima-* 'made by digging', *kṛitr-ima-* 'artificial', *pūtr-ima-* (AV.) 'purified'; *agr-imā-* 'foremost'.

10. The suffix *-iya* is regularly accented either on its first or its second syllable; e. g. *abhr-īya-* and *abhr-iyā-* 'derived from the clouds' (*abhrā-*), *kṣatr-īya-* 'having authority' (*kṣatrā-*), *amitr-īya-* 'inimical' (*amitra-* 'foe'); *agr-iyā-* 'foremost', *indr-iyā-* 'belonging to Indra'. The only exceptions are *ṛtv-īya-* (AV.) 'being in season' (*ṛtā-*), beside *ṛtv-īya-*, and *śrītr-īya-* (AV.) 'learned' (*śrōtra-* 'learning').

11. Derivatives with the feminine suffix *-ī* commonly accent the same syllable as the corresponding masculines (except oxytones); e. g. *bhāvant-ī-* 'being', m. *bhāvant-*. But the feminine in *-ī* from masculines in *-a* that are not accented on the final syllable usually accents the *-ī* (and follows the radical *ī-* declension); e. g. *rath-ī-* 'charioteer' (m. f.) from *rātha-* 'chariot'. The *-ī* is also accented when it forms the fem. of masc. oxytones in *-u*, e. g. *prthiv-ī-* 'broad' (*prthiv-*); in *-ant*, e. g. *uśat-ī-* 'desiring' (*uś-dnt-*); in *-tār*, e. g. *avitr-ī-* 'protectress' (*avi-tār-*); in *-āñc* taking Samprasāraṇa, e. g. *pratīc-ī-* 'facing' (*praty-āñc-*). The fem. in *-ī* from masc. oxytones in *-a* sometimes retains the accent on the suffix, e. g. *devī-* 'goddess' (*devā-* 'god'), but more usually throws it back on the first syllable, e. g. *āruś-ī-* 'ruddy' (*arusā-*).

12. The suffix *-ina* is generally accented on its first syllable, rarely on its last; e. g. *apāc-ina-* 'western', *samvatsar-īna-* 'annual'; *pratīc-inā-* 'turned towards'. The suffix is unaccented only in *māḥ-ina-* (RV<sup>1</sup>.) 'mine'.

13. The suffix *-iya* is always accented on its first syllable; e. g. *ārjīk-īya-* a kind of Soma vessel, *āhavan-īya-* (AV.) 'sacrificial fire', *grhamedh-īya-* 'relating to the domestic sacrifice', *parvat-īya-* (AV.) 'mountainous'. Similarly in the ordinals *dvit-īya-* 'second', *tṛt-īya-* 'third', *tur-īya-* 'fourth'.

14. The suffix *-ona* is accented on the final in its only occurrence in the feminine form *sāmīdh-enī-* 'relating to fuel' (*samīdh-*).

15. The suffix *-enya*, nearly always forming gerundives, regularly accents

its first syllable; e. g. *drś-énya-* 'worthy to be seen'. The only exception is *vīr-énya-* 'desirable'. Similarly accented are the ordinary adjectives *vīr-énya-* 'manly' (*vīrā-*) and *kīrt-énya-* 'famous' (*kīrti-* 'fame').

16. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-eya* and Vṛddhi accent the final syllable when they have a patronymic sense, but otherwise the first; e. g. *ārs-eyā-* 'descendant of a seer' (*īśi-*), but *pādurus-eya-* 'relating to man' (*pāruṣa-*). The analogy of the gerundive from roots ending in *-ṛ*, which is formed with *-eya* (e. g. *dāya-* 'to be given'), is followed by *didrkṣ-éya-* 'worth seeing' (*didrkṣā-*) and *sabh-éya-* 'fit for an assembly' (*sabhā-*).

17. Derivatives formed with *-ka* are variously accented. Those which have a diminutive sense regularly accent the suffix; e. g. *arbha-kā-* 'small', *kanīna-kā-*<sup>1</sup> 'youth', *kumāra-kā-* 'little boy'. Otherwise the accent sometimes remains on the same syllable as in the primitive; e. g. *ānta-ka-* 'making an end' (*ānta-*), *yuṣmā-ka-* 'your' (*yuṣmā-*); or it shifts to the suffix, e. g. *anya-kā-* 'other' (*anyā-*), *sana-kā-* 'old' (*sāna-*); or to the first syllable, e. g. *rūpa-ka-* (AV.) 'having an assumed form' (*rūpā-* 'form').

18. The rare suffix *-ta* is regularly accented: *eka-tī-* (VS.) 'First', *dvi-tī-* 'Second', *tri-tī-* 'Third' as Proper Names, *ava-tī-* 'well', *muhūr-tā-* 'moment'.

19. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-tana* or its syncopated form *-tna* are variously accented: *nī-tana-* and *nū-tna-* 'present', *sanā-tāna-* (AV.) and *sanā-tna-* (AV.) 'lasting', *prā-tud-* 'ancient'.

20. The suffix *-tama* when forming superlatives is hardly ever accented<sup>2</sup>; the primitive nearly always retaining its original accent; e. g. *tavds-tama-*<sup>3</sup> 'very strong'. But when it forms ordinals the final syllable is accented; e. g. *śata-tamā-* 'hundredth'.

21. A few adjectives formed with *-taya* from numerals meaning 'consisting of so many parts', accent the primitive: *cātus-taya-* (AV.) 'fourfold', *dāśa-taya-* 'tenfold'.

22. The suffix *-tara* forming comparatives is hardly ever accented, the primitive retaining its original accent; e. g. *rathī-tara-* 'better car-fighter'. An exception is *vṛtra-tāra-* 'a worse Vṛtra'.

23. Derivatives formed with *-tā* regularly accentuate the syllable preceding the suffix; e. g. *a-gō-tā-* 'want of cows', *devā-tā-* 'divinity', *puruṣā-tā-* 'human nature'. The only exception is *a-vīra-tā-* 'want of sons'.

24. Derivatives formed with *-tāti* and *-tāt* have the same accentuation as those formed with *-tā*; e. g. *a-riṣṭā-tāti-* 'security', *devā-tāti-* 'divinity', *śāntā-tāti-* 'good fortune'. The accent is exceptional in *āsta-tāti-* 'home' and *dīkṣa-tāti-* (AV.) 'cleverness'.

25. The suffix *-tya*, forming nouns from particles, is never accented: *ipa-tya-* n. 'offspring', *amā-tya-* 'companion', *āviṣ-tya-* 'manifest', *nī-tya-* 'own', *nīṣ-tya-* 'foreign', *sānu-tya-* 'secret'. When attached to the substantive *ap-* 'water' it is, however, accented: *ap-tyā-* and *āp-tyā-* 'watery'.

26. The suffix *-tva* is invariably accented; e. g. *amṛta-tvā-* 'immortality', *pati-tvā-* 'matrimony'.

27. The very rare suffix *-tva-tā* is accented on its first syllable: *iṣṭa-tvātā-* 'excitement', *puruṣa-tvātā-* 'human nature'.

28. The suffix *-tvana* is always accented on its final syllable; e. g. *kavi-tvānā-* 'wisdom', *pati-tvānā-* 'matrimony', *sakhi-tvānā-* 'friendship'.

<sup>1</sup> Accented *kanīnaka-* in the VS. The fem. in the RV. is *kanīnakā-* but in the AV. *kanīnikā-*.

<sup>2</sup> Except *puru-tāma-* 'very many' and *ut-*

*tamā-* 'highest', *śaśvat-tamā-* 'most frequent' (with the ordinal accent).

<sup>3</sup> It is shifted in *mṛḍayāt-tama-* 'showing great compassion' (*mṛḍayat-*). Cp. below 89.

29. The suffix *-tha*, forming ordinals from a few numerals and adjectives of a cognate sense from pronominal stems, is nearly always accented: thus *catur-thá*- (AV.) 'fourth', *ṣaṣ-thá*- (AV. VS.) 'sixth', *kati-thá*- 'the how-maniest'; but *saptá-tha*- 'seventh'.

30. The rare derivatives formed with the suffix *-na* are accented either on the first or the last syllable: *strá-i-na*- 'feminine' (*strí*- 'woman'), *víṣu-na*- 'various'; but *purā-ná*-<sup>1</sup> 'ancient', *samā-ná*- 'like'.

31. With the suffix *-bha*<sup>2</sup> are formed the names of a few animals with one exception accented on the final syllable: *ṛṣa-bhá*- and *vṛṣa-bhá*- 'bull', *garda-bhá*- 'ass', *śara-bhá*- (AV. VS.) 'fabulous eight-legged animal', *rāsa-bha*- 'ass'. This suffix also occurs once in the adjective *sthūla-bhá*- (AV.) 'big'.

32. The suffix *-ma* is regularly accented, whether forming superlatives; e. g. *adha-má*- 'lowest', *madhya-mi*- 'middle-most', or ordinals; e. g. *aṣṭa-má*- 'eighth'. An exception is *anta-ma*-<sup>3</sup> 'next'.

33. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-mant* retain the accent of the primitive, unless the latter is oxytone, when the accent in the great majority of instances (about three-fourths) is thrown forward on the suffix; e. g. *śradh-mant*- (AV.) 'rich in herbs', *aśáni-mant*- 'bearing the thunderbolt'; but *agni-mánt*- 'having fire' (*agní*-).

34. The suffix *-maya* is always accented on the first syllable; e. g. *ayas-máya*- 'made of metal', *go-máya*- 'consisting of cows', *śaka-máya*- 'arising from excrement'.

35. The suffix *-min* is accented (like *-in*) in the only two derivatives formed with it: *iṣ-mín*- 'impetuous', and *ṛg-mín*- 'jubilant with praise' (*ṛc*-).

36. The rare suffix *-mna* is always accented: *dyu-mná*- 'brightness', *nṛ-mná*- 'manliness', *nī-mná*- 'depth', *su-mná*- 'welfare'.

37. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-ya* and Vṛddhi accent the initial or the final syllable with the same shift as appears in those formed with *-a*: the initial, when the primitive is accented on the final (or sometimes a medial) syllable, but the final, when the primitive is accented on the initial (or sometimes a medial syllable); e. g. *dāiv-ya*- 'divine' (*dēvā*- 'god'), *ārtviṣ-ya*- 'office of priest' (*ṛtvíḥ*-), *gārhapat-ya*- 'position of a householder' (*grhá-pati*-); but *ādit-yá*- 'son of Aditi', *prājāpat-yá*- (AV.) 'relating to Prajāpati'. In a very few instances the accent remains unchanged, as *ādhipat-ya*- 'lordship' (*ādhi-pati*- 'lord'), *pūms-ya*- 'manliness' (*pūms*- 'man'), *vīś-ya*- 'man of the third caste' (*vīś*- 'settler'), *śrīṣṭh-ya*- (AV.) 'superiority' (*śrēṣṭha*- 'best'); while in several instances it shifts from the final syllable to the suffix (instead of to the initial syllable); e. g. *kāv-yá*- 'descendant of Kavi' (but *kāv-ya*- 'endowed with the qualities of a sage', *kavi*-).

a. In derivatives formed without Vṛddhi the accentuation is to some extent similar; thus a final accent shifts to the first syllable; e. g. in *pitr-ya*- 'belonging to the fathers' (*pitr*-), *prātijan-ya*- 'adverse' (*prati-janā*- 'adversary' AV.); or from the first to the last; e. g. *grām-yá*- 'belonging to the village' (*grāma*-); or it remains on the first syllable; e. g. *āv-ya*- 'belonging to sheep' (*āvi*-), *gāv-ya*- 'derived from cows' (*gāu*-); or it shifts from the final syllable to the suffix (instead of the first syllable); e. g. *kav-yá*- 'wise' (*kavi*-). But here the accent may also remain on or be shifted to a medial syllable; e. g. *svarāj-ya*- 'autocracy' (*svarāj*- 'sovereign'), *viśvādev-ya*- 'belonging to all gods' (*viśvā-deva*-); *hiraṇyá-ya*- 'golden' (*hiraṇya*- 'gold'), *avyá-ya*- 'derived from sheep' (beside *avya-ya*-), *gavyá-ya*- 'derived from cows' (beside *gavya*-).

<sup>1</sup> Cp. BB. 28, 318, bottom.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. PRELLWITZ, BD. 22, 74—114, on animal names in *-bha*.

<sup>3</sup> But *antamābhi*? (I. 165<sup>5</sup>).

But a peculiarity of the derivatives formed without Vṛddhi is that the majority of them have the Svarita accent on the suffix; e. g. *rājan-yā-* 'belonging to the royal class' (*rājan-*); *doṣaṇ-yā-* 'relating to the arm' (*doṣān-*); *vāyav-yā-* 'belonging to Wind' (*vāyā-*); *-dundubh-yā-* (VS.) 'relating to a drum' (*dundubhī-*); *budhn-yā-* 'belonging to the bottom' (*budhnā-*). The suffix thus accented also appears in the gerundive in *-tav-yā-* (twice found in the AV.) formed from an infinitive stem in *-tu* (585, 4).

38. The rare suffix *-yin* is (like *-in*) always accented: *ātātī-yin-* (VS.) 'having one's bow drawn', *dhavā-yin-* (VS.) 'bearing a bow', *marā-yin-*, N. of a man, *sykā-yin-* (VS.) 'having a spear', *svadhā-yin-* (VS.) 'owning the Svadhā'.

39. Derivatives formed with *-ra* having a comparative sense (chiefly from prepositions) accent the initial syllable: *ādha-ra-* 'lower', *āpa-ra-* 'later', *dva-ra-* 'lower', *ūpa-ra-* 'lower', *ānta-ra-* 'near' (*ānta-* 'end'). Other nouns formed with the suffix are chiefly accented on the final syllable; e. g. *a-srī-rā-* 'ugly', *dhūm-rā-* (VS.) 'dusky' (*dhūmā-* 'smoke'), *pāṇsu-rā-* 'dusty', *rath-i-rā-* 'riding in a chariot'; but sometimes otherwise; thus *agnīdh-ra-* 'belonging to the fire-kindler' (*agnīdh-*), *mēdh-i-ra-* 'wise', *karmā-ra-* 'smith'.

40. Derivatives formed with *-la* nearly always accent the suffix; e. g. *a-srī-lā-* (AV.) 'ugly', *jīva-lā-* (AV.) 'lively', *bahu-lī-* 'abundant', *madhu-lā-* 'sweet'; but *tīvi-la-* 'fertile', *śīva-la-* (AV.) 'slimy', *śīh-la-* 'little child'.

41. The suffix *-va* is regularly accented: *arpa-vā-* 'billowy', *keśa-vā-* (AV.) 'hairy', *añji-vā-* (AV.) 'slippery', *śānti-vā-* (AV.) 'friendly', *śraddhī-vā-* 'credible'.

42. The fem. substantives formed from adverbs or prepositions with the suffix *-vāt* always accent the final syllable: *arvā-vāt-* 'proximity', *ā-vāt-* (AV.) 'proximity', *ud-vāt-* 'height', *nī-vāt-* 'depth', *parī-vāt-* 'distance', *pra-vāt-* 'height', *saṃ-vāt-* 'region'.

43. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-van* may have the accent on any syllable; e. g. *āthar-van-* 'fire-priest', *indhan-van-* 'possessed of fuel', *fgā-van-* 'violent'; *ṛtā-van-* 'regular', *maghā-van-* 'bountiful'; *arātī-vān-* 'hostile', *śruṣṭi-vān-* 'obedient'.

44. Derivatives formed with *-vant* generally retain the original accent except in oxytone stems (if not ending in *a* or *ā*), which as a rule throw it on the suffix; e. g. *keśa-vant-* 'hairy', *putrā-vant-* (VS.) 'having a son', *prajāi-vant-* 'having offspring', *dyāvāprthivī-vant-* 'connected with heaven and earth'; but *agni-vānt-* 'having fire' (*agn-*), *āsan-vānt* (AV.) 'having a mouth'. The accent is anomalously shifted in *kṛśanā-vant-* 'decorated with pearls' (*kṛśana-*) and *viṣṭ-vānt-* 'central' (*viṣu-*) 'in both directions'.

45. The very rare derivatives formed with the suffix *-vaya* accent either the suffix or the primitive: *dru-vāya-* (AV.) 'wooden dish' and *cātur-vaya-* 'fourfold'.

46. Derivatives formed with the rare suffix *-vala* accent their final syllable: *kṛṣṭ-valā-* 'peasant', *naḍ-valā-* (VS.) 'reed bed'.

47. The suffix *-vin* is always accented; e. g. *namas-vin-* 'reverential', *yaśas-vin-* (AV.) 'beautiful', *medhā-vin-* (AV.) 'wise', *dhṛṣad-vin-* 'bold'.

48. The very rare names of relationship formed with the suffix *-vya* accent the first syllable: *bhrātṛ-vya-* (AV.) 'nephew'.

49. A few adjectives and substantives formed with the suffix *-śa* accent either the final or, less often, the first or second syllable: *arva-śā-* or

<sup>1</sup> This word may, however, be derived from *antār-* 'within', with BR. and WHITNEY 1209 i.

*drva-sa-* 'hasting', *ela-sa-* or *éta-sa-* 'variegated', *babhlu-sa-* (VS. MS.) 'brownish', *roma-sa-* 'hairy', *yuva-sa-* 'youthful', *aniku-sa-* 'hook', *turvā-sa-*, N. of a man. Perhaps also *kāśma-sa-* (AV.) 'stupefaction'(?), and *kalā-sa-* 'jar'.

## 2. Accentuation of Compounds.

AUFRECHT, De accentu compositorum Sanscriticorum, Bonn 1847. — GARBE, KZ. 23, 470f. — REUTER, Die altindischen nominalcomposita, ihrer betonung nach untersucht, KZ. 31, 157—232; 485—612. — WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 40—43, etc.

87. The rule as to the accentuation of compounds, stated in the most general way, is that iteratives, possessives, and governing compounds place the accent on the first member; determinatives and regularly formed copulatives (with one accent) on the last member and to a large extent on its final syllable. Speaking generally the accent of a compound is that of one of its members. But some words always change their accent when compounded; thus *viśva-* 'all' regularly becomes *viśvā-*, and in the later Saṃhitās *sārva-* 'all' sometimes becomes *sarvā-*. Other words when compounded change their accent in certain combinations only; thus some paroxytones become oxytone, as *pūrva-* 'prior' in *pūrvā-citti-* 'foreboding', *pūrvā-pīti-* 'precedence in drinking', *pūrvā-hīti-* 'first invocation'; *nēma-* 'one' in *nemā-dhiti-* 'separation'; *médha-* 'sacrifice' in *medhā-pati-* 'lord of sacrifice', and *medhā-sāti-* 'receiving the oblation'; *vīṣan-* in *vīṣā-kapi-*, N. of a monkey; on the other hand some oxytones throw back the accent, as *khādī-* 'bracelet' in *khādī-hasta-* 'having hands adorned with bracelets'; *grīvā-* 'neck' in *tuvi-grīva-* 'powerful-necked'; *vīrā-* 'hero' in *puru-vīra-* 'possessed of many men' and *su-vīra-* 'heroic'; *dhūmā-* 'smoke' in *saka-dhūma-* (AV.) 'smoke of cowdung'.

An adjective compound may shift the accent from one member to the other if it becomes a substantive or a Proper Name; thus *a-kṣāra-* 'im-perishable', *ā-kṣarā-* 'speech'; *sū-kṛta-* 'well done', *su-kṛtā-* n. 'good deed'; *ā-rāya-* 'niggardly', *a-rāya-*, N. of a demon.

88. In iteratives, which may consist of repeated nouns, pronouns, adverbs, prepositions, or particles, the first member alone is accented, the two words being separated by Avagraha in the Pada text, like the members of other compounds. Examples are: *āhar-ahar jāyate māsi-māsi* (x. 52<sup>3</sup>) 'day after day he is born, month after month'; *yād-yad yāmi tād ā bhara* (VIII. 61<sup>6</sup>) 'bring to me whatever I ask'; *yāthā-yathā matāyaḥ śānti nṛṇām* (x. 111<sup>1</sup>) 'as are the desires of men in each case'; *adyādyā śvāḥ-sva īndra trāsya paré ca naḥ* (VIII. 61<sup>17</sup>) 'on each to-day, on each to-morrow protect us, Indra, and in the future'. The prepositions which appear as iteratives are *ūpa*, *pārā*, *prā*, *sām*; e. g. *prā-pra pūṣnās tuviṣātāsya śasyate mahitvām* (I. 138<sup>1</sup>) 'forth and again the greatness of the mighty Pūṣan is praised'. The only verbal iterative occurring is *pība-pība* (II. 11<sup>11</sup>)<sup>2</sup> 'drink again and again'.

89. Governing compounds always accent the first member when it is a verbal noun<sup>3</sup>, as *trasā-dasyu-* 'terrifying the foe', N. of a man. When the first member is a present or aorist participle, its final syllable is invariably accented, whatever the original accentuation may have been, e. g. *viddā-vasu-* 'winning wealth', *tarād-dveṣas-* 'overcoming (*tārat-*) foes'.

<sup>1</sup> In a few instances the repeated words are not treated as a compound and are both accented, as *nū nū* 'now, now', *ihēhā* (AV.) 'here, here', *sām sām* (AV.).

<sup>2</sup> Otherwise a repeated verbal form is not treated as an iterative, e. g. *stuhī stuhī* (VIII. 13<sup>9</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> Except *śikṣā-narā-* 'helping men'.

a. When the first member is a preposition, the accentuation is much the same as in possessives: either the first member is accented on its proper syllable, as *abhi-dyu-* 'directed to heaven'; or the last member on the final syllable, but only when it ends in the compositional suffix *-a*, or when as a simple word it is not accented on the final syllable; e.g. *adhas-pad-d-* 'being under the feet', *anu-kāmt-* 'according to wish' (*kāma-*). The accentuation of *api-prāṇa-* (f. *-ī-*) 'accompanying the breath' is quite exceptional.

90. A. Possessive compounds (Bahuvrīhis) normally accent the first member on the same syllable as the simple word, e.g. *rāja-putra-* 'having kings as sons' (but *rāja-putrā-* 'son of a king'). Other examples are: *an-abhīmlāta-varṇa-* 'whose colour is not dimmed', *iddhāgni-* 'whose fire is kindled', *indra-jyeṣṭha-* 'having Indra as chief', *indra-sakhi-* 'having Indra as a friend', *ghṛtā-prsthā-* 'butter-backed', *riśad-vatsa-* 'having a bright calf', *sahasra-pad-* 'thousand-footed'<sup>1</sup>. Similarly when the first member is a preposition, an ordinary adverb, or *sahā-* and (chiefly in the later Vedas) *sa-* in the sense of 'accompanied by'; e.g. *nir-hasta-* (AV.) 'handless', *prā-mahas-* 'having pre-eminent might', *vi-grīva-* 'wrynecked', *viśvato-mukha-* 'facing in all directions', *sahā-vatsa-* 'accompanied by her calf', *sā-kāma-* ('accompanied by' =) 'fulfilling desires' (VS.), *sā-cetas-* 'intelligent'<sup>2</sup>.

a. The original accent of the first member is sometimes changed. 1. The adjective *vīva-* 'all' always, and (owing to its influence) *sīva-* 'all' sometimes in the later Samhitās, shift their accent to the final syllable; e.g. *viśvā-pśas-* 'having all adornment', *sarvā-janman-*<sup>3</sup> (AV.), *sarvā-buddha-vālu-* (VS.) 'having a completely white tail', *sarvāyur-* (VS.) 'having all life'<sup>4</sup>. — 2. Present participles in several instances shift the accent to their final syllable; e.g. *krāndāt-iṣṭi-* 'having roaring (*krāndat-*) speed', *dāvāt-ānu-* 'having swift (*dāvāt-*)<sup>5</sup> steeds'. Other participles with this shift of accent are *arāt-* and *bhāndāt-* 'shining', *rapīd-* 'swelling', *svand-* 'resounding'. — 3. There are also a few miscellaneous examples of shift of accent in the first member: *abhiṣṭi-dyumna-* 'abounding in aid', *jyoti-natha-* 'whose car is light' (*jyōtis-*), *dadṛśānā-pari-* 'whose felly is visible' (*dādṛśāna-*), *avākola-* (AV.) 'surrounded with Avakā plants' (*āvakā-*); *cāturu-aṅga-* 'four-membered' (*cātūr-*), *khādī-hasta-* 'having hands adorned with bracelets' (*khādī-*).

B. About one eighth of the total number of Bahuvrīhis accent the second member, and in the majority of instances on the final syllable.

a. This accentuation is common when the first member is a dissyllabic adjective ending in *i* or *u*. It is invariable in the RV. after the very frequent *puri-* 'much' and the less frequent *krādh-* 'shortened', *bahū-* 'much', *śīti-* 'white'; e.g. *puru-putrā-* 'having many sons', *puru-vāra-* 'having many treasures', *krādh-kārṇa-* 'having short ears', *bahv-annā-*<sup>6</sup> 'having much food' (*anna-*), *śīti-pād-* 'white-footed'. Examples of this accentuation after other adjectives ending in *i* and *u* are: *ānu-hēṣas-* 'having swift steeds', *uru-kṣāya-* 'having a wide abode', *ṛju-kṛātu-* 'whose works are right', *tuvi-dyumna-* 'having great glory', *ṛṣu-cyāvas-* 'moving greedily', *prthu-pāṣas-* 'broad-flanked', *vibhu-kṛātu-* 'having great strength', *vīhu-pāṇi-* 'strong-hoofed', *hiri-śiprā-* 'golden-cheeked'<sup>7</sup>. In the later Samhitās there is an increasing tendency to follow

<sup>1</sup> When another adjective or an adverb precedes the first member, it has the accent; e.g. *eka-śīti-pad-* (VS. TS.) 'having one foot white'; cp. WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> There are, however, a few exceptions in which the final member is accented, as *vi-śikhā-* 'hairless' (but *vi-śikha-* AV.), *puro-rathā-* 'whose car is foremost', *sa-prāthas-* 'extensive', *sāṅgā-* (AV.) 'together with the limbs'.

<sup>3</sup> This is the only example (occurring beside *vīśvā-janman-*) of this shift of accent in

*sārva-* in the AV., where *sārva-* as first member is common.

<sup>4</sup> *sārva-* shows this shift of accent in the RV. in the adverb *sarvā-tas* 'from all sides' and in the derivative *sarvā-tīti-* 'totality'.

<sup>5</sup> Here the accent may be affected by that of the adverb *dāvāt* 'swiftly'.

<sup>6</sup> After *bahv-* the final syllable is always accented, even in the later Samhitās.

<sup>7</sup> Both accentuations occur in *prthu-budhna-* and *prthū-budhna-* 'broad-based'.

the general rule; e. g. *purī-ṇāman-* (AV.) 'many-named', *śīti-kakud-* 'having a white hump', and *śīti-bhasad-* 'having white buttocks' (TS. v. 6. 14').

b. Bahuvrīhis beginning with *dvi-* and *tri-* generally accent the second member; e. g. *dvi-pād-* 'two-footed', *dvi-dhāra-* 'forming two streams', *tri-tāntu-* 'having three webs', *tri-nībhi-* 'having three naves', *tri-vandhur-* 'three-seated'<sup>1</sup>. The only exceptions to this rule in the RV. are *dvi-savas-* 'having twofold might', *try-āmbaka-* 'having three mothers' and *try-āśir-* 'having three products of milk'. The later Samhitās accent *dvi-* and *tri-* in new Bahuvrīhis as often as not. In a few possessives beginning with other numerals the second member is accented on the last syllable, e. g. *catur-akṣ-* 'four-eyed'<sup>2</sup>.

c. Possessives beginning with the negative prefix *a-* or *an-* almost invariably accent the final syllable irrespective of the original accent of the second member (doubtless in order to distinguish them clearly from determinatives); e. g. *a-dānt-* 'toothless', *a-phalā-* 'unfruitful' (*phāla-*), *a-balā-* 'not possessing strength' (*dāla-*). A very few accent the penultimate; *a-bhrātṛ-*<sup>3</sup> (AV.) 'brotherless', *a-vīra-* 'childless', *a-śeṣas-* 'without offspring'. On the other hand a good many (though only a small proportion of the whole) accent the prefix (like determinatives), especially when the second member is a noun formed with the suffix *-ti*; e. g.<sup>4</sup> *d-gu-* 'kineless', *d-jñās-* 'kinless', *d-dyu-* 'not burning', *an-āpi-* 'kinless', *d-prajas-* (AV.) 'childless', *d-mṛtyu-* 'deathless', *d-hri-* 'bold', *d-kṣiti-* 'imperishable'<sup>5</sup>.

d. Possessives beginning with *du-*<sup>6</sup> 'ill' or *su-* 'well' regularly accent the second member, usually on the original syllable; e. g. *dur-mānman-* 'ill disposed', *su-bhāga-* 'well endowed'. There is, however, a tendency to throw the accent forward on the final syllable; e. g. *su-aṅguri-* 'fair-fingered' (*aṅguri-*), *su-phalā-* (AV.) 'fruitful', *su-bāndhū-* (AV.)<sup>7</sup> 'closely related'<sup>8</sup>. On the other hand, the accent is in a few instances shifted from the final to the penultimate syllable, as *su-vīra-* 'rich in heroes' (*vīra-*), and *su-gāndhi-* 'sweet-smelling' beside *su-gāndhī-* (from *gāndhā-* 'smell')<sup>9</sup>.

g. Determinatives as a rule accent the last member, and pre-vaillingly on the final syllable.

A. 1. In the descriptive type, that is, those in which a substantive is described by an adjective or an appositional substantive (Karmadhāraya) and those in which a verbal noun is described by an adverbial word, the accent is on the final syllable; e. g. *kṛṣṇa-śakunā-* (AV.) 'black bird', *mahā-dhanda-* 'great spoil', *ajñāta-yakṣmā-* 'unknown disease', *yāvayat-sakhā-* 'a protecting friend', *rāja-yakṣmā-* ('king' =) 'royal disease'<sup>10</sup>, *sūrya-śvit-* 'sun-bright'; *pura-eti-* 'going before', *prathama-jā-* 'first-born', *prātar-yij-*<sup>11</sup> 'early yoked', *svayam-bhū-* 'self-existent', *duṣ-kṛt-* 'acting wickedly', *su-pra-tīr-*<sup>12</sup> 'victorious', *a-ghārin-* (AV.) 'not anointing', *a-cit-* 'senseless', *a-jarayū-*<sup>13</sup> 'not aging', *a-jūr-* 'unaging'.

<sup>1</sup> But *aṣṭā-vandhura-* 'having eight car-seats'.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 1300 c.

<sup>3</sup> But in the RV. with the usual accentuation *a-bhrātṛ-*.

<sup>4</sup> For many other examples see WACKERNAGEL 21, 114 note (p. 293).

<sup>5</sup> The only possessive of this kind in which the second member ends in *-ti* and accents the final syllable seems to be *a-gavyūti-* 'pastureless'.

<sup>6</sup> The only exception in the case of *du-* is *dūr-āśir-* 'ill-mixed'.

<sup>7</sup> The RV. retains the original accent, *su-phalā-*, *su-bāndhu-*.

<sup>8</sup> For other examples see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 294, bottom.

<sup>9</sup> Op. cit. 21, p. 295 7, note.

<sup>10</sup> Exceptions, when the first member is a noun, are all compounds formed with *viśva-* 'all', as *viśva-mānuṣa-* 'every man', also *viśva-mānuṣa-* 'midday', *viśva-kapī-* 'male ape', in all of which the original accent of the first member is shifted.

<sup>11</sup> *dāhri-gu-* 'irresistible' and *sadhā-stha-* 'standing together', are exceptions.

<sup>12</sup> *su-ā-urj-* 'easy to acquire' is an exception.

<sup>13</sup> But *ā-maviṣṇu-* 'immoveable'.

*a-yoddhī-* 'not fighting', *a-rājīn-* 'not shining', *a-pra-mṛṣ-yá-*<sup>1</sup> 'indestructible', *a-budh-yá-* 'not to be wakened', *an-aty-ud-yá-* (AV.) 'unspeakable', *an-ādhr̥s-yá-* 'unassailable', *an-āmayi-tū-* 'not making ill'.

a. When, however, the second member ends in *-van*, *-man* or *-i*, or has the form of a gerundive used as a neuter substantive, the penultimate (radical) syllable is accented; e. g. *raghu-pátvan-* 'swift-flying', *puro-yávan-*<sup>2</sup> 'going in front'; *su-tárman-* 'crossing well', *vīlu-pátman-* 'flying mightily', *raghu-yáman-* 'going swiftly', *su-váḥman-* 'driving well', *dur-gíbhi-* 'hard to hold', *ṛju-vāni* 'striving forward', *turi-vāni* 'roaring mightily', *pūrva-páyya-* and *pūrva-péya-* n. 'precedence in drinking', *saha-śéyya-* n. 'act of lying together', *amutra-bhīyya-*<sup>3</sup> (VS.) n. 'state of being in the other world'.

2. The first member is, however, accented under certain conditions.

a. It is generally accented if it is an adverbial word and the last member is a past participle in *-ta* or *-na*<sup>4</sup> or a verbal noun in *-ti*; e. g. *dāmsu-jāta-* 'speeding wondrously', *dūr-hita-* 'faring ill', *sāna-śruta-*<sup>5</sup> 'famed from of old'; *pūrj-hiti-* 'priestly ministration', *sadh-stuti-* 'joint praise'.—b. The privative particle *a-* or *an-* when compounded with a participle<sup>6</sup>, adjective, or substantive is nearly always accented; e. g. *án-adant-*<sup>7</sup> 'not eating', *á-dītsant-* 'not wishing to give', *á-manyamāna-* 'not thinking', *á-himśana-* 'not injuring', *á-vidvāns-* 'not knowing', *á-kr̥ta-*<sup>8</sup> 'not done'; *á-kr̥-a-*<sup>9</sup> 'inactive', *á-sus̥-i-* 'not pressing Soma', *á-tandra-* 'unwearied', *á-kumāra-*<sup>10</sup> 'not a child'; *á-citti-* 'thoughtlessness'. The particle is regularly accented when it negatives a compound; e. g. *á-dus̥-kr̥t-* 'not doing ill', *án-aśva-dā-* 'not giving a horse', *á-paścād-daghdvan-* 'not remaining behind'; *á-punar-dīyamāna-*<sup>11</sup> (AV.) 'not being given back', *án-agni-dagdha-* 'not burnt with fire', *án-abhi-śasta-*<sup>12</sup> 'blameless'.

B. 1. Dependent determinatives as a rule accent the second member and that mostly on the last syllable, even if the simple word is not an oxytone.

a. When the second member is a root<sup>13</sup>, a verbal noun in *-a*, an ordinary substantive (without verbal sense), or an adjective ending in *-in*<sup>14</sup>, the final

<sup>1</sup> This is the regular accent of the gerundive with the negative prefix, which is, however, accented in some half dozen instances: *á-ohya-*, *á-jesya-*, *á-dabhya-*, *á-vedya-*, *á-yabhya-* (AV.) and *á-ghnya-* beside *a-ghnyā-*. Two of these compounds in the AV. retain the Svarita of the simple gerundive: *an-ativyādhya-* and *an-āharsya-*.

<sup>2</sup> *satyā-madvan-* 'truly rejoicing' is an exception.

<sup>3</sup> *sadh-stutiya-* n. 'joint praise', is an exception.

<sup>4</sup> Here the adverb is treated like a preposition compounded with a past participle.

<sup>5</sup> There are a good many exceptions in which the original accent of the past participle remains on the final syllable; e. g. *turi-jātā-* 'mightily born', *dus-kr̥tā-* 'ill done', *su-jātā-* (beside *su-jāta-*). This is the regular accentuation when the first member is *puru-*; e. g. *puru-śtulā* 'much praised'.

<sup>6</sup> Not, however, when the second member is a gerundive, a root, or a noun with verbal meaning ending in *-yu*, *-tū*, *-smu*, *-in*, *-tr-*; see examples above (A 1).

<sup>7</sup> But *a-śācānt-* beside *á-śācānt-* 'not ceasing', *a-codānt-* (v. 44<sup>2</sup>) and as substan-

tives *a-rundhat-*<sup>15</sup> (AV.) a name, and *a-jārant-* (VS.) 'unaging'.

<sup>8</sup> Exceptions are *a-citta-*, *a-dīśta-*, *a-mīśta-*, *a-yūta-* n. 'myriad' but (AV.) *á-yūta-* 'undisturbed', *a-tūrta-* (beside *á-tūrta-*), *a-bhinūd-* (AV.) beside *á-bhinūa-*.

<sup>9</sup> There are also some verbal derivatives in *-a* which accent the second member; e. g. *a-ksár-a-* 'imperishable', *a-jár-a-* 'unaging', *a-dābh-a-* 'not-deceiving', *a-tr̥p-á-* 'dissatisfied', *a-vadh á-* 'invincible', *a-vr̥dh-á-* 'not furthering', *an-āvr̥sk-á-* (AV.) 'not falling off'; cp. WHITNEY 1283—38.

<sup>10</sup> There are also several ordinary nouns which are accented as second member; e. g. *a-citrá-* 'colourless', *a-mitra-* 'enemy', *a-vīra-* 'unmanly'.

<sup>11</sup> But *a-ni-pādyamāna-* (AV.) 'not going to rest' where RV. has *á-ni-padyamāna-*.

<sup>12</sup> But *an-á-śastā-* (RV<sup>1</sup>) 'not praised', *a-pra-śastā-* beside *á-pra-śasta-* 'not praised'.

<sup>13</sup> There are a few exceptions when derivation from a root is not clear, as in *śa-dhi-* 'plant'; otherwise *-dhi* from *dhā-* 'put' is regularly accented; e. g. *isu-dhi* 'quiver'.

<sup>14</sup> This suffix being invariably accented in the simple word (86 B. 8).



syllable is regularly accented; e. g. *gotra-bhā-d* 'opening the cowpens', *ghṛtā-vṛdh-* 'delighting in ghee', *divi-spṛś-* 'touching the sky', *patanī-gā-* 'going by flight', 'flying', *varuṇa-dhrī-t-* 'deceiving Varuṇa'; *agnim-indh-d*<sup>1</sup> 'fire-kindling', *hasta-grābh-d-* 'hand-grasping', *purāṇ-dar-d-* 'fort-destroying'; *udā-māghā-* 'shower of water', *go-saphā-* (VS.) 'cow's hoof', *jīva-lok-d-* 'world of the living', *indra-senā-* 'Indra's missile' (*sēnā-*), *kṛṣṇājini-t-* (AV. TS.) 'hide (*ajina-*) of the black antelope', *deva-kośā-*<sup>2</sup> (AV.) 'cask (*kōśa-*) of the gods', *deva-mānā-*<sup>3</sup> 'abode (*māna-*) of the gods'; *uktha-saṃs-in-* 'uttering praise', *bhadrā-vād-in-* 'uttering auspicious cries'.

a. The word *pāti-* 'lord' follows this rule in only a few compounds occurring in the later Samhitās; thus in the AV.: *apsarī-pāti-* 'lord of the Apsarases', *vrīja-pāti-* 'lord of a troop' (*vrājā-pāti-*, RV.); in the VS.: *amhasas-pāti-* 'lord of perplexity', *nṛ-pāti-* 'paramour', *edihisukh-pāti-* 'husband of a younger sister', *nadī-pāti-* 'lord of rivers'; in the MS.: *ahar-pāti-* 'lord of day', *cit-pāti-* 'lord of thought', *vāk-pāti-* 'lord of speech'. In a few determinatives *pāti-* retains its own accent as second member, as *nṛ-pāti-* 'lord of men', *rayi-pāti-* 'lord of wealth', *viś-pāti-* 'lord of the tribe', also the f. in *vasu-pātnī-* 'mistress of wealth', *viś-pātnī-*<sup>4</sup> 'mistress of the tribe'; in the VS. *ahar-pāti-*, *cit-pāti-*, *vāk-pāti-*; in the AV. *ṛtu-pāti-* 'lord of proper seasons', *pānu-pāti-* 'lord of animals' (VS.), *puṣṭi-pāti-* 'lord of welfare', *bhūta-pāti-* 'lord of beings', *stha-pāti-*<sup>5</sup> 'governor'. In compounds with *pāti-*, however, the first member is usually accented, there being 22 cases in the RV., besides 10 with *pātnī-*; e. g. *grhā-pāti-* 'lord of the house', *gō-pāti-* 'lord of kine', *pānu-pāti-* 'lord of creatures', *medhā-pāti-*<sup>6</sup> 'lord of animal sacrifice' (*mēdha-*), *vasu-pāti-* 'lord of wealth', *vāja-pāti-* 'lord of booty', *svār-pāti-*<sup>7</sup> 'lord of light'; *grhā-pātnī-* 'mistress of the house', *devā-pātnī-* 'wife of a god', *vāja-pātnī-* 'queen of booty'. In the AV., of 15 new masculines ending in *-pāti-* more than half accent the first member as do all the 8 new ones ending in *pātnī-*; e. g. *ātithi-pāti-* 'entertainer of a guest'. In the other Samhitās also occur: *kṣatrī-pāti-* (VS.) 'lord of dominions', *bhūva-pāti-* (VS.) 'lord of the atmosphere', *bhūvana-pāti-* (VS. TS.) 'lord of beings', *bhū-pāti-* (TS.) 'lord of the world', *saṃpveśā-pāti-* (VS.) 'lord of rest', *viṣṇu-pātnī-* (VS. TS.) 'Viṣṇu's wife'<sup>8</sup>.

b. Determinatives which have as their second member verbal nouns in *-ana*<sup>9</sup>, adjectives in *-i* and *-van*, as well as action nouns in *-ya*, regularly accent the radical syllable of the second member; e. g. *deva-mād-ana-* 'exhilarating the gods', *keśa-vārdh-ana-*<sup>10</sup> 'causing the hair to grow'; *pathi-rākṣ-i-* 'protecting the road'; *soma-pā-van-* 'somadriking', *talpa-śi-van-* 'lying on the couch', *prātar-t-t-van-*<sup>11</sup> 'coming early'; *ali-hāt-ya-* 'slaughter of the dragon', *deva-hū-ya-* 'invocation of the gods', *mantra-śrī-t-ya-* n. 'listening to counsel', *vrātra-tūr-ya-*<sup>12</sup> 'conquest of Vṛtra'.

2. Dependent determinatives, however, which have as their second member past passive participles in *-ta* and *-na* or action nouns in *-ti* accent

<sup>1</sup> *dīgha-* retains its original accent, as *madhu-dīgha-* 'yielding mead', *kāma-dīgha-* (AV. VS.) 'yielding desires'. A few others have the original accent of the first member: *marūd-vṛdha-* 'delighting in the Maruts', *divi-cara-* (AV.) 'moving in the sky', *suti-kara-* 'active at the Soma offering'. Cp. WHITNEY 1278.

<sup>2</sup> A few accent the penultimate syllable of the final member with shift of the original accent, as *go dhūma-* (VS.) 'wheat', *śaka-dhūma-* (AV.), *yama-rājya-* (AV. VS.) 'Yama's sway' (*rājya-*); cp. WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 268, top, note.

<sup>3</sup> But *deva-yāna-* 'going to the gods'.

<sup>4</sup> Also the Karmadhāraya *sa-pātnī-* 'cowife' and the Bahuvrīhi *su-pātnī-* 'having a good husband'.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, 319.

<sup>6</sup> In K. *mēdha-pāti-*.

<sup>7</sup> *svā-pāti-* 'one's own lord' is a Karma-dhāraya; as a Bahuvrīhi it is accented *sva-pāti-* (AV.) 'having an own consort'.

<sup>8</sup> On doubly accented compounds with *-pāti-* see below (3).

<sup>9</sup> Just as when such nouns are compounded with prepositions.

<sup>10</sup> The very few apparent exceptions to this rule are due to these words losing their verbal character; e. g. *yama-sādanā-* (AV.) 'Yama's realm'.

<sup>11</sup> In *mātari-śvan-* and *mātari bhvan-* the suffix is probably *-an*; here the original accent of the first member (if it is the loc. *mātāri*) has shifted, perhaps owing to the influence of words like *prātar-t-t-van-*.

<sup>12</sup> An exception is *sadhā-stu-t-ya-* 'joint praise'. A few feminines in *-yā*, which are closely allied to these neuters in *-ya*, retain their accent on the final syllable, as *deva-*

the first member (like a preposition); e. g. *indra-prasūta* 'incited by Indra', *devā-hita* 'ordained by the gods', *hāsta-yata* 'guided by the hand'<sup>1</sup>; *devā-hūti*<sup>2</sup> 'invocation of the gods', *dhāna-sāti*<sup>3</sup> 'winning of wealth'.

3. Double accentuation. A certain number of determinative compounds, syntactical in origin, which have a genitive case-form in the first member, and nearly always *-pāti* in the second, are doubly accented. Such are *bṛhas-pāti* and *brāhmaṇas-pāti*<sup>4</sup> 'lord of prayer', *gnās-pāti* 'husband of a divine woman' (with the anomalous fem. *gnās-pātnī* 'divine wife'), *jās-pāti*<sup>5</sup> 'head of a family'. The compound *sādas-pāti* 'lord of the seat' (*sādas*-) probably stands by haplology for *\*sādasas-pāti*, but *vāna-s-pāti*<sup>6</sup> 'lord of the wood' perhaps, and *rātha-s-pāti* 'lord of the car' (*rātha*-) probably, owe their *s* to the analogy of *bṛhas-pāti*<sup>7</sup>. Though without case-ending in the first member, *śacti-pāti* 'lord of might' follows the analogy of the above compounds. Other doubly accented compounds with case-form in the first member but not ending in *-pāti* are *śūnaḥ-śēpa* 'Dog's tail', N. of a man; *dāsyave-ryka* 'Wolf to the Dasyu', N. of a man; *apām-nāpāt* 'son of waters', the analogy of which is followed by *tānu-nāpāt* 'son of himself' (*tānu*-) though it is without case-ending in the first member; *nārā-sūmsa*<sup>8</sup> 'Praise of men' (for *\*nārām-sūmsa*-), the analogy of which is followed by *nī-sūmsa*-. The name *nābhā-nēdisīha* seems to contain an old locative in the first member, while the uninflected stem appears in *ās-pātra* (TS. II. 5. 9<sup>3</sup>) 'vessel for the mouth'.

92. 1. The regular class of copulatives, which have only one accent, places the acute on the final syllable<sup>9</sup> irrespective of the accent of the uncompounded word. In the plural occur: *ajāvāyaḥ* m. 'goats and sheep', *ukthārka* n. 'praises and songs', *ahorātrāṇi* 'days and nights'; in the dual: *rk-sāmī* n. 'song and chant', *satyānṛtē* n. 'truth and untruth', *sāsanānaśanē* n. 'what eats and does not eat'; in the singular: *nīlaloḥitām* n. 'blue and red'<sup>10</sup>, *iṣṭa-pūrtām*<sup>11</sup> n. 'what is sacrificed and presented', *keśa-śmaśrī* (AV.) n. 'hair and beard', *añjanābhyañjanām* (AV.) n. 'salve and ointment', *kaśipu-barhaṇām* (AV.) n. 'mat and pillow', *kṛtikṛtām* (AV.) n. 'what is done and undone', *cittakūtām* (AV.) n. 'thought and desire', *bhadra-pṛpām* (AV.) 'good and evil', *bhūta-bhavyām* (AV.) n. 'past and future', n. pl. *priyāpṛiyāṇi* (AV.) 'things

*yaj-yā* 'worship of the gods', beside *deva-yāj-ya*, *jāta-vīd-yā* 'knowledge of things', *muṣṭi-haḥ yā* 'hand to hand fight'.

<sup>1</sup> There are, however, a good many exceptions in which the final syllable is accented (as in prepositional determinatives), e. g. *agni-taptā* 'glowing with fire', *agni-dagdhu* 'burnt by fire'.

<sup>2</sup> The original accent of the first member is shifted in *nemā-dhiti* 'putting opposite' 'fight', *vanā-dhiti* 'layer of wood', *medhā-sāti* 'receiving of the oblation'.

<sup>3</sup> When the verbal sense is lost in the second member, the general rule of final accentuation applies; e. g. *deva-sumatī* 'favour of the gods', *deva-heti* (AV.) 'weapon of the gods'. This analogy is followed by *sarva-jyāni* (AV.) 'loss of one's all'.

<sup>4</sup> Though *brāhmaṇas-pāti* is not treated as a compound in the Pada text, it is so treated in the Dvandva *indrā-brāhmaṇas-pāti* (II. 24<sup>12</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> Thus accented in Book VII, but *jās-pāti*, in Book I. The latter is the only Tatpuruṣa in the RV. in which double accentuation does not take place when *-pāti* is preceded

by *s*. The only other instance in the RV. of a Tatpuruṣa with case-ending in the first member and yet singly accented is *divo-dāsa*-, N. of a king. Elsewhere occur *apsu-yogā* (AV.) 'connecting power in water', *amhasas-pāti* (VS.), perhaps *mātūr-bhrātrā* (MS. I. 6<sup>12</sup>) 'mother's brother' (the Mss. read *mātūr-bhrātrā*).

<sup>6</sup> In *vānas-pāti* the first member may be the gen. sing. of *van*- 'wood' (gen. pl. *van-ām*); but in *rātha-s-pāti* the *s* must be inorganic; cp. GARBE, KZ. 23, 490; RICHTER, IF. 19, 17; BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 15 note<sup>1</sup>; WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 247.

<sup>7</sup> The only new instance of double accentuation of a compound with *-pāti* after the RV. seems to be *nīms-pāti* (MS.); cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 248 d.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. FOY, JAOS. 16, CLXXII-IV.

<sup>9</sup> The two or three exceptions which occur in the AV. and VS. are doubtless due to wrong readings.

<sup>10</sup> The adjectives being used as substantives.

<sup>11</sup> In the VS. used in the dual also.

agreeable and disagreeable'; and as adjectives *tāmra-dhūmrā-* (AV.) 'tawny and dark', *dakṣiṇa-savyā-* (AV.) 'right and left', *saṁtamāṣṭamā-* (AV.) 'seventh and eighth'.

a. The very few adverbial copulatives which occur accent the first member: *dhar-dīvi* 'day by day', *sāyam-prātar* (AV.) 'at even and at morn'.

2. The class of *Devatā-dvandvas*, each member of which is dual in form, and which in the RV. is about thrice as frequent as the regular class, retains the accent of simple words in each member of the compound<sup>1</sup>: thus *agnī-viṣṇū* (AV.), *agnī-somā*, *indrā-pūṣṇā*, *indrā-bṛhaspiti*<sup>2</sup>, *indrā-vāruṇā*, *indrā-viṣṇū*, *indrā-somā*, *uṣāśā-nāktā* 'Dawn and Night', *dyāvā-ṛṣāmā* 'heaven and earth', *dyāvā-prthivī*, *dyāvā-bhāmī*, *nāktosāśā*, *pārjanya-vātā*, *prthivī-dyāvā*, *mitrā-vāruṇā*, *sūryā-māsā*. A few others are formed in the same way from substantives which are not the names of deities: *krātu-dāksau* (VS.) 'understanding and will', *turvaśa-yadu* (iv. 30<sup>17</sup>) 'Turvaśa and Yadu', *dhūmī-cūmuri* 'Dhūmī and Cumuri', *mātīrā-pitārā* (iv. 67) 'mother and father'.

a. A certain number of these compounds have been assimilated to the regular class of copulatives by giving up the accent of the first member: *indrāgni*, *indrā-pūṣṇā*, *somā-pūṣṇā*, *vātā-parjanya*, *sūryā-candramāsā*, *bhāvā-rudrāu* (AV.), *bhāvā-sarvau* (AV.)<sup>3</sup>; one has been completely assimilated by giving up also the dual form in the first member: *indra-vāyū*.

a. There occurs once a secondary adjective copulative accented on both members, being formed from an adverbial Dvandva: *dhar-dīvā-* (VS.) 'daily' (*dhar-dīvi* 'day by day').

### 3. Accent in Declension.

93. The vocative, when accented at all (85, 2) invariably has the acute on the first syllable; e. g. *pītar*, N. *pītā* 'father'; *dēva*, N. *devā-s* 'god'. The regularly accented vocative of *dyāu-* (*dyāv-*) 'heaven' is *dyāu-s*<sup>4</sup>, that is *dīaus*, but the nominative form *dyāus* is also used in its stead.

a. Otherwise, in the *a*-declension (f. *-ā*) the accent always remains on the same syllable; e. g. N. *devā-s*, G. *devā-sya*, pl. *devā-nām*. This rule is also followed by monosyllabic pronominal stems in *-a*; e. g. from *ma-*: I. *māy-ā* 'by me', D. *mā-hyam*, L. *māy-i*; from *tā-* 'that', G. sing. *tā-sya*, pl. G. *tā-ṣām*, I. *tā-bhis*<sup>5</sup>.

a. An exception to this rule is formed by the plural cardinal stems ending in *-a*. They regularly accent that vowel before endings with initial consonant, and throw the acute on the ending of the genitive; e. g. *pāñca* 'five': I. *pañcā-bhis*. G. *pañcānām*; *aṣṭā* 'eight', however,<sup>6</sup> shifts the accent to the endings generally, thus I. *aṣṭā-bhis*, D. *aṣṭā-bhyās* (TS.).

94. When the final syllable of the stem is accented, the acute (except in the *ā*-declension) is liable to shift to the endings in the weak cases.

1. This is the rule in monosyllabic stems; e. g. *nāu-* 'ship': A. *nāu-am*, but I. *nāu-ā*, pl. I. *nau-bhis*, L. *nau-ṣi*; *dānt-* m. 'tooth': I. *dat-ā*, pl. A. *dat-ās*<sup>6</sup>, I. *dad-bhis*.

<sup>1</sup> The double accent is retained even in the derivatives *mitrā-vāruṇa-vant-* 'accompanied by Mitra and Varuṇa', and *dyāvā-prthivī-vant-* (AV.) 'accompanied by heaven and earth'.

<sup>2</sup> Retaining the double accent of the second member.

<sup>3</sup> In the AV. the number of *Devatā-dvandvas* is only about half that in the RV. (though the total number of *Dvandvas* is more than double); about one-half of these,

again, have only one accent, which as in the regular class is on the final syllable.

<sup>4</sup> Retaining the nom. *-s*, instead of \**dīau* (Gk. *Zēu*).

<sup>5</sup> An exception is the pronoun *a-* 'this', which is treated like a monosyllabic stem, e. g. G. *a-syā*, pl. m. *e-ṣām*, f. *ā-sām*; a few times, however, the accentuation *ā-smai*, *ā-sya*, *ā-bhis* occurs; cp. WHITNEY 502 b.

<sup>6</sup> The accusative plural is treated as a weak case and accented on the ending in

a. Exceptions to this rule are the rare monosyllabic stems in *-ā*, which retain the accent on the stem; e. g. *gnā*- 'woman': pl. I. *gnā-bhis*, L. *gnā-su*. Individual exceptions are *gā*- 'cow', *dyā*- 'sky'; e. g. I. *gāv-ā*, pl. G. *gāv-ām*, I. *gā-bhis*; L. *dyāv-i*, pl. I. *dyā-bhis*. Similarly *nr̥*- 'man': D. *nār-e*, pl. I. *nr̥-bhis*, L. *nr̥-su*, but G. *nar-ām* and *nr̥-nām*; *ksām*- 'earth'; L. *ksām-i*; *tān*- 'succession': I. *tān-ā* (and *tan-ā*), D. *tān-e*; *rān*- 'joy': *rān-e*, pl. L. *rām-su*; *vān*- 'wood': pl. L. *vām-su* (but G. *van-ām*); *vīp*- 'rod': G. *vīp-as*; *stf*- 'star': pl. I. *stf-bhis*; *svār*- 'light': G. *sūr-as* (but D. *sūr-ē*); also the infinitives *būdth-e* 'to press', *vāh-e* 'to convey'. In some words the irregular accentuation is due to their having originally been dissyllables; such are *drū*- 'wood', *snū*- 'summit', *svān*- 'dog', *yān*- weak stem of *yuvan*- 'young'; e. g. I. *drū-nā*; pl. L. *snū-su*; I. *śūn-ā*, pl. *śvā-bhis*; I. *yān-ā*.

2. When the accented vowel of the final syllable in polysyllabic stems disappears either by syncope or by changing to a semivowel, the acute is thrown on endings with initial vowel in the weak cases; thus from *mahimān*- 'greatness', I. *mahimn-ā*; from *mūrdhān*- 'head', D. *mūrdhn-ē*; from *agnī*- 'fire', G. du. *agny-ās*; from *dhenū*- 'cow', I. sing. *dhenv-ā*; from *vadhū*- 'bride', D. *vadhv-di* (AV.); from *pitr̥*- 'father', I. *pitr-ā*.

a. Polysyllabic stems in *-i*, *-ī*, *-y*, and in the RV. usually those in *-i*, throw the acute on the ending of the G. pl. also, even though the vowel retains its syllabic character in this case; e. g. *agnī-nām*, *dhenū-nām*, *dat̥-nām*; *bahv̥-nām*<sup>2</sup>.

3. Present participles in *-āt* and *-ānt* throw the acute on the endings with initial vowel in the weak cases; e. g. from *tud-ānt*- 'striking': I. sing. *tud-at-ā* (but *tud-ād-bhis*). This rule is also followed by the old participles *mah-āt*- 'great' and *bṛh-āt* 'large', e. g. *mahat-ā* (but *mahād-bhis*)<sup>3</sup>.

4. In the RV. derivatives formed with accented *-ānc* throw the acute on endings with initial vowel in the weak cases when contraction to *ī* and *ū* appears in the final syllable; thus from *praty-ānc*- 'turned towards', I. sing. *pratic-ā* (but L. pl. *pratyāk-su*); from *anv-ānc*- 'following'; G. *anūc-ās* (but from *prānc*- L. sing. *prāc-i*). The other Samhitās, however, generally retain the accent on the stem<sup>4</sup>.

#### 4. Verbal Accent.

95. As regards personal endings, those of the singular active in all tenses and moods are always unaccented except the 2. imperative *-dhi* or *-hi*. Others may be accented; if dissyllabic, they have the acute on the first syllable, as *-ānti*, *-māhi*.

When the tense stem ends in *-a* in the present, in the future, in the unaugmented imperfect and aorist, and throughout the subjunctive, the accent is never on the ending, as it remains on the same syllable of the stem throughout.

96. All tenses formed with the augment invariably accent the latter, if the verb is accented at all (85, 2β); e. g. impf. *ā-bhara-t*, plupf. *ā-jagan*, aor. *ā-bhū-t*, conditional *ā-bhariṣya-t*. If the augment is dropped, the accentuation is as follows. In the imperfect the acute is on the same syllable as in the present; e. g. *bhāra-t*, pres. *bhāra-ti*. The pluperfect, if regularly

hardly more than one third of the stems occurring; see WHITNEY 390 a; cp. LANMAN 494, 499, 504 top, 505.

<sup>2</sup> When a monosyllable becomes the final member of a compound, it loses its monosyllabic accent; e. g. *su-dhi*- 'wise', G. pl. *su-dhinām*. On the other hand *pr̥iṣ*- 'pressing on' though a compound (*pra-iṣ*) is accented like monosyllables in the I. sing. *pres-ā*.

<sup>3</sup> This regularly takes place in the G. of

the plural cardinals in *-a*: as *pāñca* 'five', *pāñcā-nām*, *dāśa* 'ten', *dāśā-nām*.

<sup>3</sup> The accent is, however, not shifted in the old participle *vāghāt*- m. 'worshipper'; nor in the two forms *a-codāt-e* 'not urging' (from *cod-ant*-) and *rathirāyāt-ām* 'speeding'; cp. LANMAN p. 505-6 (top).

<sup>4</sup> Thus the f. stem *pratic-i* (AV.), but RV. *pratic-ī* (once in the A. *praticim*).

formed, accents the root, as 3. sing. *cākan* (*√kan-*), 3. sing. *rārān* (*√ran-*), 1. sing. *cikētam* (*√cit-*); when formed with thematic *-a*, it accents that vowel, as 3. pl. *cakṛpā-nta*. The aorist if formed with *-sa*, accents that syllable, e. g. 3. pl. *dhuk-sā-n*, *dhuk-sā-nta* (from *duh-* 'milk'); if formed with *-s*, it accents the root, as may be inferred from 1. sing. *vāṃs-i* (from *van-* 'win'), the only accented example occurring; if formed with *-is-*, it accents the root, e. g. 1. sing. *sāms-is-am*<sup>1</sup>. If formed from the root, it accents the radical vowel in the singular active, but the endings elsewhere, as 3. sing. *vārē* (*√vrj-*), but 2. sing. mid. *nut-thās* (*√nud-*). If formed from the root with thematic *-a*, it usually follows the analogy of the present *a*-class, e. g. *ruhā-m*, *bhujā-t*, *vidā-t*, *budhā-nta*; in several instances, however, it accents the root, as *āra-ntu* (*r-* 'go'); *sāra-t* (*sr-* 'flow'); *sāda-tam* (*sad-* 'sit'); *sāna-t* (*san-* 'gain') but opt. *sanēma*; *vocā-t* (*vac-* 'speak') but opt. *vocēyam*. The reduplicated aorist usually accents the reduplicative syllable, as 2. sing. *dīdharas*, *nīnaśas*, 3. sing. *pīparat*, *siṣvap*, *jījanat*, pl. *jījanan*; but sometimes the root, as 2. sing. *śiśrāthas*, 3. sing. *pīpārat*, *śiśnāthāt*. Passive aorists accent the root, e. g. *dhā-y-i*, *śrāv-i*, *véd-i*, *jān-i*, *pād-i*, *sūt-i*.

**97. Present system.**—1. Throughout the present system of the *a*-conjugation the accent remains on the same syllable of the stem in all moods; on the radical syllable in verbs of the first and fourth classes; e. g. *bhāva-ti* from *bhū-* 'be', *nāh-ya-ti* from *nāh-* 'bind'; on the thematic *-a* in the sixth class; e. g. *tudā-ti* from *tud-* 'strike'.

2. In the second or graded conjugation, the singular indicative active, the whole of the subjunctive, and the 3. sing. imperative active<sup>2</sup> accent the stem, while all other forms accent the endings<sup>3</sup>. In the strong forms the radical syllable is accented in the second class; generally the reduplicative syllable, but sometimes the root, in the third class; the suffix in the fifth, eighth, seventh, and ninth; e. g. 3. sing. ind. *ās-ti*, subj. *ās-a-t*, impv. *ās-tu*, from *as-* 'be', 2nd cl.; 3. sing. ind. *bi-bhar-ti* from *bhr-* 'bear', 3rd cl.; 3. sing. ind. *kr-nū-ti*, subj. *kr-nūv-a-t*, 2. pl. impv. *kr-nū-ta*, and *kr-nū-tana* from *kr-* 'make', 5th cl.; 3. sing. subj. *man-du-a-te* from *man-* 'think', 8th cl.; 1. sing. ind. *yu-nā-j-mi*, 3. sing. subj. *yu-nā-j-a-t* from *yuj-* 'join', 7th cl.; 3. sing. ind. *grbh-nā-ti*, 2. sing. subj. *grbh-nā-s* from *grabh-* 'seize', 9th cl.; but 2. sing. impv. *ad-dhi*, 3. pl. opt. *ad-yū* from *ad-* 'eat', 2nd cl.; 1. pl. ind. *bi-bhr-māsi*; 1. sing. ind. mid. *kr-nū-ē*, 2. sing. impv. *kr-nū-hi*; 1. pl. opt. *van-u-yāma*, 3. pl. impv. *van-v-āntu* from *van-* 'win', 8th cl.; 3. sing. mid. *yunīk-tē*, 2. sing. impv. mid. *yunīk-ṣvā*; 1. pl. ind. *gr-ṇī-māsi*, 2. sing. impv. *gr-ṇī-hi* from *gr-* 'praise', 9th cl.

a. Irregularities. In the second or root class, several verbs accent the radical syllable throughout<sup>4</sup>: *śi-* 'lie' does so besides taking *Guṇa*; e. g. 1. sing. *śāy-e*, 2. sing. *śē-ṣe* etc.<sup>5</sup> Occasional accentuation of the root in weak forms appears in 2. sing. impv. *jān-i-ṣva*<sup>6</sup> (*√jan-*), *māt-ṣva* (*√mad-*), *yāk-ṣva* (*√yaj-*), *sāk-ṣva* and *sāk-ṣva* (*√sah-*), *śādh-a-t*, subj. (*śādh-* 'thrive'), 3. pl. impv. *svāp-antu* (AV.) and *svās-antu* (AV.)<sup>7</sup>. A few roots of the third class accent the root instead of the reduplicative syllable in the strong forms. These are *ci-* 'note', *mā-* 'exhilarate', *yu-* 'separate', *hu-* 'sacrifice'; e. g. 2. sing. *ci-kē-ṣi* (AV.); 3. sing. subj. *ma-mād-a-t*, 3. sing. impv. *ma-māt-tu*; 3. sing. subj. *yu-yāv-a-t*, 2. pl. impv. *yu-yō-tana*; 3. sing. *ju-hi-ti*. Occasional forms thus accented are 2. sing. *iy-ār-ṣi* (RV.) from

<sup>1</sup> Of the *siṣ-*aorist no accented forms occur.

<sup>2</sup> The 2. pl. impv. active often accents the stem, which is then strong, as *ē-ta*, *ē-tana* from *i-* 'go'; this is sometimes also the case with the 2. du. in *-tam*.

<sup>3</sup> The final syllable of the ending of the 3. pl. middle is regularly accented in several verbs, as *vi-hatī*, *duh-atī*; see WHITNEY 613, 685, 699; DELBRÜCK, *Verbum* 73.

<sup>4</sup> These are *ās-* 'sit', *ṇī-* 'praise', *ir-* 'set in motion', *ī-* 'rule', *cakṣ-* 'see', *takṣ-* 'fashion', *trā-* 'protect', *nims-* 'kiss', *vas-* 'clothe', *sū-* 'bring forth'.

<sup>5</sup> See WHITNEY 628 and 629.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit. 631 a.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit. 630.

*ṛ-* 'go', 2. sing. mid. *dhāt-se* from *dhā-* 'put', and *bi-bhār-ti* (RV<sup>1</sup>. AV<sup>2</sup>.) beside the usual *bi-bhar-ti*. Both types, when the ending begins with a vowel, throw the accent back on the reduplicative syllable; e. g. 3. pl. *jūhva-ati* and *bibhr-ati*, but 2. pl. *juhu-thā* and *bibhithā*. The subjunctive here, as usual, follows the accentuation of the strong indicative; its stem from the same two roots would be *jūhāv-a-* and *bibhar-a-*. In the optative middle the accent is thrown back on the reduplicative syllable because the modal affix begins with a vowel; e. g. 1. sing. *dādhi-īya* etc. beside 1. sing. act. *dadh-yām* etc.<sup>1</sup> The RV., however, once has *dādhi-tā* beside *dādhi-ta* (3 times). In the imperative, endings with initial consonant are accented in the weak forms, otherwise the reduplicative syllable; e. g. 2. sing. *de-hi*, 2. du. *dat-tām*, but 3. mid. pl. *jīhatām*. The strong 3. sing. impv. act. follows the strong ind., e. g. *dādhatu*, *pīpartu*; the 2. pl. is often strong; e. g. *jūhōta*, *dādhatā*. The participle regularly accents the reduplicative syllable; e. g. *jūhva-at*, *jūhva-āna*, except only *pīpānā* (*pā-* 'drink'). — In the seventh class the root *hims-* 'injure' (originally perhaps a desiderative of *han-* 'strike') accents the radical syllable in weak forms, as 3. sing. *hims-te*, pl. *hims-anti*, part. *hims-āna*. — In the fifth and eighth classes the RV. has several instances of irregular accentuation of the final syllable in the 3. pl. mid.: *kṛ-ṇv-ātē*, *vṛ-ṇv-ātē*, *sṛ-ṇv-ātē*; *tan-v-ātē*, *man-v-ātē*. — In the ninth class the irregular accentuation of the 3. pl. mid. occurs in *pu-n-ātē* and *ri-n-ātē* (*ri-* 'flow'). The ending *-āna*, which is here added in the 2. sing. impv. act. to a few roots with final consonant, is accented on the last syllable: *grh-ānā*, *badh-ānā* (AV.), *stabh-ānā* (AV.).

**98. The perfect.** — The singular indicative active and the whole subjunctive<sup>2</sup> accent the radical syllable; all other forms of the indicative, as well as the whole imperative and optative accent the endings; e. g. ind. 3. sing. *cakār-a*, pl. *cakr-īr*, 1. pl. mid. *cakr-māhe*; subj. sing. 2. *pāprāth-a-s*, *pīprāy-a-s*; 3. *jabhār-a-t*, *pīprāy-a-t*, *mumūc-a-t*; *dadhārṣ-a-ti*, *vavārt-a-ti*; pl. 1. *cākār-āna*, *śūśāv-āna*, 3. *pāprāth-a-n*; opt. sing. 1. *vavṛt-yām*, 2. *śūśrū-yās*, 3. *tutuj-yāt*, du. 2. *śūśrū-yātam*; pl. 3. *vavṛj-yīr*; mid. sing. 2. *vāvardh-v-thās*, 3. *śīsrī-tā* (*śrī-* 'resort'); impv. sing. 2. *pīprī-hi*, *mumug-dhi* (√ *muc-*), du. 2. *jajas-tīm*; mid. sing. 2. *dādhi-ṣvā*<sup>3</sup>. The participle, both active and middle, accents the suffix; e. g. *cakr-vāms-*; *cakr-ānā*.

**99. The aorist.** — The accentuation of the unaugmented forms of the indicative has already been stated (96). With regard to that of the moods, the following notes may be added.

1. The root aorist accents the radical syllable in the subjunctive; e. g. sing. 2. *kār-a-s*, 3. *kār-a-t*, du. 3. *śrāv-a-tas*, pl. 3. *gām-a-nti*, mid. sing. 3. *bhūj-a-te*; in the injunctive, the radical syllable in the singular, but the ending elsewhere; e. g. sing. 1. *ndm-s-i*, pl. 3. *dabh-īr*, mid. sing. 2. *mṛ-thās*; in the optative, the endings throughout; e. g. act. sing. 1. *aś-yām*, 2. *bhū-yās*, mid. pl. 1. *aś-īmāhi*; in the imperative, the root in the 3. sing. act., but the ending elsewhere; e. g. sing. 3. *śrō-tu*, but 2. *kṛ-dhi*, du. 2. *ga-tām*, pl. 2. *bhū-tī*<sup>4</sup>, mid. sing. 2. *kṛ-ṣvā*; in the participle, the suffix is accented in the active, e. g. *bhid-ant-*, and generally in the middle, e. g. *budh-ānā*, but in several instances the root; e. g. *dylūt-āna*.

2. In the *a*-aorist the accentuation follows that of the unaugmented indicative; thus the subjunctive sing. 3. *vidāt*; the injunctive sing. 1. *dārśa-m ruhā-m*, 3. *rūha-t*, *vidāt-t*, *sāna-t*, pl. 3. *vidāt-nta*; optative, sing. 1. *vidēyam*, *sanēyam*, pl. 1. *śakēma*, *sanēma* and *sānema*; the imperative, sing. 2. *sāna*, *sāra*, du. 2. *ruhā-tam*, *sāda-tam*, pl. 2. *khyāt-ta*. The participle usually accents the thematic *-a*, but sometimes the root; e. g. *trpāt-nt-*, but *sāda-nt-*; *guhā-māna-*, but *dāsa-māna-*.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 645 a, 668 a, 669.

<sup>2</sup> When the primary endings are added, the reduplicative syllable is almost always accented; e. g. *jūjōyasi*; some others, which take secondary endings, but do not strengthen the root, also accent the reduplicative syllable, as *dādhyanta*; see below 490.

<sup>3</sup> A few forms accent and strengthen the radical syllable, du. 2. *mumūc-a-tam*, pl. 2. *mumūc-a-ta*, mid. sing. 2. *pīprāy-a-sva*.

<sup>4</sup> But the root is strong and accented in several forms, *kār-ta* etc., of the 2. pl. imperative.

3. In the **reduplicated aorist** the only accented form in the subjunctive seems to be *vócātī*; in the injunctive, either the reduplicative syllable or the root is accented; e. g. sing. 2. *nīnāś-as*, *sīśrāthas*, 3. *pīparat* and *pīpdrat*; in the optative, the thematic vowel or the ending; e. g. pl. 1. *vócēmā*, *cucyuv-ī-māhi*; in the imperative, the thematic vowel or the ending; e. g. du. 2. *jīgy-tām*, pl. *jīgy-tī*, *susūdd-ta* (AV.).

4. The **s-aorist** accents the root in the subjunctive; e. g. *dār-s-a-t* (*dr-* 'split'), *yák-s-a-t* (*yaj-* 'sacrifice'), du. 2. *pār-s-a-thas* (*pr-* 'take across'); the root in the injunctive as far as can be judged from the extremely few accented forms, as mid. sing. 1. *vām-s-i* (*van-* 'win'); the ending<sup>1</sup> in the optative, as mid. sing. 1. *bhāk-s-ī-yā* (*√bhaj-*), pl. *dhuk-s-ī-māhi* (*duh-* 'milk'); in the imperative no accented forms occur; the participle accents the root in the active, as *ddk-s-ant-* (*dah-* 'burn'), but in the irregularly formed middle<sup>2</sup> nearly always the suffix, as *arc-a-s-ānā-*, but *dh-a-s-āna-* (527).

5. The **is-aorist** accents the root in the subjunctive; e. g. sing. 3. *bōdh-is-a-t*; the root in the injunctive, e. g. sing. 2. *māth-ts*, but once the ending in pl. 3. *tār-is-ūr* (AV.); the ending in the optative; e. g. sing. 1. *edh-is-ī-yā* (AV.); the ending in the imperative; e. g. sing. 2. *av-iq-dhi*, du. 2. *av-is-tām*.

6. In the **sīs-aorist** no accented forms occur except one in the imperative, where the ending has the acute, du. 2. *yā-sīs-tām*.

7. The **sa-aorist** accents that syllable in the injunctive, as pl. 3. *dhuk-sā-nta* (but once sing. 3. *dhuk-sa-ta*), and in the imperative, as sing. 2. *dhuk-sā-sva* (*√duh-*). No subjunctive or optative forms occur.

100. **The future.**—The accent in all forms of this tense remains on the suffix *-syāt-* or *-ī-syāt*; e. g. sing. 3. *e-syāt-tī* (AV.) 'he will go' (*√i-*); sing. 1. *stav-i-syāmi* 'I shall praise' (*√stu-*), 3. *kar-i-syāti* 'he will do' (*√kr-*); participle *kar-i-syānt-* 'about to do'.

101. **Secondary conjugations.**—All these, except the active form of the intensive, accent the same syllable of the stem throughout. They are the causative, the denominative, the passive, the secondary form of the intensive, and the desiderative, the stem of all of which ends in *-a*. The **causative** accents the penultimate syllable of the stem; e. g. *krodh-āya-* 'enrage'.—The **passive**, the **secondary form of the intensive**, and the **denominative**, accent the suffix *-yā*; e. g. *pan-yā-te* 'is admired'; *rerih-yā-te* 'licks repeatedly'; *gopā-yānti* 'they protect'. A certain number of unmistakable denominatives, however, have the causative accent; e. g. *mantrā-ya-te* 'takes counsel'.—The **desiderative** accents the reduplicative syllable; e. g. *pīprī-sa-ti*.—The **primary form of the intensive** agrees in accentuation with the third or reduplicating class of verbs, that is, it accents the reduplicative syllable in the strong forms, but the endings with initial consonant in the weak forms of the indicative active; e. g. sing. 3. *jōhav-ī-ti*, du. 3. *jar-bhṛ-tās*, pl. 3. *vār-vṛt-ati*. In the middle indicative, however, the reduplicative syllable is more often accented than not; e. g. *tē-tik-te* and *nenik-tē*. In the subjunctive the reduplicative syllable is regularly accented; e. g. sing. 3. *jānghān-a-t*, but once the root in sing. 1. *jānghān-āni*; mid. pl. 3. *jānghān-anta*, but once the ending in du. 3. *tantas-dīte*. No accented form of the optative occurs. In the imperative the ending is accented; e. g. sing. 2. *jāgy-hi*, *car-kr-tāt*. In the participle, both active and middle, the reduplicative syllable is regularly accented; e. g. *cēkit-at*, *cēkit-āna*; there are, however, two exceptions in the middle: *badbadh-ānā-* and *marmṛj-ānā-* (548a).

<sup>1</sup> Once the root is accented in the irregular form du. 2. *trās-ī-thām*. | participles irregularly formed with *-māna*.  
*hā-s-a-māna-* and *dhī-s-a-māna-*.

<sup>2</sup> The root is accented in two middle

## 5. Accent of nominal verb forms.

102. The accentuation of **participles** formed from tense and conjugation stems has already been stated. When these are **compounded with prepositions**, they retain their accents; thus the present and perfect participles of *apa-gám-* 'go away' would be *apa-gícchant-*, *apa-gícchamāna-*; *apa-jaganvāns-*, *apa-jagmān-*. The preposition is, however, not infrequently found separated from the participle by another word or is placed after it, when it is treated as independent and accented, e. g. *prá śmáśru dádhuvat* (x. 23<sup>1</sup>) 'shaking his beard'; *ápa drlāñi dādrat* (vi. 17<sup>5</sup>) 'bursting strongholds asunder'; *ā ca pára ca pathibhiś cārantam* (i. 164<sup>31</sup>) 'wandering hither and thither on (his) paths', *mādhū bibhrata āpa* (i. 166<sup>2</sup>) 'bringing sweetness near'; *tanvānta ā rājā* (iv. 45<sup>2</sup>) 'extending through the air'. The preposition is occasionally found independently accented immediately before the participle, as *abhi daksat* (ii. 47<sup>1</sup>) 'burning around'; *vī vidvān* (i. 189<sup>7</sup>) 'distinguishing' (probably in distinction from *vividvān*, perfect participle of *vid-* 'find').

a. When there are **two prepositions**, either both are compounded and unaccented, as *vi-pra-yāntāḥ* (ix. 22<sup>5</sup>) 'advancing', *pari-ā-vivṛtsan* (vii. 63<sup>2</sup>) 'turning round'; or one is compounded and the other independent and accented, as *abhi ā-cārantāḥ* (viii. 96<sup>15</sup>) 'approaching'; *ava-syānn āpa tmānī* (i. 142<sup>11</sup>) 'bestowing indeed'; *prá vayām uj-jihānāḥ* (v. 1<sup>1</sup>) 'flying up to a branch'.

b. **Participles in -tar** generally accent the root, as *kár-tar* 'making', but when compounded the suffix. But *ni-cetar-* 'observing' occurs beside *ni-cetár-* 'observer'.

103. The **past passive participle** regularly accents the suffix; e. g. *ga-tā-* 'gone', *pat-i-tā-* (AV.) 'fallen', *chin-nā-* 'cut off' (*√chid-*). But when this participle is **compounded with prepositions**, the latter are as a rule accented. In several instances, however, the accent of the simple participle is retained, as *apa-kṛt-tā-* (AV.) 'bought', *ni-ci-tā-* 'seen', *niṣ-kṛ-tā-* 'prepared', *ni-ṣat-tā-* 'seated', *ni-vā-tā-* (AV.) 'uninjured', *pra-jah-i-tā-* 'given up' (from *jah-*, a secondary form of *hā-* 'leave'), *pra-śas-tā-* 'celebrated', *saṃ-skr-tā-* 'prepared' (beside *sāṃ-skr-ta-*), *saṃ-hi-tā-* (VS.) 'variegated'<sup>1</sup>. The preposition may be separated from the participle by another word, as *pári soma siktāḥ* (ix. 97<sup>15</sup>) 'poured, O Soma, around'. When there are **two prepositions**, the first remains unaccented, as *apā-vṛktāḥ* (viii. 80<sup>8</sup>) 'removed' (*apa-ā-*), *saṃ-ā-kṛ-tam* (x. 84<sup>7</sup>) 'accumulated'; or it may be separated and independently accented, as *prá yāt samudrā ā-hitāḥ* (ix. 64<sup>19</sup>) 'when despatched forth to the ocean'; *vāri gōbhir ā-vṛtam* (ix. 86<sup>27</sup>) 'encompassed round by streams of milk'.

104. Of the **gerundives**, those in *-ya* (or *-t-ya*) and *-tva* accent the root; e. g. *cákṣ-ya-* 'to be seen', *śrūt-t-ya-* 'to be heard', *car-kṣ-t-ya-* 'to be praised', *vāk-tva-* 'to be said'; those in *-āyya*, *-enya*, *-anīya* (AV.) accent the penultimate; e. g. *paṇ-āyya-* 'to be admired', *ṛkṣ-āyya-* 'worthy to be seen', while those in *-tavya* accent the final syllable, as *jan-i-tavyā-* (AV.) 'to be born'<sup>2</sup>. When compounded with prepositions<sup>3</sup>, gerundives nearly always leave the accent unchanged; e. g. *pari-cákṣ-ya-* 'to be despised'; with Svarita on the final syllable in the RV. only *ā-kāryā-* 'desirable' and *upa-vāk-yā-*

<sup>1</sup> Such compounds are also thus accented when turned into substantives, as *niṣ-kṛ-tā-* n. 'rendezvous', *upa-stūtā-*, N. of a man.

<sup>2</sup> The gerundives in *-anīya* and *-tavya*

only begin to appear in the AV., where two examples of each occur (581 a, b).

<sup>3</sup> The preposition is here always inseparable.



'to be addressed'; *ābhy-ā-yamś-ēnya-* 'allowing oneself to be drawn near'; *ā-mantr-āṇīya-* (AV.) 'to be addressed'.

**105.** Infinitives are as a rule accented like ordinary nominal cases formed from the same stems.

**a.** The dative infinitive from root stems accents the ending; e. g. *drś-ē* 'to see', but when compounded, the root; e. g. *sam-idh-e* 'to kindle', *abhi-pra-cāks-e* (I. 113<sup>6</sup>) 'to see'. Those formed from stems in *-as* generally accent that suffix, but sometimes the radical syllable; e. g. *car-ās-e* 'to fare', but *cāks-as-e* 'to see'. Those formed from stems in *-i* and *-ti* accent the suffix; e. g. *drś-īye* 'to see', *pī-tāye* 'to drink'. Those from stems in *-tu* accent the root, as *bhīr-tav-e*; also those from stems in *-tavā*, but with a secondary accent on the final syllable, as *gān-tavāi*. When these two forms are compounded with prepositions, the latter are accented; e. g. *prā-vantave*<sup>1</sup> 'to win', *āpa-bhartavāi* 'to be taken away', the latter retaining its final accent as well. When there are two prepositions, the first may be independent and accented as well; e. g. *vī prā-sartave* (VIII. 67<sup>12</sup>) 'to spread'. Infinitives formed with *-dhyai* generally accent the preceding *a* of the verbal stem, but sometimes the root; e. g. *iyā-dhyai* 'to go', but *gāma-dhyai* 'to go'. Those formed from stems in *-man* accent the root; e. g. *dā-man-e* 'to give', except *vid-mān-e* 'to know'; from stems in *-van* there are *dā-vān-e* 'to give', *tur-vān-e* 'to excel', but *dūr-van-e* 'to injure' (*√dhv-*)<sup>2</sup>.

**b.** The accusative infinitive if formed from a radical stem accents the root even when compounded with a preposition; e. g. *ślīh-am* 'to shine', *ā-sād-am* 'to sit down'; if formed from a stem in *-tu*, it accents the root in a simple stem, but the preposition in a compounded stem; e. g. *dī-tum* 'to give', *prā-bhar-tum* 'to present', *ānu prā-voḥum* 'to advance'.

**c.** The ablative-genitive infinitive, if formed from radical stems, which here occur only in combination with prepositions, accents the root; e. g. *ava-pīd-as* '(from) falling down'; if formed from a stem in *-tu*, the root in a simple stem, but the preposition in a compound stem; e. g. *gān-tos* 'going', *nī-dhā-tos* 'putting down'.

**d.** The locative infinitive if formed from radical stems accents the ending in the simple form, but the root in the compounded form; e. g. *budh-i* 'at the waking', but *saṃ-dīś-i* 'on seeing'. The one locative infinitive formed from a stem in *-tar*, and those from stems in *-san* accent the suffix; e. g. *dhar-tār-i* 'to bestow', *ne-sān-i* 'to lead'.

**106.** Uncompounded gerunds formed with *-tvī*, *-tvā*, *tvāya* accent the suffix, while the compounded gerunds<sup>3</sup> formed with *-yā* or *-tyā* accent the root; e. g. *ga-tvī* 'having gone', *bhū-tvā* 'having become', *ga-tvāya* 'having gone'; *saṃ-gṛh-vā* 'gathering', *upa-śrī-tya* (AV.) 'having overheard'.

**107.** Case-forms used as adverbs frequently show a shift of accent. This appears oftenest in the accusative neuter. Thus *drav-dī* 'quickly', but *drāv-ant-* 'running', probably also *drah-yāt*<sup>5</sup> 'stoutly'; *aparām* 'later', but *dparam* as neuter adjective; *ā-vyus-ām* (AV.) 'till dawn'<sup>6</sup>; and the adverbs in *-vāt*, as *āṅgiras-vāt* 'like Āṅgiras', *manuṣ-vāt* 'as Manus did', *purāṇa-vāt*,

<sup>1</sup> The infinitive from stems in *-tu* in all its cases accents the preposition; e. g. *sam-hartum* 'to collect', *āpi-dhātave* 'to cover up', *āv-gantos* 'of descending'.

<sup>2</sup> A preposition is occasionally uncompounded with or separated from the infinitive, when both are accented, as *prā dāvāne* (IV. 32<sup>9</sup>; V. 653); *prā āśūṣe dātave* (IV. 20<sup>11</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> When there are two prepositions, the

first is independent and therefore also accented.

<sup>4</sup> The preposition is here always inseparable.

<sup>5</sup> Which seems to be formed from an irregular present participle of *drh-* 'be firm'.

<sup>6</sup> The ordinary A. of *vy-* 'dawn' would be *vyūs-am*.

*pūrva-vāt*, *pratna-vāt* 'as of old', which are accusative neuters of the adjective suffix *-vant*<sup>1</sup> (unaccented); and some adverbs from the comparative in *-tara*, *ut-tarām* (AV.) 'higher', but *ūt-tara-* as adjective; similarly *ava-tarām*, *paras-tarām* and *parā-tarām* 'farther away', *vi-tarām* 'more widely'<sup>2</sup> *saṃ-tarām* (AV.) 'still farther'. Similarly the instrumental *divā* 'by day', but *divā* 'through heaven'; and the dative *aparāya* 'for the future', but *āparāya* 'to the later'; and the ablatives *apākāt* 'from afar' (*āpāka-* 'far'), *amāt* 'from near' (*āma-* AV. 'this'), *sanāt* 'from of old' (*sāna-* 'old')<sup>3</sup>.

## 6. Accent in Sandhi.

108. 1. When two vowels combine so as to form a long vowel or diphthong, the latter has the Udātta if either or both of the original vowels had it<sup>4</sup>; e. g. *nudasvātha* for *nudasva dtha*; *tāvāt* for *tāva it*; *kvāt* for *kvā it*<sup>5</sup>; *āgāt* for *ā agāt*; *pītva* for *pītā iva*, *śatā* for *śatā u*; *nāntaras* (VI. 63<sup>2</sup>) for *nā antaras*.

The contraction of *i + i* is, however, accented *ī*<sup>6</sup> the (dependent) Svarita having here (in *ī*) ousted the preceding Udātta<sup>7</sup>; e. g. *divīva* (RV. AV.) for *divi iva*. This is the *praśliṣṭa*, 'contracted', Svarita of the Prātisākhya<sup>8</sup>.

2. When *ī* and *ū* with Udātta are changend to *y* and *v*, a following unaccented vowel receives the Svarita; e. g. *vy ānaṣ* for *vī ānaṣ*.

The uncontracted form with Udātta must, however, almost invariably be read in the RV. This is the *kṣaipra*<sup>9</sup> Svarita of the Prātisākhya<sup>8</sup>. Here the enclitic Svarita assumes the appearance of an independent accent.

3. When *ā* is elided, it throws back its Udātta on unaccented *e* or *o*; e. g. *sūndvāgne* for *sūndve āgne*; *vāvasaḥ* for *vo āvasaḥ*. But when unaccented *a* is elided, it changes a preceding Udātta to Svarita; e. g. *sādhāmā* for *sā adhamā*. This is the *abhinīhita* Svarita of the Prātisākhya<sup>8</sup>. Here also the enclitic Svarita (in *ā*) has ousted the preceding Udātta (as in *divīva*)<sup>10</sup>.

## 7. The Sentence Accent.

HASKELL, Votive-Accent in the Veda, JAOS. 11, 57. — BÖHTLINGK, ein erster Versuch über den Accent im Sanskrit (Mémoires de l'Académie imp. de St. Pétersbourg 1843) p. 38 ff. — WHITNEY, JAOS. 5, 193 ff., 387 ff. — AUREL MAYR, Beiträge aus dem Rigveda zur Accentuirung des verbum finitum (Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1871, p. 219 ff.). — WEBER, IS. 13, 70ff. — BÖHTLINGK, Sanskrit-Chrestomathie<sup>2</sup> p. 356. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 591 ff. — DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax (Halle 1888) 21–29. — OLDENBERG, Die Verbalenklisis im Rgveda, ZDMG. 60, 707–740.

109. The vocative.—a. The vocative, which whether it consist of a single word or a compound expression, is invariably accented on the first syllable, retains its accent only at the beginning of a sentence or Pāda<sup>11</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 1107 a.

<sup>2</sup> See op. cit. 1119.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. op. cit. 1114 a.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 64.

<sup>5</sup> But when a Svarita is followed by an unaccented syllable, it of course remains; e. g. *kvēyatha* for *kvā iyatha* (VIII. 17).

<sup>6</sup> Except in the Taittiriya texts which follow the general rule (*divīva*).

<sup>7</sup> This also takes place in *sūdgātā* (TS.) for *sū-udgātā* 'a good Udgāt' (TS. VII. 1. 8: B.).

<sup>8</sup> Cp. HAUG 75.

<sup>9</sup> So called because 'uttered with a quick' (*kṣipra*-) pronunciation, the semivowel replacing the vowel.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 251, b a; BRUGMANN, KG. 45, 2.

<sup>11</sup> This applies to the second as well as the first Pāda of a hemistich (as some of the above examples show), thus indicating the independent character of these Pādas, which is obscured by the way in which the redactors of the Samhitās apply the rules of Sandhi and mark the dependent Svarita.

that is to say, when, having the full force of the case, it occupies the most emphatic position; e. g. *ágne sūpāyanī bhava* (I. 19<sup>b</sup>) 'O Agni, be easy of access'; *ūrjo napāt sahasāvan* (X. 115<sup>5a</sup>) 'O mighty son of strength'; *hótar yaviṣṭha sukrato* (IV. 4<sup>11d</sup>) 'O most youthful, skilful priest'. This rule also applies to doubly accented dual compounds, as *mītrā-varuṇa* (I. 15<sup>6b</sup>) 'O Mitra and Varuṇa' (N. *mītrā-varuṇa*).

a. Two or more vocatives at the beginning of a Pāda are all accented; e. g. *ádite, mītra, varuṇa* (II. 27<sup>14a</sup>); *ūrjo napād, bhādraśoce* (VIII. 713<sup>b</sup>) 'O son of strength, O propitiously bright one'<sup>1</sup>.

b. The vocative, when it does not begin the sentence, loses its accent, being unemphatic as referring only incidentally to a person already invoked; e. g. *ṛtēna mītrāvaruṇāu ṛtāvṛdhāu ṛtasprśā* (I. 2<sup>8</sup>) 'through Law, O Mitra and Varuṇa, lovers and cherishers of Law'; *līpa tvā agne divā-dive, dūṣā-vastar dhiyā vayām* | ... *émasi* (I. 1<sup>7</sup>) 'to thee, O Agni, day by day, O illuminer of darkness, with prayer we come'; *ā rājānā<sup>2</sup> maha ṛtasya goṇā* (VII. 64<sup>2</sup>) 'hither (come), O ye two sovereign guardians of great order'; *yád, índra brahmaṇas-pate, abhidrohān cārāmasi* (X. 164<sup>4</sup>)<sup>3</sup> 'if, O Indra, O Brahmanaspati, we commit an offence'<sup>4</sup>.

a. The vocative, whether at the beginning of or within a sentence, not being regarded as part of it, does not interfere with the normal accentuation of the sentence. Hence a verb 'at the beginning of a sentence, following a vocative, is accented as the first word of the sentence; while a verb within a sentence, following a vocative, remains unaccented; e. g. *devā, jīvata* (AV. XIX. 70<sup>1</sup>) 'O gods, live'; *asmé ū śú, eṛṣṇā, mādayethām* (I. 184<sup>2</sup>) 'beside us, ye two heroes, enjoy yourselves'.

110. The verb.—A. The finite verb in a principal sentence is unaccented except when it is the first word; e. g. *agnim tē puróhitam* (I. 1<sup>1</sup>) 'I praise Agni, the domestic priest'; but *īle agnīm vipaścitam* (III. 27<sup>2</sup>) 'I praise Agni the wise'. This rule and its exception must, however, be understood with the following restrictions:

1. A sentence is regarded as 'capable of having only one verb. Hence all other verbs syntactically connected with the subject of the first, are accented as beginning new sentences (a subject or object coming between two such verbs being generally counted to the first); e. g. *tēsām pāhi, śrudhī hāvam* (I. 2<sup>1</sup>) 'drink of them, hear our call'; *asmābhyaṃ jeṣi yótsi ca* (I. 132<sup>4</sup>) 'conquer and fight for us'; *tarūṇir lī jayati, kṣéti, pṛṣyati* (VII. 32<sup>9</sup>) 'the energetic man conquers, rules, thrives'; *jahí prajāṃ nāyasva ca* (AV. I. 8<sup>3</sup>) 'slay the progeny and bring (it) hither'.

2. The verb, though not beginning a sentence, receives the accent if it coincides with the beginning of a Pāda (which is treated as the beginning of a new sentence); e. g. *dītha te ántamānām* | *vidyāma sumatīm* (I. 4<sup>3</sup>).

3. Since a vocative (or vocatives) at the beginning of a sentence is treated as extraneous to it, the verb which immediately follows it becomes the first word of the sentence and is accordingly accented; e. g. *ágne, juṣṣsva*

<sup>1</sup> Here *bhādraśoce* is treated as an independent vocative; it would lose its accent if intended to form a compound expression with *ūrjo napāt* = 'O propitiously bright son of strength', as is the case in *hótar yaviṣṭha sukrato*.

<sup>2</sup> When the first word of a compound vocative is an adjective (not a genitive), it retains its accent within a Pāda; thus *vīśve devāsaḥ* 'O All-gods', would appear within a Pāda as well as at the beginning.

<sup>3</sup> This is an example of two distinct

vocatives. The preceding example may contain two also, as the accent of two as well as of one vocative would be lost within a Pāda; but if *rājānā* stood at the beginning of a Pāda, the accentuation would be *rājānā maha ṛtasya goṇā*, supposing two vocatives were intended.

<sup>4</sup> The very rare exceptions to the rules given above (a, b) are doubtless due to errors on the part of the editors or of tradition.

*no havīh* (III. 28<sup>1</sup>) 'O Agni, enjoy our sacrifice'. Thus the following sentence of six words contains three accented verbs as well as three accented vocatives: *indra, jīva, sūrya, jīva, devā, jīvata* (AV. XIX. 70<sup>1</sup>) 'O Indra, live; O Sūrya, live; O gods, live'.

4. There are some instances in the RV. of the verb when emphatic, even though not placed at the beginning of the sentence, being accented before the particle *id*, and even before *canā*<sup>1</sup>; e. g. *duha smā no maghavañ carkrād id* (I. 104<sup>5</sup>) 'then be mindful of us, bounteous one'; *nā, devā, bhasāthaś canā* (VI. 59<sup>4</sup>) '(him) O gods, ye two never consume'<sup>2</sup>.

B. The accent always rests on the verb of a subordinate clause (which is almost invariably introduced by the relative *ya-* and its derivatives, or contains the particles *ca* and *cā* 'if', *nā* 'lest', *hi* 'for', *kuvā* 'whether'); e. g. *yajñ yajñām paribhūr āsi* (I. 1<sup>4</sup>) 'what offering thou protectest'; *grhān gaccha grhapātñ yāthājasaḥ* (X. 85<sup>29</sup>) 'go to the house, that thou be lady of the house'; *indraś ca mṛkhyāti no, nā naḥ paścād aghūñ naśat* (II. 41<sup>11</sup>) 'if Indra be gracious to us, no hurt will thereafter reach us'; *vā cād uccānty, āśvinā, uśasaḥ, prā vām brāhmāṇi kārāvo bharante* (VII. 72<sup>4</sup>) 'when the dawns shine forth, O Āśvins, the singers offer their prayers to you'; *mā cirdm tanuthā āpaḥ, nā tvā . . tīpātī sūro arcśā* (V. 79<sup>9</sup>) 'do not long delay thy work, lest the sun burn thee with his beam'; *tvām hi baladā āsi* (III. 53<sup>18</sup>) 'for thou art a giver of strength'; *tām, indra, mādām ā gahi, kuvān<sup>3</sup> no āsya tṛpṇdvaḥ* (III. 42<sup>2</sup>) 'come to this gladdening drink, O Indra, (to see) whether thou mayst enjoy it'.

1. When the first of two clauses, though in form a principal one, is virtually subordinate in sense (being equivalent to one introduced by 'if' or 'when'), its verb is occasionally accented; e. g. *sām āśvaparnāś cāranti no nāro, smākam, indra, rathīno jayantu* (VI. 47<sup>31</sup>) 'when our men winged with steeds come together, may the car-fighters of our side, O Indra, win the victory'.

2. Similarly, but much more frequently, the verb of the first of two clauses which are antithetical in sense, is accented<sup>4</sup>. The occurrence of correlative words like *anyā-anyā, āka-āka, vā-vā, ca-ca*, often makes the antithesis obvious; e. g. *prā-pra anyā yānti, pūry anyā āsate* (III. 9<sup>3</sup>) '(while) some go on and on, others sit about'; *sām ca jidhīsva agne, prā ca bodhaya enam* (VS. XXVII. 2) 'both be kindled, O Agni, and waken this man's knowledge': *id vā siñcādhvam āpa vā pṛṇadhvam* (VII. 16<sup>11</sup>) 'either pour out or fill up'. If the verb of both clauses is the same, it usually appears (as is natural in the circumstances) in the first only; e. g. *dvipāc ca sārvaṃ no rīkṣa, cātuspād yāc ca naḥ svām* (AV. VI. 107<sup>1</sup>) 'protect both every biped of ours and whatever quadruped is our own'.

3. The second clause, on the other hand, accents the verb if it contains an imperative (with a final sense), and follows a clause with an imperative of *i-*, *gam-* or *yā-* 'go'; e. g. *āta, dhīyaṃ kṛnāvāma* (V. 45<sup>6</sup>) 'come, let us (= that we may) make prayer'; *tīryam ā gahi, kāṇveṣu sādā pība* (VIII. 4<sup>3</sup>) 'come quickly, beside the Kaṇvas drink thy fill'.

III. Verbal prepositions.—A. The preposition, which generally precedes, but sometimes follows the verb, being often separated from it by other words,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK 23, 3, 4; 26, 2; WHITNEY 598 a. In the ŚB. *hanta* regularly accents the verb.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. GRASSMANN, Wb. under *id* and *canā*.

<sup>3</sup> There are only two passages in the RV. (V. 31<sup>0</sup>, 36<sup>3</sup>) in which *kuvā* does not accent

the verb; cp. GRASSMANN, sub verbo; DELBRÜCK 550, end.

<sup>4</sup> This accentuation is more strictly applied in B. than in V., and among the Samhitās least strictly in the RV.; cp. WHITNEY 597 a.

is regularly accented in principal sentences; e. g. *ā gamat* (I. 1<sup>5</sup>) 'may he come'; *jāyema sānu yudhī spṛdhah* (I. 8<sup>3</sup>) 'may we conquer our foes in fight'; *gāvām āpa vrajānu vṛdhi* (I. 10<sup>7</sup>) 'unclose the stable of the kine'; *gumad vājebhīr ā sā nah* (I. 5<sup>3</sup>) 'may he come to us with booty'.

a. When there are two prepositions, both are accented in the RV., being treated as separate words; e. g. *āpa prā yāhi* (I. 82<sup>6</sup>) 'come forth'; *pāri spāśo nī śedire* (I. 25<sup>13</sup>) 'the spies have sat down around'; *āpa prāyobhīr ā gatam* (I. 2<sup>4</sup>) 'come hither with refreshments'; *agne, vī paśya brhatā abhī r.ṛyā* (III. 23<sup>2</sup>) 'O Agni, look forth towards (us) with ample wealth'.

a. When *ā* immediately follows another preposition (unless it ends in *i*), it alone is accented, both being compounded with the verb; e. g. *upāgahī*<sup>1</sup> (I. 91<sup>10</sup>) 'come hither'; *samākṛyosi jīdase* (X. 25<sup>0</sup>) 'thou fittest (them) for living'. The general rule, however, is followed if the preposition preceding *ā* ends in *i*; e. g. *prāty ā tanuṣva* (IV. 4<sup>4</sup>) 'draw (thy bow) against (them)'<sup>2</sup>. In the only passage in which it has been noted in combination with another preposition preceding it, *āva* is treated like *ā*: *upāvasṛja* (X. 110<sup>10</sup>) 'pour out'<sup>3</sup>.

B. The preposition in subordinate clauses is generally compounded with the verb, when it is regularly unaccented; e. g. *yād . . nīśidathah*<sup>4</sup> (VIII. 9<sup>21</sup>) 'when ye two sit down'. It is, however, often separated from the verb, and is then accented as well as the verb. In this case it is commonly the first word of a Pāda, but occasionally comes after the verb; e. g. *vī yō mamē nījasī* (I. 160<sup>4</sup>) 'who measured out the two regions'; *yās tastūmbha śhasā vī jmo dntān* (IV. 50<sup>4</sup>) 'who with might propped earth's ends asunder'. Occasionally the preposition is separate and accented even when immediately preceding the verb; e. g. *yō āhutim pāri vddā nīmobhīh* (VI. 1<sup>9</sup>) 'who fully knows the offering with devotion'.

a. When there are two prepositions, either both are unaccented and compounded with the verb, or the first only is separate and accented; e. g. *yūyānu hī, devūr, rīyālgbhīr āsvaiḥ pariprayāthū* (IV. 51<sup>5</sup>) 'for ye, O goddesses, proceed around with steeds yoked by eternal order'; *sānu yām āyānti dhenāvah* (V. 6<sup>2</sup>) 'to whom the cows come together', *yātra abhī samnāvāmahe* (VIII. 69<sup>5</sup>) 'where we to (him) together shout'. A very rare example of two independent prepositions in a dependent sentence is *prā yāt stotā . . āpa gīrbhīr jīte* (III. 52<sup>5</sup>) 'when the praiser pours forth laudation to (him) with songs'.

#### IV. NOMINAL STEM FORMATION.

GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda 1687—1738 (list of nominal stems according to alphabetical order of the final letter). — LINDNER, Altindische Nominalbildung. Nach den Samhitās dargestellt. Jena 1878. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1136—1245; Roots, Verb-forms, and Primary Derivatives, 1885.

112. The bare root, both verbal and pronominal, is often used as a declinable stem. But much more generally the stem in declension is formed by means of suffixes. These are of two kinds: primary, or

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be an exception in *āstā cid, indra, na āpā yāhi* (VIII. 92<sup>10</sup>) 'thence, O Indra, come to us', but *āpa* here coming at the end of a Pāda, is used adnominally with *nah*.

<sup>2</sup> The treatment of two prepositions is on the whole the same in the AV. (cp. WHITNEY, APr. 185 ff.) and the TS. (cp. WEBER, IS. 13, 62 ff.); but the TS. treats some other prepositions like *ā*, and the MS.

goes much further, apparently making accentuation of the second preposition the rule; cp. DELBRÜCK p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK p. 47, end.

<sup>4</sup> It is not clear why the Pāda text analyses forms like *ny āstidat* (I. 143<sup>1</sup>), *ny āstah* (VII. 18<sup>11</sup>), *vy āsthāt* (II. 4<sup>1</sup>) as *nī āstidat*, *nī āstah*, *vī āsthāt*. There are about thirty instances of this; cp. WHITNEY 1084 a.

those that are added directly to roots; **secondary**, or those that are added to stems already derivative (pronominal stems being also accounted as such). The distinction between these two kinds is, however, not absolute. Suffixes containing a secondary element sometimes have the appearance and application of primary suffixes (as *-anīya* = *-an-īya*). Less frequently primary suffixes come to be used as secondary ones; thus the participial suffixes are added not only to the root, but also to primary and secondary conjugation stems as well as to tense stems. These nominal suffixes are sometimes added by means of what looks like and may conveniently be called a connecting vowel, though it may not be so in origin. Primary suffixes are also added to roots compounded with verbal prefixes<sup>1</sup>.

### I. Primary Nominal Derivation.

113. As regards **form**, the root when used without suffix usually remains unchanged in respect to its vowel<sup>2</sup>; it is then, however, liable to modification in two ways: always adding the determinative *-t* if it ends in *-i*, *u*, or *-ṛ*, and occasionally appearing in a reduplicated form. But before primary suffixes the root usually appears in a strong form: either with *Guṇa* of medial or final vowels, as *vid-a* 'knowledge' from *√vid*, *sṛ-aṇa* 'running' from *√sṛ*; or with *Vṛddhi* of final *-i*, *-u*, *-ṛ* and lengthening of medial *a*, as *kār-ā* 'making' from *√kr*, *grābh-ā* 'seizer', from *√grabh*.

a. As regards **meaning**, there are two classes of **primary derivatives**: the one expressing abstract **action nouns** (with an infinitival character), the other concrete **agent nouns** (with a participial character) used as adjectives or substantives. Other senses are only modifications of these two; as that of the passive participle, which expresses an agent who becomes the recipient of an action. The primary suffixes forming action nouns can also nearly all be used to form agent nouns; and many of those properly forming agent nouns may also form action nouns. Those which properly form **action nouns** are: *-a*, *-an*, *-ana*, *-anā*, *-ani*, *-ant*, *-as*, *-ā*, *-i*, *-is*, *-ī*, *-ika*, *-us*, *-tas*, *-ti*, *-tu*, *-ina*, *-tha*, *-thu*, *-nas*, *-ni*, *-nu*, *-pa*, *-ma*, *-man*, *-mi*, *-yu*, *-van*, *-sas*. Those which properly form **agent nouns** are: *-aka*, *-at* or *-ant*, *-āta*, *-anīya*, *-asi*, *-āku*, *-āna*, *-in*, *-iṣṭha*, *-īyāṇis*, *-u*, *-uka*, *-ū*, *-ūka*, *-ka*, *-ta*, *-tar*, *-tmu*, *-tra*, *-tri*, *-tva*, *-thi*, *-na*, *-māna*, *-min*, *-ya*, *-ra*, *-ri*, *-ru*, *-la*, *-li*, *-lu*, *-va*, *-vana*, *-vani*, *-vanu*, *-vara*, *-vas*, *-vāṇis*, *-vi*, *-sa*, *-sani*, *-saru*, *-sna*, *-smu*.

#### Root stems.

114. These stems are used both as action nouns (often in the function of infinitives) and as agent nouns, either substantives or adjectives.

1. Examples of the simple root form are: *dyūt* f. 'splendour', *nṛt* (AV.) f. 'gesticulation', *bhūdh* f. 'awaking'; *dāt* 'giver', *bhīd* f. 'destroyer', *yij* m. 'companion', *spās* m. 'spy'; *māh* 'great', *vād*h 'strengthening'.—2. With root determinative *-t*: *mī-t* f. 'pillar', *stī-t* f. 'praise'.—3. With reduplicated root: *cikī-t* 'wise' (*cit* 'observe'), *juhāt* f. 'sacrificial spoon' (*hu* 'offer'), *juhāt* 'tongue' (*hū* 'call'), *dadāh*<sup>3</sup> 'heartly' (*dṛh* 'be firm'), *didyī* m. 'missile', *didyī-t* f. 'missile', 'lightning', *sasyād* f. 'running stream' (*syand* 'run')<sup>4</sup> and with intensive

<sup>1</sup> Those chiefly thus used are approximately in the order of their frequency: *-a*, *-ana*, *-ti*, *-tar* and *-tra*, *-in*, *-ya*, *-van* and *-man*, *-i*, *-u*, *-as*; cp. WHITNEY 1141 c.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the root appears in the weak form, in which it is usually stated.

<sup>3</sup> In *dadāh* adv. 'heartily'.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps also *gāṅgā* f. 'Ganges' if

reduplication: *jāgū-* 'singing aloud' (*gu-* 'sound'), *pra-nenī-* 'guiding constantly' (*nī-* 'lead'), *yavīyūdā-* 'warlike' (*yudh-* 'fight'), *vānīvan-* 'desiring', *a-sūsā-* (AV.) 'barren' ('not bringing forth'). *dāridra-* (VS.) 'roving' (*drā-* 'run') is a transfer to the radical *a*-stems<sup>1</sup>.

### -a : action and agent.

115. A vast number of derivatives is formed with this suffix, before which the root is generally strengthened, but sometimes remains unchanged or is reduplicated. Those formed with *Guṇa* are more than twice as numerous as all the rest taken together. Medial *a* generally remains unchanged.

1. Examples of derivatives with *Guṇa* are the following **action nouns**: *īy-a-* m. 'course' (*i-* 'go') *hūv-a-* m. 'invocation' (*hū-* 'call'), *tāra-* m. 'crossing' (*tī-* 'cross'); *vidā-* 'knowledge' (*vid-* 'know'), *jōs-a-* 'enjoyment' (*ju-* 'enjoy'), *sārg-a-* 'emission' (*srj-* 'send forth'); **agent nouns**: *plav-ā-* m. 'boat' (*phu-* 'float'), *megh-ā-* m. 'cloud' (*mih-* 'discharge water'), *cōd-ā-* 'instigator' (*cud-* 'incite'). With medial *a*: *grābh-a-* m. 'seizure' (*grabh-* 'seize'), *śrām-a-* m. 'weariness' (*śram-* 'be weary').

a. In several words thus formed the meaning varies according as the root is accented or the suffix, the word in the former case being nearly always an abstract substantive, in the latter regularly an adjective or an agent noun; thus *drdh-a-* m. 'side', *ardh-ā-* 'half'; *tṣ-a-* m. 'speed', *tṣ-ā-* 'speeding'; *cōd-a-* m. 'goad', *cōd-ā-* m. 'instigator'; *vār-a-* m. 'choice', *vār-ā-* m. ('chooser') 'suitor', *sās-a-* m. 'command', *sās-ā-* m. 'commander', *śōka-* m. 'gloom', *śōk-ā-* (AV.) 'glowing'.

2. **Vṛddhi** of final vowels and lengthening of *a*<sup>2</sup>: action nouns are *dāv-ā-* (AV.) 'fire' (*du-* 'burn'), *tār-ā-* (VS.) 'crossing' (*tī-* 'cross'), *bhāg-ā-* 'share' (*bhaj-* 'divide'); agent nouns are *nāy-ā-* 'leader' (*nī-* 'lead'), *jār-ā-* 'lover', *grābh-ā-* 'seizer'.

3. Several derivatives are formed from the **weak** form of the root, the suffix being accented<sup>3</sup>; thus *prīy-ā-* 'dear' (*prī-* 'please'), *sruv-ā-* m. 'spoon' (*sru-* 'flow'), *vr-ā-* m. 'troop' (*vr-* 'surround'), *tur-ā-* 'rapid' (*tī-* 'cross'); *yug-ā-* n. 'yoke', *śuc-ā-* 'bright', *kṛś-ā-* 'lean'<sup>5</sup>.

a. Several derivatives of this type, which occur almost exclusively at the end of compounds, are made from various tense stems; e. g. *-ā-saj-a-* 'stopping', *-tud-ā-* (AV.) 'impelling', *-paś-ya-* 'seeing', *-inv-ā-* 'urging', *-pr-nā-* 'bestowing', *-indh-ā-* 'kindling', *-bruv-ā-* (AV.) 'saying', *-pib-ā-* (AV.) 'drinking', *-ej-ayā-* 'exciting'<sup>6</sup>; *jē-ś-ā-* m. 'attainment' (aor. stem of *ji-* 'conquer'), *neśā-* m. 'guidance' (aor. stem of *nī-* 'lead').

4. A considerable number of derivatives are formed from the reduplicated root; thus *cacar-ā-* 'movable', *dadhṛś-ā-* 'bold', *vavr-ā-* m. 'hiding' (*vr-* 'cover'), *śīśay-ā-* 'strengthening' (*śī-* 'sharpen'), *śīśnāth-a-* 'perforation' (*śnāth-* 'pierce'), *sasr-ā-* 'flowing' (*√sr-*). They are more usually formed directly from the intensive stem or from stems analogously reduplicated; e. g. *cākṣm-ā-* 'gracious' (*kṣam-* 'forbear'), *rerih-ā-* (AV.) 'continually licking' (*rih-* 'lick'), *-rorud-ā-* (AV.) 'shedding tears' (*rud-* 'weep'), *revij-ā-* 'quick' (*vij-* 'dart'); *carā-car-ā-* 'far-extending', *calā-cal-ā-* 'unsteady', *pani-spād-ā-* (AV.) 'palpitating' (*√spand-*), *marī-mṛś-ā-* (AV.) 'groping' (*mṛś-* 'feel'), *malī-mruc-ā-* (AV.) 'moving about in

from *gā-* 'go'; *śīśu-* m. 'child', if from *śī-* 'grow'.

<sup>1</sup> *jāgat-* 'going', 'living', is an old participle present of the reduplicated stem of *gā-* 'go'; WHITNEY, however, thinks (1147 e) that it is made from the reduplicated form *jaga-* (= *ja-gam-*) with the root determinative *-t-*.

<sup>2</sup> In these words the suffix is almost invariably accented; *kām-a-* 'desire' is accented

on the root as differentiated from *kām-ā-* 'desiring'; similarly *śāk-a-* 'help' and *śāk-ā-* 'helpful'.

<sup>3</sup> See LINDNER p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> According to GRASSMANN, *v. frā-*.

<sup>5</sup> Some of the derivatives of this type are transitions from the root stems to the *a*-declension, especially at the end of compounds.

<sup>6</sup> See below, Determinative Compounds,

the dark', a kind of demon (*mluc*- 'set', of the sun), *vart-vrt-ít*- (AV.) 'rolling' (*vrt*- 'turn'), *sani-syad-ít*- (AV.) 'running' (*√syand*-), *sani-sras-ít*- (AV.) 'decrepit' (*sranis*- 'fall'), *sarī-sr̥p-ít*- 'crawling' (*√sr̥p*-).

a. The suffix *-a* is by far the most frequent one used in forming derivatives from the root with a verbal prefix, being nearly always accented whether the noun expresses an action or an agent; e. g. *anī-kar-á*- (AV.) 'assistance', *abhi-droh-á*- 'enmity', *ud-ān-á*- (VS.) m. 'breathing upwards', *nī-mes-á*- (VS.) 'wink', *praty-ā-srāv-á*- 'response', *saṃ-gam-á*- 'assembly'; *ati-yāj-á*- 'sacrificing excessively', 'over-pious', *adhi-caṅkram-á*- (AV.) 'climbing over', *ā-dardir-á*- 'crushing', *ut-tud-á*- (AV.) 'rousing', *pari-car-á*- (AV. VS.) 'wandering', *vi-bodh-á*- 'wakeful', *saṃ-gṛh-á*- (AV.) 'swallowing', *saṃ-jay-á*- 'victorious' <sup>1</sup>.

b. There are many words which have the appearance of ending in this suffix, though the root cannot be found elsewhere. They include several nouns of plants and animals. Examples are *ukhā*-<sup>2</sup> (AV.) 'caldrón', *kródā*- (VS. AV.) 'breast', *khilā*- (AV.) 'waste land', *nakhā*- 'nail', *pakṣā*- 'wing', *vaṃśā*- 'reed' <sup>3</sup>.

### *-a-ka* : agent.

116. This suffix, which consists of the primary *-a* with the secondary *-ka* added, is in a few words used as a primary suffix forming agent nouns only: *abhi-krós-aka*- (VS.) 'reviler', *pīy-aka*- (AV.) 'abuser', a class of demon, *vádāh-aka*- (AV.), a kind of reed ('destructive'), *sāy-aka*- n. 'missile' (*√si*-); also *pāv-akít*- 'purifying', 'bright', which though always written thus is invariably to be pronounced *pavākhít*-<sup>4</sup>.

### *-ata* : agent.

117. In a few adjectives the primary suffix *-a* with *-tá* added is attached to the strong form of the root, chiefly with the sense of the gerundive: *dars-atá*- 'visible', *pac-atá*- 'cooked', *bhar-atá*- 'to be tended', *yaj-atá*- 'to be adored', *raj-atá*-<sup>5</sup> 'silvery', *hary-atá*-<sup>6</sup> 'desirable'.

### *-at* and *-ant* : agent.

118. The suffixes *-at* and *-ant* are almost restricted to the formation of active participles. The former appears chiefly in the formation of present participles of the reduplicating class, as *dād-at*- 'giving'; also in *dās-at*- 'worshipping', *sās-at*- 'instructing', and the aorist participle *dīks-at*- and *dhīks-at*- from *dah*- 'burn'. There are besides a few substantives originally participles, which have shifted their accent, formed with *-at*: *vah-ít*- f. 'stream', *vagh-ít*- (AV. VS.) f. 'barren cow', *vāgh-ít*- m. 'sacrificer', *sraṇ-ít*- f. 'stream', *saśú-ít*- m. 'pursuer' <sup>7</sup>. The suffix *-ant* is used to form the active participle of present stems (excepting those of the reduplicating class), of future stems, and aorist stems. Some of these have become independent adjectives: *r̥h-ánt*- 'weak', *p̥ś-ant*- 'spotted', *br̥h-ánt*- 'great', *mah-ánt*-<sup>8</sup> 'great', *r̥hś-ant*- 'brilliant'; also the substantive *d-ánt*- m. 'tooth' <sup>9</sup>. *dvay-ant*- in *ī-dvay-ant*- (RV<sup>1</sup>) 'not double-tongued' has the appearance of a participle of a denominative stem from *dvī*- 'two'. With the same suffix are formed the two pronominal stems *ī-y-ant*- 'so great' ('making this', *ī-*) and *kī-y-ant*- 'how great?' ('making what?' *kī-*).

### *an-* : action and agent.

119. Few words are formed with this suffix, and in some of them the root is doubtful.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. LINDNER p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Also in *ukha-cchit*- (RV<sup>1</sup>) 'fragile as a pot', f. *ukhā*-.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. LINDNER p. 33, bottom.

<sup>4</sup> *-āka*- also appears in the Proper Name *nabh-āka*-.

<sup>5</sup> Probably from the root *raj*- 'colour'.

<sup>6</sup> Formed from the denominative stem of *hári*- 'bright'.

<sup>7</sup> See below, Participial stems in *-at*, 311 A.

<sup>8</sup> With lengthened vowel in the strong cases.

<sup>9</sup> See below, Participles in *-ant*, 313.



The only **action nouns** are the following neuters: *mah-án-*<sup>1</sup> 'greatness', *rāj-án-* (RV.<sup>1</sup>) 'guidance', *gāmbh-an-* (VS.<sup>1</sup>) 'depth'. The infinitives in *-s-án-i* (588c) are, however, probably locatives of action nouns formed with *-an* from aorist stems.

**Agent nouns** are: *uks-án-* m. 'ox', *cāks-an-* (AV.) n. 'eye', *tāks-an-* m. 'carpenter', *pūs-án-* m., N. of a god, *plih-án-* (VS. AV.) m. 'spleen', *majj-án-* m. 'marrow', *mūrdh-án-* m. 'head', *rāj-an-* m. 'king', *vr̥ś-an-* adj. 'virile', m. 'bull', *sīgh-an-* (TS. III. 2. 1<sup>1</sup>) 'vulture'.

a. There are also several words formed with *-an* the root and original meaning of which are mostly doubtful: 1. *yū-v-an-* m. 'youth', *yōs-an-* f. 'maiden', *śv-án-* m. 'dog'; 2. defective neuter nouns; *aks-án-* 'eye', *ās-an-* 'blood', *asth-án-* 'bone', *dh-an-* 'day', *ās-an-* 'face', *ud-án-*<sup>2</sup> 'water', *ūdh-an-* udder', *dadh-án-* 'sour milk', *doś-án-* (AV.) 'arm', *yak-án-* 'liver', *sāk-an-* (AV. VS.) 'dung', *sakth-án-* 'thigh'; 3. stems occurring at the end of compounds only: *-gm-an-* and *-jm-án-* (also used independently) 'course', *-dṛv-an-*<sup>3</sup> 'playing'; *-bhv-an-*<sup>4</sup> 'being', *-śv-an-*<sup>5</sup> 'growing' (?)<sup>6</sup>.

#### **-ana** : action and agent.

120. With the suffix *-ana* are formed a large number of derivatives with both types of meaning. The root generally shows Guṇa, sometimes Vṛddhi, occasionally no change, rarely a weakened vowel. These derivatives very often appear with a preposition, such verbal compounds coming next in frequency to those formed with the suffix *-a*.

1. With **Guṇa** are formed neuter **action nouns**; e. g. *kār-āna-* 'deed', *cāy-ana-* (AV.) 'piling', *dāv-ana-* 'play', *bhōj-ana-* 'enjoyment', *vārdh-ana-* 'increase', *véd-ana-* 'possession', *hāv-ana-* 'invocation', *adhi-vi-kārt-ana-* 'cutting off'; also **agent nouns**; e. g. the adjectives *kar-ānā-* 'active', *cēt-ana-* 'visible', *cōd-ana-* (AV.)<sup>7</sup> 'impelling', *vi-mōc-ana-* 'releasing'; from a duplicated (intensive) stem: *iāgar-and-* (VS.) 'waking' (*√gr-*).

2. With **Vṛddhi**<sup>8</sup> or lengthened medial *a* are formed neuter **action nouns**, sometimes with a concrete sense; e. g. *ut-pār-āna-* (AV.) 'transporting', *upa-vās-ana-* (AV.) 'clothing', 'dress', *pra-vāc-ana-* 'proclamation', *sād-ana-* 'seat'; also **agent nouns**; e. g. *saṃ-srāv-āna-* (AV.) 'flowing together'; *cāt-ana-* 'driving away', *mād-ana-* 'gladdening', *vāh-ana-* 'conveying', *spāś-ana-*<sup>9</sup> (AV.) 'spying'; *svād-ana-* m. 'sweetener'.

3. With **unchanged vowel** (final *-ā* and medial *a*) are formed neuter **action nouns**; e. g. *dāna-* 'giving', *ud-yāna-* (AV.) 'going out', *nī-dhāna-* 'receptacle', *rāks-āna-* 'protection', *sād-ana-* 'seat', *ava-pra-bhṛāṃś-ana-*<sup>10</sup> (AV. xix. 39<sup>8</sup>) 'slipping down', *prāṇ-ana-* 'breathing' (*√an-*); anomalously formed directly from a preposition, *sūm-ana-* 'meeting'; also **agent nouns**; e. g. *tīp-ana-* 'burning', *ā-kṛām-āna-* (VS.) 'stepping upon', *saṃ-gām-ana-* 'assembling'.

4. With **weak vowel** are formed very few derivatives: either neuter **action nouns** partly with concrete meaning: *kṛp-āna-* 'misery', *pīś-ana-* 'tenderness', *bhūv-ana-* 'being', *vr̥j-āna-* and (once) *vij-ana-* 'enclosure', *sūv-ana-* (AV.) 'procreation'; or **agent nouns**: *kṛp-ānā-* (AV.) 'miserable', *tur-āna-*

<sup>1</sup> Used in the instrumental only.

<sup>2</sup> From *ud-* 'be wet'.

<sup>3</sup> From *dṛv-* 'play' in *prati-dṛv-an-* 'adversary at play'.

<sup>4</sup> From *bhū-* 'be' in *vi-bhuvan-* and *vi-bhuvān-* 'far-reaching'.

<sup>5</sup> In the Proper Names *mātari-śv-an-* and *pṛjī-śv-an-*, cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 125, bottom, and above, p. 95, n. 11.

<sup>6</sup> *-kāman-* in *nī-kāman-* 'desirous' is a transition form for the *a*-stem *nī-kāma-*.

<sup>7</sup> In the RV. only as final member of compounds, *pṛjī-ādāna-* etc.

<sup>8</sup> In this type the only vowel appearing in the radical syllable is *ā*.

<sup>9</sup> In *prati-spāśana-* (AV. VIII. 5<sup>11</sup>).

<sup>10</sup> See WHITNEY's note on *nāvaprabhū āna-* in his translation of AV. XIX. 39<sup>8</sup> and WEBER's erroneous interpretation of this as 'descent of the ship'.

'speeding'; m. *īr-āṇa-* 'ram' (*vṛ-* 'cover'), *kīr-āṇa-* m. 'dust' ('scattering'), *vṛṣ-āṇa-* (VS.) 'testicle'.

**-anā : action and agent.**

121. With this suffix (accented on the first or the last syllable) are formed some feminine **action nouns** (like the neuters in *-ana*) which sometimes have a concrete meaning: *as-anā-* 'missile', *jar-anā-* 'old age', *dyot-anā-* 'brilliance', *man-anā-* 'devotion', *rodh-anā-* ('obstruction') 'dam', *svet-anā-* 'daybreak', *has-anā-* 'laughter'. *kap-anā-* 'caterpillar' and *ras-anā-* 'rein' have the appearance of being formed with this suffix, though the radical parts are not found in independent use. Accented on the penultimate syllable: *arh-āṇā-* 'merit', *jar-āṇā-* 'dry wood'(?), *barh-āṇā-* 'might', *bhand-āṇā-* 'brilliance', *manh-āṇā-* 'readiness', *meh-āṇā-* 'abundance', *vakṣ-āṇā-* 'belly', *vadh-āṇā-* 'slaughter', *van-āṇā-* 'desire'. The formation of *yos-āṇā-* (RV.), usually *yōs-āṇā-*, 'woman' is obscure<sup>1</sup>. With the suffix *-anā* is also formed (though irregularly accented on the radical syllable) *pṛt-anā-*<sup>2</sup> 'fight' from a root not found in independent use<sup>3</sup>. The suffix *-anā* also forms feminine **agent nouns** (adjectives) corresponding to masculines in accented *-ana-*; thus *tur-āṇā-*<sup>4</sup> 'speeding', *tvar-āṇā-* (AV.) 'hasting', *spand-anā-* (AV.) 'kicking'.

a. Derivatives in *-ana* with verbal prefixes, if compounded with other words, form their f. in *-anā*; thus *an-apa-vāc-anā-* (AV.) 'not to be ordered away', *sūpa-vāñc-anā-* and *sūpa-sarp-anā-*<sup>5</sup> (AV.) 'easy of approach', *sād-vi-dhānā-* 'forming an order (*vi-dhāna-*) of six'.

**-ani : action and agent.**

122. This suffix, accented either on the first or the last syllable, is added to either the strong or the weak form of the root.

1. It forms feminine **action nouns**, sometimes with concrete sense; thus *as-āni-* 'missile', *iṣ-āni-* 'impulse', *kṣip-āni-* 'blow', *dyot-āni-* 'brilliance', *dham-āni-* 'piping', *vart-āni-* 'track', *śar-āni-* 'injury'; also *jaraṇi-* 'noise' (?) in the compound *jaraṇi-prā-* 'moving with noise'(?).

2. It forms **agent nouns**, both m. f. substantives and adjectives; thus *ar-āni-* f. 'fire-stick', *caḥs-āni-* m. 'enlightener', *car-āni-* 'movable', 'active', *tar-āni-* 'swift', *dḥvas-āni-* 'sprinkling', *vakṣ-āni-* m. 'strengthener'; also in the compounds *ān-arś-āni-*, N. of a demon, *āj-āni-* (AV.) f. 'stick for driving' (*ā-aj-*) and *udani-māt-* 'abounding in waves' (*ud-āni-* 'undulating' from *ud-* 'be wet').

a. From the reduplicated root: *papt-āni-* (*pat-* 'fly') in *su-papt-āni-* f. 'swift flight'. From aorist stems: *carṣ-āni-* 'active' (*car-* 'move'), f. pl. 'men', *parṣ-āni-* 'crossing' (*pr-* 'cross'), *sakṣ-āni-* 'overcoming' (*√sah-*). From desiderative stems: *ruruḥs-āni-* 'willing to destroy' (*ruj-* 'break'), *siṣās-āni-* 'eager to win' (*√sā-*), *āśusukṣ-āni-* 'gleaming forth' (*śuc-* 'shine').

**-anī : action and agent.**

123. This suffix is the feminine form corresponding to the action and agent nouns formed with *-ana* from the strengthened or unreduced root<sup>6</sup>, with or without verbal prefix; thus *-cōd-anī-*<sup>7</sup> 'urging' (*cōd-ana-*), *pś-anī-* (AV.) 'well-formed' (*pś-ana-*), *prōks-ānī-* (VS. AV.) f. 'sprinkling water', *prajñānī-*

<sup>1</sup> Other stems with the same meaning are: *yōs-an-*, *yōs-ā-*, *yōs-it-*. The root is probably *yu-* 'unite'.

<sup>2</sup> The suffix *-anā* never otherwise occurs when the root is accented.

<sup>3</sup> Only as a nominal stem *pṛt-* 'fight'.

<sup>4</sup> This is the only example of such accentuation.

<sup>5</sup> That is, *su-ṛpa-vāñc-anā-* and *su-ṛpa-sarp-anā-*.

<sup>6</sup> See *-ana*, 120, I—3.

<sup>7</sup> In *brahma-cōdanī-* 'stimulating devotion'.

(AV.) 'easily known', *spár-anī-* (AV.) 'preserving'; *abhi-sāv-anī-* (AV.) 'pressing implement', *vi-dhár-anī-* (AV.) 'preserving'.

a. In some (partly obscure) words the accent here shifts from the radical vowel to the final of the suffix: *arṣ-anī-* (AV.) 'piercing pain', *cet-anī-* (AV.) 'visible' (*cet-ana-*), *tap-anī-* 'heat' (*tap-ana-* 'burning'), *ted-anī-* (AV. VS.) 'blood', *pṛś-anī-* 'tender' (*pṛś-ana-* 'tenderness'), *vṛj-anī-* 'enclosure' (*vṛj-ana-* and *vṛj-ana-*).

#### -an-īya : gerundive.

124. This is a new compositive suffix beginning to be attached directly to the root in the formation of the gerundive. It is based on the primary suffix *-ana* of neuter action nouns extended with the secondary adjective suffix *-īya*. There are two examples in the AV.: *upa-jīv-anīya-* 'to be subsisted on', and *ā-mantr-anīya-* 'to be addressed'.

#### -ar : agent.

125. This suffix is found in a very few words: *us-dr-* f. 'dawn', *dev-dr-* m. 'husband's brother', *nd-nānd-ar-* f. 'husband's sister'¹.

#### -as : action and agent.

126. This suffix forms a large class of neuter action nouns (which sometimes acquire a concrete sense) accented on the root, and a small class of agent nouns (mostly adjectives) accented on the suffix. Some words belong to one class or the other according to the accent. The root generally takes Guṇa, and medial *a* is sometimes lengthened, while the vowel is reduced in a few instances.

i. Examples of action nouns are: with Guṇa, *práy-as-* 'pleasure' (*√pr-*), *śrác-as-* 'fame' (*√śru-*), *kár-as-* 'deed' (*√kr-*), *cít-as-* 'brilliance' (*√cit-*), *téj-as-* 'splendour' (*√tij-*), *dóh-as-* 'milking' (*√duh-*)². With medial *a* unchanged: *dv-as-* 'aid', *táp-as-* 'heat', *práth-as-* 'breadth', *vác-as-* 'speech'; and with partially or wholly concrete meaning, *cákṣ-as-* 'lustre', 'eye', *mán-as-* 'thought', 'mind', *sár-as-* 'lake'. With lengthened *a*: *-vác-as-*³, *vás-as-* 'covering', 'garment', *vāh-as-* 'offering', *-svād-as-* 'flavour' in *prá-svādas-* 'agreeable'; and from roots not in independent use: *páj-as-* 'brilliance' and *páth-as-*⁴ 'path'. With reduced vowel: *úr-as-* 'breast', *jívu-as-* 'speed' (beside *jáv-as-*), *mfdh-as-* 'contempt', *sír-as-* 'head'; also *víp-as-* 'inspiration' in the compounds *vípaś-cit-* 'inspired' and *vípo-dhāt-* 'bestowing inspiration'; *iras-* 'anger' in the denominative *iras-yá-* 'be angry'; *hur-as-* 'deceit' in *huras-cit-* 'plotting mischief'. Perhaps also the adverbs (with shift of accent) *tir-ás* 'across' and *mith-ás* 'mutually'.

a. To roots ending in *-ā* the suffix is added direct in *bhās-5* n. 'light' (*bhā-* 'shine') and *-dās-5* 'giving'⁶ (*√dā-*). *jñās-* 'kinsman' and *mās-* 'moon' are probably also formed with the suffix *-as*, but being masculines were most likely agent nouns in origin: *mā-ds-* = 'measurer' (*mā-* 'measure'). The suffix seems to be added with an intervening *y* in *-hāy-as-* 'agility'⁷ if it is derived from *hā-* 'leave'⁸, while in *dhāy-as-* n. 'enjoyment' and *-gāy-as-* 'song'⁹ the *y* probably belongs to the root¹⁰.

¹ *svāsar-* 'sister' in probably an old compound in which *-sar* represents a root; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 8, note.

² The word *hṛś-as-* 'missile' is perhaps formed from the aorist stem of *hi-* 'impel'.

³ In *vi-vācas-* (AV.) 'speaking variously' and *sā-vācas-* (AV.) 'speaking similarly'.

⁴ According to OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 54, 607 this word means 'home' and is perhaps formed with a suffix *-thas* from *pā-* 'protect'; according to SIEG, Gurupūjakaumudī 97, it means 'food', and is derived from *pā-* 'drink'.

⁵ Often to be read as dissyllables, *bhaas-* and *daas-*.

⁶ In *-das-* 'giving' and *-dhas-* 'placing' an *-as* has been formed probably by a misunderstanding of the N. sing. *-dās-* and *-dhās-*.

⁷ In *vi-hāyas-* 'vigorous' and *sārva-hāyas-* (AV.) 'having all strength'.

⁸ But it may be a derivative of *hi-* 'impel'.

⁹ From *dhe-* 'suck' and *gai-* 'sing'; cp. above 27 a.

¹⁰ In *pī-v-as-* n. 'fat' (*pī-* 'swell') the *v* may

2. **Agent nouns** in *-ās*, mostly adjectives, correspond in several instances to action nouns accented on the root. These are *ap-ās*- 'active' (*āp-as*- 'work'), *tar-ās*- (VS<sup>1</sup>) 'quick' (*tār-as*- 'quickness'), *tyaj-ās*- m. 'descendant' (*tyāj-as*- 'abandonment'), *dhru-ās*- 'stirring' (*dhr̥u-as*- 'worship'), *mah-ās*- 'great' (*māh-as*- 'greatness'). The derivative *tav-ās*- occurs both as an adjective 'strong' and without change of accent<sup>1</sup> as a m. substantive 'strength'. A few others have no corresponding action noun: *toś-ās*- 'bestowing', *dhvar-ās*- 'deceiving', *yaj-ās*- 'offering', *vedh-ās*- 'worshipper', *veś-ās*- (AV.) 'neighbour'; and from a denominative stem *mygay-ās*- (AV<sup>1</sup>) 'wild animal'<sup>2</sup>.

a. There are a few substantives accented on the suffix and seemingly never neuter, which are allied to the neuter action nouns in meaning, some being abstract, others concrete in sense. The change of accent may be due to change of gender<sup>3</sup>. Thus *rakṣ-ās*- m. occurs beside *rākṣ-as*- n. both meaning 'demon'. There also occur *jar-ās*- m. 'old age', *bhīy-ās*- m. 'fear', *tves-ās*-<sup>4</sup> 'impulse', *hav-ās*- 'invocation'; *us-ās*- f. 'dawn' may have been an agent noun originally; *doṣ-ās*- (AV<sup>1</sup>) f.(?) beside *doṣ-ā*- 'night' may be due to parallelism with *us-ās*-. The stem *upās*- 'lap' (the gender of which is uncertain, as it occurs only in the locative singular) may have been formed under the influence of *upā-stha*-<sup>5</sup> m. 'lap'.

a. A few Proper Names are formed with the suffix *-as*; thus *nodh-ās*-; *arcanānas*- is a compound of *ānas*- 'wain', possibly also *bhālānās*-. *ap-sarās*-<sup>6</sup> f. 'nymph' is perhaps a compound ('moving in the waters'). *āṅgiras*-, a name of Agni, has the appearance of being formed with this suffix, but the *-s* is perhaps secondary<sup>7</sup>.

### -asī : action and agent.

127. This suffix, which is an extension of *-as* with *-i*, forms a couple of action nouns with concrete sense, and a few agent nouns: *dhāsī*- m. 'drink' (*dhe*- 'suck') and *dhāsī*- f. 'abode'; *at-asī*- m. 'beggar', *dharm-asī*- 'strong', *sān-asī*- 'victorious'.

### -ā : action.

128. By far the greatest proportion of words in *-ā* consists of secondary feminine adjectives corresponding to masculines and neuters in *-a*.

There is, however, also a considerable number of feminine action nouns of an independent character, formed by adding *-ā* sometimes to the root, but usually to secondary conjugation stems (desiderative, causative, denominative). Thus *īś-ā*- (AV.) 'dominion', *nind-ā*- (AV.) 'blame'; *jigīṣ-ā*- 'desire to win', *bhikṣ-ā*- (AV.) 'begging', *vir̥ts-ā*-<sup>8</sup> 'desire to frustrate'; *gamay-ā*-<sup>9</sup> (AV<sup>1</sup>) 'causing to go'; *aśvay-ā*- 'desire for horses', *apasy-ā*- 'activity', *urusy-ā*- 'readiness to help', *jīvanasy-ā*- (TS. II. 3. 10<sup>2</sup>·3) 'desire of life', *sukratīy-ā*- 'skill'.

a. This suffix has the appearance of being added to a reduplicated stem in *jāngh-ā*-<sup>10</sup> 'leg' and *jihv-ā*- 'tongue'; it may also be contained in the very obscure word *sīsā*-<sup>11</sup> (AV<sup>1</sup>).

have been inserted owing to the influence of *pī-van*- adj. 'fat'.

<sup>1</sup> WHITNEY 1152, 2 c, erroneously, *tāvas*- 'strength'.

<sup>2</sup> The suffix is probably contained in *ā-han-ās*- 'wanton', but the derivation is obscure, Cp. FRÖHDE, BB. 21, 321—330.

<sup>3</sup> The dative infinitives from stems in *-as* are sometimes accented on the root, but usually on the suffix (105 a). This may indicate a difference of gender, the former being neuter, the latter masculine.

<sup>4</sup> As *tves-ās*- and *hav-ās*- occur in the I. sing. only, the gender is uncertain,

but owing to the accent it is probably masc.

<sup>5</sup> According to GRASSMANN, however, *upā-stha*- probably = *upās-stha*-; cp. 81, 2 a.

<sup>6</sup> See MACDONELL, Vedic Mythology 47, note 3; but Cp. FISCHER, VS. 3, 197.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 188.

<sup>8</sup> From *vi-ir̥tsa*- desiderative of *ṛdh*- 'prosper'.

<sup>9</sup> The causative stem used in the formation of the periphrastic perfect.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 106, top.

<sup>11</sup> See WHITNEY's note on AV. I, 11<sup>3</sup>.

**-āku : agent.**

129. This very rare suffix seems to have been limited to the formation of agent nouns. It appears in *mrday-āku* 'gracious' (formed from a causative stem), *pi'd-āku* (AV. VS.)<sup>1</sup> 'adder', *ikṣv-āku*, N. of a man.

**-āna : agent.**

130. This suffix forms a middle participle<sup>2</sup> from the present (455, 461, 467, 473, 479), the perfect (493) and (in the form of *-s-āna*) from the aorist tense stem<sup>3</sup> (527). It also appears in the formation of a few adjectives and substantives, a preceding *u* always taking Guṇa. Such adjectives are: *tīkav-āna* 'speeding' (beside *tūk-u* and *tūk-va*), *bhīgav-āna* 'beaming' (beside *bhīgu*-m.), *viśav-āna* 'possessing wealth' (*viśu*-), *ūrdhva-s-ānī* 'being erect' (formed like an aorist participle from *ūrdhvā* 'upright').

There are also the Proper Names *āpnav-āna*, *cyāv-āna*, *pīthav-āna*; also *cyāvat-āna* which looks as if formed by adding *-āna* to the active present participle stem of *cyu* 'fall'. Of doubtful derivation are the substantives *pārs-āna*-m. 'abyss' and *rujān-ā*-f. 'river' (I. 32<sup>6</sup>).

**-i : action and agent.**

131. With this suffix are formed numerous feminine action nouns, agent nouns (adjectives and masculine substantives), and a few neuters of obscure etymology<sup>5</sup>.

The root appears in various forms: sometimes with Guṇa, Vṛddhi or lengthened *a*, generally with unchanged or weak vowel, often reduplicated. Before the suffix a final radical palatal regularly appears (not the original guttural). In many of these derivatives the root is not traceable elsewhere. The accent is so fluctuating that no general rule can be stated. The meaning is often greatly specialised.

1. Examples of action nouns are: with Guṇa, *rdp-i* (AV.) 'pain', *soc-i* (AV.) 'heat'; with lengthened *a*: *āj-i*-m. f. 'race', *grāh-i* 'seizure', *dhrīj-i* 'course'; with unchanged vowel: *san-i* 'gain'; with weak vowel: *tolś-i* 'brilliance', *kṛś-i* 'tillage', *rilc-i* (AV.) 'brightness'.

2. Examples of agent nouns are: with Guṇa, *ar-i* 'devout', *arc-i*-m. 'beam'; with Vṛddhi, *kārs-i* (VS.) 'drawing'; with lengthened vowel *-jāni*-<sup>6</sup> f. 'wife', *śār-i*-f. 'arrow' (RV.), a kind of bird (VS. TS.), *dās-i* (AV.) 'poisonous matter'; also in a few words of obscure etymology, *drāp-i*-m. 'mantle', *nābh-i*-f. 'navel', *pān-i*-m. 'hand', *rās-i*-m. 'heap'; with unchanged vowel: *krīd-i* 'playing', *granth-i*-m. 'knot', *mūh-i* 'great'; with weak vowel: *śluc-i* 'bright', *gṛbh-i* (AV.) 'container', *bhīm-i* 'lively' (beside *bhrm-i*-f. 'lively motion'). From the reduplicated root, which nearly always has a weak or reduced radical vowel, are formed with ordinary reduplicative vowel: *cikī-i*-<sup>7</sup> (SV.) 'understanding', *cākr-i* 'active', *jāghr-i* 'sprinkling about' (*ghr*-), *pāpr-i* 'bestowing abundantly', *babhr-i* 'carrying', *vaur-i*-m. 'covering', *sāsr-i* 'speeding', *śiśv-i* 'pressing'; *yilyudh-i* 'warlike', *vlvic-i* 'appropriating' (*Vvyac*);

<sup>1</sup> It occurs in the RV. only as the first member of a compound in *pi'dāku-sānu* 'having a surface like that of a snake'.

<sup>2</sup> See LINDNER p. 53—55.

<sup>3</sup> *āpnāna* seems to be an irregular present participle of *āp* 'obtain' formed from the stem *āp-nā* instead of *āp-nu*.

<sup>4</sup> For this word occurring in the form of *rujānās* see p. 59, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> See GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1718f.; LINDNER p. 55—58.

<sup>6</sup> At the end of compounds beside the independent *jāni*.

<sup>7</sup> Various reading for the *cikī-i* of the RV.

*jágm-i-* 'hastening' (*gam-* 'go'), *jághn-i-* 'striking' (*√han-*), *sásn-i-* 'winning'; *jágur-i-* 'conducting' (*√gř-*), *tátur-i-* 'victorious' (*√tř-*), *pápur-i-* and *pípur-i-* (SV.) 'bestowing abundantly' (*√př-*) beside *pápr-i-*; with lengthened or strong reduplicative vowel: *tátrp-i-* 'gladdening', *dádhr̥s-i-* 'bold', *vávah-i-* 'driving swiftly', *sāsah-i-* 'victorious'; *títuj-i-* 'speeding', *tútuj-i-* m. 'stimulator', *yáyuv-i-* 'driving away', *yáyudh-i-* 'warlike'; *jarbhár-i-* 'nourishing' (*√bhr-*)<sup>1</sup>. The weak reduplicated present stem appears in *dad-i-* 'giving' and *dádhi-* 'bestowing'; from similar stems (appearing in the perfect) are formed *pap-i-* 'drinking' (*√pā-*) and *yay-i-* 'speeding' (*√yā-*).

a. There are only about half a dozen neuters formed with the suffix *-i*, nearly all being obscure in origin. They are *áks-i-* 'eye', *ásti-i-* (AV. VS.) 'bone', *dádhi-i-* 'sour milk', *sám-i-* 'toil' (*sam-* 'work'); and with Vṛddhi *hárd-i-* 'heart'.

b. The root is sometimes compounded with verbal prefixes in these derivatives, the suffix being then usually accented; thus *ā-jān-i-* f. 'birth', *vi-vavr-i-* m. 'opening', *saṃ-tan-i-* f. 'harmony', 'music', *ā-yaj-i-* 'bringing near by offerings', *ā-mūr-i-* m. 'destroyer', *ni-jaghn-i-* 'striking down', *parā-dad-i-* 'delivering over', *vi-śāsah-i-* 'victorious', *vy-ānaś-i-*<sup>2</sup> 'pervading'.

c. From *dhā-* 'put' is derived the stem *-dhi-* which is used in forming many m. compounds; e. g. *antar-dhi-* (AV.) 'concealment', *ud-dhi-* (AV.), part of a car, *ni-dhi-* 'treasure', *pari-dhi-* 'fence'. From *sthā-* 'stand' is similarly formed *-sthi-* in *prati-sthi-* f. 'resistance'. There is here some doubt as to whether we have a reduced form of the root (as in *dhi-ta-*) or displacement of the radical vowel by the very frequent suffix *-i*. The latter alternative is perhaps the more probable owing to the almost invariable accentuation of the *i* and the occurrence of a stem like *prati-sthi-* 'resistance' beside *prati-śthā-* 'standpoint'.

#### *-in* : agent.

132. The very frequent secondary suffix *-in* seems sometimes to have the value of a primary suffix, exclusively, however, at the end of compounds; thus *ād-in-* 'eating', *es-in-* (AV.) 'seeking', *toḍ-in-* 'piercing', *ā-nām-in-* 'unbending', *vyādh-in-* (AV.) 'piercing'; from a present stem *aś-nuv-in-* (VS.) 'reaching'; from an aorist stem *sakṣ-in-*<sup>3</sup> overpowering (*√sak-*); from a reduplicated stem *yay-in-* 'going'<sup>4</sup>.

#### *-iṣṭha* : agent.

133. With this suffix attached to the root is formed the superlative with an adjectival sense. The root is regularly accented<sup>5</sup>, *i* and *ū* taking Guṇa, while *a* remains unchanged, though in two or three instances it is strengthened with a nasal. Roots in *-ā* combine that vowel with the initial *-i* of the suffix to *e*, which, however, is usually to be read as two syllables. About fifty superlatives formed with this suffix occur in the Saṃhitās. Examples are: *náy-iṣṭha-* 'leading in the best manner' (*nā-* 'lead'), *jáv-iṣṭha-* 'quickest' (*jā-* 'speed'), *véd-iṣṭha-* 'procuring most' (*vid-* 'find'), *śoc-iṣṭha-* 'most brilliant' (*śuc-* 'shine'); *yāj-iṣṭha-* 'sacrificing best'; *bāṃh-iṣṭha-* 'most abundant' (*bāṃh-*

<sup>1</sup> The words *bāmbhār-i-* (VS.) m., a soma-guarding genius, *karkar-i-* f. 'lute', *duṇḍubh-i-* m. 'drum' may be onomatopoeic in origin.

<sup>2</sup> From the perfect stem *ān-aś-* of *aś-* 'attain'.

<sup>3</sup> In *pra-sakṣ-in-* 'victorious'.

<sup>4</sup> In *ni-yay-in-* 'passing over'. Cp. LINDNER p. 59; WHITNEY 1183 a.

<sup>5</sup> Except two or three times *jyēsthā-* and *kan-iṣṭhā-* (see above p. 83, 14); and when the superlative is compounded with a prefix, which then has the accent.

'make firm'), *māmh-iṣṭha*- 'most liberal' (*mah*- 'be great'); *jyēṣṭha*- 'greatest' and *jyēṣṭhā*- 'eldest' (*jyā*- 'overpower'), *dhēṣṭha*- 'bestowing the most' (*ḍhā*-), *yēṣṭha*- 'going fastest' (*ṽyā*-).

a. In many instances these superlatives attach themselves in meaning to derivative adjectives, being formed from the root which the latter contain; thus *oṣ-iṣṭha*-<sup>1</sup> (TS. I. 6. 12<sup>3</sup>) beside *oṣa-m* 'quickly', *bārḥ-iṣṭha*- 'greatest' beside *brḥ-ant*- 'great', *vār-iṣṭha*- 'choicest' (*vr*- 'choose') beside *vār-a*- 'choice', *sādh-iṣṭha*- 'straightest' beside *sādh-lī*- 'straight'. In a few cases the suffix is added to the derivative form of the root which appears in the adjective; thus *āś-iṣṭha*- (AV<sup>1</sup>.) 'swiftest' beside *āś-lī*- (from *aś*- 'reach'); and in *nāv-iṣṭha*- 'newest' the suffix is attached to the radical element in *nāv-a*-<sup>2</sup> 'new' (and not directly to the root from which that word may be derived).

b. In some cases the root is compounded with a verbal prefix or other indeclinable; thus *ā-gam-iṣṭha*- 'coming best', *ā-śram-iṣṭha*- 'never tiring', *śām-bhav-iṣṭha*-<sup>3</sup> 'most beneficial'.

a. There are some irregularities in the formation of this superlative. Thus *bhū*- retains its vowel unchanged, adding the suffix with an intervening *-y*: *bhū-y-iṣṭha*-<sup>4</sup> 'greatest'; the roots *prī*- and *śrī*- are treated as if they ended in *-ā*: *prēṣṭha*- 'dearest', *śrēṣṭha*- 'most glorious'; *pār-ṣ-iṣṭha*- 'taking across best' is made from an aorist stem of *pr*- 'cross'. The abnormal accentuation of *jyēṣṭhā*- 'eldest' is doubtless intended to differentiate its meaning from *jyēṣṭha*- 'greatest'. The use of *kan-iṣṭhā*- 'youngest' is parallel to that of the former<sup>5</sup>.

#### *-is* : action.

134. This suffix forms a dozen neuter action nouns, mostly used in a concrete sense. Though the root takes Guṇa, the suffix is accented except in three instances. The words thus formed are: *arc-is*- 'flame', *ām-is*-<sup>6</sup> 'raw flesh', *krav-is*- 'raw flesh', *chad-is*- 'cover', *chard-is*- 'protection', *jyōt-is*- 'light', *barḥ-is*- 'straw', *roc-is*- 'light', *vart-is*- 'track', *vyāth-is*- 'course'(?), *śoc-is*- 'flame', *sarp-is*- 'melted butter', *hav-is*- 'oblation'.

a. Besides these *av-is*- appears for *av-as*- 'aid' and *mah-is*- for *māh-as*- 'greatness' in a few derivatives: *aviṣ-yānt*- 'helping readily', *aviṣ-yā*- 'desire', *aviṣ-yī*- 'desirous'; *māhiṣ-vant*- 'great'; and with inorganic *-s* *tīvi-s*- 'might', *śuci-s*- 'flame', *su-rabhi-s*- 'fragrant' for *tūvi*-, *śuci*-, *surabhi*- in a few derivatives: *tīviṣ-mant*- 'mighty', *śuciṣ-mant*- (only voc.) 'brilliant', *surabhiṣ-tama*- 'very fragrant'.

#### *-ī* : action and agent.

135. This suffix, besides its secondary use in the formation of feminines, chiefly adjectives, from m. and n. stems in *-a*, *-i*, *-u*, *-ṛ*, as well as various consonant stems (201), seems to be primary in forming a few independent feminine action and agent nouns. Such are *deh-ī*- 'rampart', *nad-ī*- 'stream', *nānd-ī*- 'joy', *pēs-ī*- (RV<sup>1</sup>.) 'swaddling clothes'(?), *veś-ī*- 'needle', *śac-ī*- 'power', *sām-ī*- and *śim-ī*- 'work'; seemingly from an aorist stem (*√vāh*-) *vākṣ-ī*- (RV<sup>1</sup>.) 'flame'. There are also about a dozen masculines: *ah-ī*- 'serpent', *upāv-ī*- (VS.) 'encouraging', *dakṣ-ī*- (RV<sup>1</sup>.)<sup>7</sup> 'flaming', *prāv-ī*- 'attentive', *duṣ-prāv-ī*-

<sup>1</sup> In the compound *oṣiṣṭha-dāvan*- 'giving immediately'.

<sup>2</sup> Probably from a demonstrative root *mī*- which appears in *nū* 'now', *nū-tana*- 'present'.

<sup>3</sup> This superlative is formed under the influence of the positive *śam-bhū*- as the independent superlative of *bhū*- is *bhū-y-iṣṭha*-.

<sup>4</sup> The regular form *bhav-iṣṭha*- occurs in combination with *śam*-.

<sup>5</sup> *kān-iṣṭha*- 'smallest' appears in books V and VI of the TS.

<sup>6</sup> This word, which occurs in the L. sing. form *āmiṣ-i* only, is given as m. in BR., pw., and GRASSMANN, but why it should not be like all the rest a neuter, is not clear.

<sup>7</sup> Only voc. *dakṣi*, Pada *dhakṣi*, L. 1418. Cp. p. 119, note 5.

'unfriendly', *su-prāu-ī* 'very attentive', *rath-ī* 'charioteer', *ā-rath-ī* 'not a charioteer'; and the Proper Names *nām-ī* and *pṛth-ī*<sup>1</sup>.

**-īka : action and agent.**

136. This suffix forms a few neuter substantives and some adjectives: thus *an-īka* n. 'face', *dīś-īka* n. 'aspect', *mṛd-īka* n. 'grace', *ā-sar-īka* (AV.) n. 'rheumatic pains'; *ṛj-īka*<sup>2</sup> 'beaming', *dībh-īka* m., N. of a demon, *ṛdh-īka* m. 'increaser', *vī-sar-īka* (AV.) m., a kind of disease; from a reduplicated stem: *par-phar-īka* m. 'filler'.

**-īyāms : agent.**

137. This suffix is used in forming comparatives, being added to the root in the same way as the superlative suffix *-iṣṭha* (133). At least 40 of these derivatives<sup>3</sup> occur in the Samhitās. Examples are: *jāu-īyāms* 'quicker', *mānīh-īyāms* 'more liberal', *yāj-īyāms* 'sacrificing better', *tīj-īyāms* 'sharper', *vid-īyāms* 'procuring more', *yōdh-īyāms* 'fighting better', *prīyāms*<sup>4</sup> 'dearer' (*Vprī-*), *śrīyāms*<sup>5</sup> (*Vśrī-*) 'more splendid', *-stheyāms* 'lasting' (*Vsthā-*). Connected in sense with the corresponding positive are *ānu-īyāms* (AV.) 'smaller', beside *ānu-* 'minute', *śās-īyāms* 'more frequent', beside *śās-vant-* 'constant'; and from a derivative form of the root *tīkṣṇ-īyāms* (AV.)<sup>5</sup> 'sharper', beside *tīkṣmā-* 'sharp' (*tij-* 'be sharp').

a. Beside the usual form in *-īyāms* there appear some half dozen comparatives made with a shorter form of the suffix **-yāms**: *tāv-yāms* beside *tāv-īyāms* 'stronger', *nāv-yāms* beside *nāv-īyāms* 'new', *pān-yāms* beside *pān-īyāms* 'more wonderful', *bhū-yāms*<sup>6</sup> '(becoming) more', 'greater', beside *bhār-īyāms* 'more plentiful', *rābh-yāms* beside *rābh-īyāms* (VS.) 'more violent', *sāh-yāms* beside *sāh-īyāms* 'stronger'; *jyā-yāms* 'greater', 'older', and *sān-yāms* 'older' (*sāna-* 'old') appear without an alternative form beside them.

b. With verbal prefixes or particles: *vī-kled-īyāms* (AV.) 'moistening more', *pāri-ṣvaj-īyāms* (AV.) 'clasping more firmly', *prāti-cyau-īyāms* 'pressing closer against'; *ā-stheyāms* 'not enduring'.

**-u : agent.**

138. This suffix forms a considerable number of agent nouns, both adjectives and substantives. The latter are chiefly masculines, but there are also several feminines and neuters. The suffix is usually accented. The root is generally weak, but sometimes shows Vṛddhi, least often Guṇa; it also occasionally appears in a reduplicated form. Medial *a* usually remains unchanged, but is sometimes lengthened; occasionally it is nasalized or appears as *e*. Final *-ā* adds an intervening *y*, but is occasionally dropped. Gutturals only (not palatals) appear before this suffix.

i. Examples of adjectives are: *ur-ū-* 'wide', *ṛj-ū-* 'straight', *pṛth-ū-* 'broad', *mṛd-ū-* (VS.) 'soft', *vidh-ū-* 'solitary'; *jāy-ū-* 'conquering' (*Vjī-*), *dār-ū-* 'splitting' (*Vār-*); *śay-ū-* 'lying' (*Vśī-*), *cikit-ū-* 'shining' (*Vcit-*), *jigv-ū-* 'victorious', *siṣṇ-u-* 'ready to give' (*Vsan-*)<sup>7</sup>; *tak-ū-* 'swift', *tan-ū-* 'thin',

<sup>1</sup> See below 375 B; LINDNER p. 80; WHITNEY 355 b.

<sup>2</sup> As final member of a few compounds, as *bhā-ṛjīka-* 'light-shedding'.

<sup>3</sup> See LINDNER p. 155; WHITNEY 466—470.

<sup>4</sup> The roots *prī-* and *śrī-* being treated as ending in *-ā*: *prā-īyāms* and *śrā-īyāms* as in the superlative.

<sup>5</sup> In the TS. *pāp-īyāms* is formed directly

from the adjective stem *pāpā-*, the radical element of which is uncertain.

<sup>6</sup> With the radical vowel unchanged as in the superlative.

<sup>7</sup> Some other words have the appearance of being reduplicated: *babhr-ū-* 'brown', *a-rār-u-* 'hostile' (*rā-* 'give'); *malimlu-* (VS.) seems to be a mutilated form of *malimluā-* (AV.) 'robber'.



*táp-u-* 'hot', *ās-ī-* 'swift' (*as-* 'reach'); *aṇh-ī-* 'narrow'; *cér-u-* 'active' (*car-* 'move'); *dhā-y-ī-*<sup>1</sup> 'thirsty', *pā-y-ī-* 'protecting'; *y-ī-* 'going' (*√yā-*)<sup>2</sup>; *rēku-* 'empty' (*√ric-*).

2. Examples of substantives are: m. *grh-ī-* 'beggar', *rip-ī-* 'cheat'; *pīpr-u-*, N. of a demon; *ds-u-* 'life', *mān-u-* 'man', *pād-ī-* 'foot', *bāh-ī-* 'arm', *aṇṣ-ī-* 'filament', *vā-y-ī-* 'wind'; f. *īṣ-u-* (also m.) 'arrow', *sindh-u-* (also m.) 'river', *dhān-u-* 'sandbank', *pārs-u-* 'rib', *hān-u-* 'jaw'; n. *āy-u* 'life', *jān-u-* 'knee', *tāl-u-* (VS.) 'palate', *trāp-u-* (AV. VS.) 'tin', *dār-u-* (also m.) 'wood', *sān-u* (also m.) 'summit'; with syncope, *ks-ī-* 'food' (*ghas-* 'eat'); with reduplication, *tī-ta-ī-* 'sieve'.

a. In a few of these derivatives the root appears with a prefix: *upā-y-ī-* (TS. 1. 1. 1<sup>1</sup>) 'approaching', *ni-cér-ī-* 'gliding', *pra-may-ī-* (AV.) 'liable to destruction', *pari-tatn-ī-* (AV.) 'surrounding', *sām-vas-u-* 'dwelling together'; *abhīṣ-ī-*<sup>3</sup> m. 'rein', *vi-klind-u-* (AV.) m. a kind of disease.

139. There is besides a large class of agent nouns formed with *-u* not directly from the root but from tense or secondary conjugation stems.

1. From present stems are formed: *tany-ī-* 'thundering' (*tanya-ti* 'roars'), *bhind-ī-* m. 'destroyer' (*bhind-ānti* 'they split'), *vind-ī-*<sup>4</sup> 'finding' (*vindā-ti* 'finds'); from an aorist stem *dhaks-u-*<sup>5</sup> and *dhāks-u-* 'burning'.

2. From desiderative stems are formed *i-yakṣ-ī-* 'desirous of sacrificing' (*√yaj-*), *cikits-ī-* (AV.) 'cunning' (*√cit-*), *jigṛṣ-ī-* 'desirous of winning' (*√ji-*), *jighats-ī-* (AV.) 'greedy' (*ghas-* 'eat'), *itiks-ī-* (AV.) 'patient', *dits-ī-* 'ready to give' (*√dā-*), *didṛks-u-*<sup>6</sup> (VII. 863) 'eager to see' (*√dṛs-*), *didhṣ-ī-* 'wishing to obtain' (*√dhā-*), *dips-ī-* 'wishing to harm' (*√dabh-*), *ninitṣ-ī-* 'wishing to revile', *bībhats-ī-* 'feeling disgust' (*√bādḥ-*), *mimiks-ī-* 'mingling' (*√miṣ-*), *mumuks-ī-* 'desiring release' (*√muc-*), *ririks-ī-* 'wishing to damage' (*√rīs-*), *vivakṣ-ī-* (AV.) 'calling aloud' (*√vac-*), *siṣās-ī-* (AV.) 'eager to win' (*√sā-*).

3. From causative stems are formed: *dhāray-ī-* 'streaming', *bhājay-ī-* 'liberal', *bhāvay-ī-* 'cherishing', *manḥay-ī-* 'liberal', *manday-ī-* 'joyous', *śramay-ī-* 'exhausting oneself'; from a causative denominative *mṛgay-ī-* (AV.VS.) m. 'hunter'.

4. By far the commonest are the derivatives from regular denominatives, of which nearly 80 occur in the RV., and at least half a dozen additional cases in the AV. About 35 of these words are formed from denominative stems in actual use<sup>7</sup>; thus *aghāy-ī-* 'malignant', *arāṭy-ī-* (AV.) 'hostile', *vasūy-ī-* 'desiring wealth', *carany-ī-* 'mobile', *manasy-ī-* 'desirous'. A few are formed from pronouns, as *ahany-ī-* 'selfish', *asmay-ī-* 'favouring us', *kinpy-ī-* 'desiring what?', *tvāy-ī-* 'loving thee', *yuvay-ī-* and *yuvāy-ī-* 'desiring you two', *svay-ī-* 'left to oneself'. In the absence of an accompanying denominative, there is the appearance of a secondary suffix *-yu* (with the sense of 'desiring' or some more general adjectival meaning) attached directly to nouns. Thus there are derivatives in the RV. in which the *-as* of noun stems is changed to *-o*, as if the suffix were actually *-yu*: *aṇho-yū-* 'threatening', *duvo-yū-* 'honouring' beside *duvas-yū-*, and *ā-skṛdho-yu-* 'not niggardly'.

#### *-uka* : agent.

140. This suffix probably consists of the primary *-u* extended with the secondary *-ka*. It is very rare in the Sāṃhitās. There is no certain example

<sup>1</sup> Here the *y* really belongs to the root *dhe-* 'suck'.

<sup>2</sup> Also in the reduplicated form *yāy-u-* (VS.) 'swift'; the final *-ā* seems also to be dropped in *ā-kh-ī-* 'mole' (*kḥā-* 'dig') and in *su-ṣh-ī-* 'standing well' (*sthā-* 'stand').

<sup>3</sup> Probably from *abhī+ṣ-* 'rule'.

<sup>4</sup> In *go-vind-ī-* 'searching for milk'.

<sup>5</sup> The Pada text has *dhāks-u-*. Cp. p. 117, note 7.

<sup>6</sup> With irregular accent.

<sup>7</sup> See the list in LINDNER p. 63.

in the RV., but *sān-uká-* (RV<sup>1</sup>.) 'desirous of prey' (*√san-*) and the Proper Name *per-uká-* (RV<sup>1</sup>.) may be instances. In the AV. occur *ghāt-uka-* 'killing', *vi-kas-uka-* 'bursting', *sām-kas-uka-* 'crumbling up', *ś-pra-māy-uka-* 'not dying suddenly'. In the TS. occurs *vas-uká-*, but the meaning and derivation are doubtful.

**-us : action and agent.**

141. This suffix forms **neuter action nouns** which have mostly a concrete sense, and **masculine agent nouns**, altogether less than 20 in number. All the substantives except one are accented on the root, which generally takes Guṇa, but in one instance Vṛddhi. Those adjectives which also appear as substantives have the same accentuation; but those stems which are used solely as adjectives accent the suffix.

1. The neuter substantives are: *dr-us-* (AV.) 'wound', *āy-us-* 'life', *cákṣ-us-* 'light', *tāp-us-* 'heat', *tār-us-* 'battle', *dhan-us-* 'bow', *pār-us-* 'knot', *yāj-us-* 'worship', *vāp-us-* 'marvel', *śās-us-* 'command'; with accent on the suffix: *jan-ús-* 'birth' (also m.).

2. The masculine substantives are: *nāh-us-* 'neighbour', *mān-us-* 'man'; adjectives identical in form with neuter substantives are: *cákṣ-us-* 'seeing', *tāp-us-* 'glowing', *vāp-us-* 'wondrous'; adjectives without corresponding substantives are: *jay-ús-* 'victorious', *van-ús-* 'eager', *vid-ús-*<sup>1</sup> 'heedful'; also *daṣṣ-ús-* 'flaming' from the aorist stem.

**-ū : feminine substantives.**

142. This rare suffix chiefly forms feminines corresponding to masculines and neuters in -u<sup>2</sup>. Independent feminine substantives are: *cam-ū-* 'dish', *tan-ū-* 'body', *vadh-ū-* 'bride'; perhaps *pan-ū-*<sup>3</sup> 'admiration'. There are also the compounds *pūmś-cal-ū-* (VS.) 'courtesan', *pra-jan-ū-* (AV.) 'organ of generation'.

**-ūka : intensive adjectives.**

143. This suffix is merely the lengthened form of -uka used in forming a few derivatives from the reduplicated intensive stem. It appears in *jāgar-ūka-* 'wakeful', *dandaś-ūka-* (VS.) 'mordacious', *salal-ūka-* (RV<sup>1</sup>.) 'wandering aimlessly'.

**-ka : agent.**

144. This is a very common secondary suffix, but very rarely appears in a primary character. It is thus used in *āt-ka-* m. 'garment', *su-mé-ka-* 'firmly fixed' (*mi-* 'fix'), *śūś-ka-* 'dry', *ślō-ka-* m. 'call' (*śru-* 'hear'), *sto-ká-* m. 'drop'. In *vṛśc-i-ka-* m. 'scorpion' the suffix is added with connecting -i-. The feminine form of the suffix appears in *ślō-kā-* 'flake', *rā-kā-*, N. of a goddess.

**-ta : agent.**

145. This suffix is employed almost exclusively to form past participles<sup>4</sup>, chiefly with passive, sometimes with intransitive meaning. Its more general and original sense is, however, preserved in some words used as adjectives or as substantives with concrete meaning; thus *trṣ-tá-* 'rough', *dydhá-* 'firm', *śr-tá-* 'cold', *vāvā-ta-*<sup>5</sup> 'dear'; m. *dū-tá-* 'messenger', *sū-tá-* (AV. VS.) 'charioteer',

<sup>1</sup> With weak root; the only instance of medial vowel other than ā in the radical syllable.

<sup>2</sup> See below, derivative -ū stems, 384.

<sup>3</sup> The stem may be *pan-ū-*, as the only

form occurring is the I. sing. *panvā*.

<sup>4</sup> See below, Past passive participles, 572, and the lists in LINDNER p. 70f.

<sup>5</sup> From a reduplicated form of *vā-* 'win', and with unusual accent.

*kistā*<sup>1</sup> 'singer', *bastā*<sup>1</sup> 'he-goat'; n. *r-tā* 'right', *ghr-tā* 'ghee', *jā-tā* 'kind', *dyū-tā* (AV.) 'gambling', *ṛt-tā* (AV.) 'dance', *pūr-tā* 'reward', *vra-tā*<sup>2</sup> 'ordinance'; with accented and strong radical syllable: *ḍ-ta* 'variegated'; m. *gār-ta* 'car-seat', *mār-ta* 'mortal', *vā-ta* 'wind', *hās-ta* 'hand'; n. *ās-ta* 'home', *nāk-ta* 'night'.

a. In many past participles the suffix is added with connecting *-i-*, as *raḥ-i-tā* 'protected'. Some of these are used as n. substantives; thus *jīv-i-tā* 'life', *car-i-tā* 'behaviour'. Several words thus formed appear as adjectives only; thus *tig-i-tā*<sup>3</sup> 'sharp', *pal-i-tā* 'grey'; also some other names of colours with strong and accented radical syllable: *ās-i-ta* 'black', *rōh-i-ta* 'red', *lōh-i-ta* (AV.) 'red', *hār-i-ta* 'yellow'; *śye-tā* 'white' is perhaps anomalously formed with *-ita-* from *śyā*<sup>4</sup> 'freeze'<sup>5</sup>.

#### **-tar : agent.**

146. The agent nouns formed with this very frequent suffix<sup>6</sup> are often used participially, governing an accusative. The root is generally accented when they have this verbal force, but the suffix, when they are purely nominal (86 A 22). The root regularly has Guṇa, *a* and *ā* remaining unchanged; thus *nē-tar* 'leader' (√*nī*), *hō-tar* 'priest' (√*hu*), *kar-tār* 'doer' (√*kr*), *bhet-tār* 'breaker' (√*bhid*), *yok-tār* 'yoker' (√*yuj*); *yas-tār* 'sacrificer' (√*yaj*), *dā-tār* 'giver'<sup>7</sup>. With weak root: *us-tār* m. 'ploughing bull'<sup>8</sup>.

a. Less commonly the suffix is added to the root with connecting *-i-*: regularly when the root ends in more than one consonant<sup>9</sup>, as *vand-i-tār* 'praiser', but also often when it ends in a single consonant and sometimes when it ends in a vowel, as *cod-i-tār* 'instigator', *sav-i-tār* 'stimulator' (√*sū*).

b. The suffix is combined with *-ī-* instead of *-i-* in *grābh-ī-tar* (AV.) 'seizer', *prati-grah-ī-tār* (AV.) 'receiver', *saṃ-grah-ī-tār* (VS.) 'charioteer', *prat-tar-ī-tār* 'prolonger', *ā-mar-ī-tār* 'destroyer'; with *-u-* in *tār-u-tar* 'winning' and *tar-u-tār* 'conqueror', *dhān-u-tar* 'running swiftly', *sān-u-tar* 'winning'; with *-ū-* in *var-ū-tār* 'protector'; with *-o-* in *man-ō-tar*<sup>10</sup> and *man-o-tār* 'inventor'.

c. These derivatives are very frequently compounded with prepositions<sup>11</sup>; e. g. *pura-e-tār* 'leader', *apa-bhar-tār* 'taking away', *prāv-i-tār* 'protector' (*av-* 'favour'), *pra-sav-ī-tār* 'vivifier'.

d. They are very rarely formed from secondary conjugation or from tense stems, as *coday-i-tār* 'stimulator'<sup>12</sup>, *bodhay-i-tār* 'awakener', *nē-s-tār*<sup>13</sup>, a kind of priest. From the reduplicated root is formed *vavā-tar* 'adherent'.

e. Several names of relationship appear to be formed with this suffix. Being all very old words, the radical syllable is obscure in meaning or irregular in form. They are *jā-mā-tar* 'son-in-law', *duh-i-tār* 'daughter', *nāp-tar* 'grandson', *pī-tār* 'father', *bhrā-tar* 'brother', *mā-tār* 'mother'.

<sup>1</sup> These two words are of doubtful origin.

<sup>2</sup> If derived from *vṛ-* 'choose' with anomalous form of radical syllable; but according to WHITNEY (1176 b) it is to be explained as *vrat-ā-* formed from *vṛt-* 'turn' like *vraj-ā-* from *vṛj-*.

<sup>3</sup> With anomalous guttural before *-i-*.

<sup>4</sup> Originally perhaps 'rimy', cp. *ṣī-tā* 'cold'.

<sup>5</sup> The f. of these adjectives of colour is formed from other stems: *enī*, *āsiknī*, *pālīkñī*, *rōhīkñī*, *lōhīkñī* (AV.), *śyēkñī*, *hārīkñī*.

<sup>6</sup> See the lists in LINDNER p. 72—75.

<sup>7</sup> *-tur* appear, instead of *-tar* in *yan-tūr* beside *yan-tār* 'guide' and in *śhā-tūr* beside *śhā-tār* 'stationary'.

<sup>8</sup> The f. of these words is formed with *-ī* from the weak stem, i. e. in *ī-tī*.

<sup>9</sup> Except *damṣ-tār* (AV.) 'biter'.

<sup>10</sup> Connected with the present stem *manu-te* etc. of *man-* 'think'.

<sup>11</sup> See LINDNER p. 73 f.

<sup>12</sup> In the f. *coday-i-tr-ī*.

<sup>13</sup> From the aorist stem of *nī-* 'lead'.

**-tas : action.**

147. This suffix is identical in meaning with *-as*, being used to form neuter action nouns which have acquired a concrete meaning. It is very rare, occurring only in *re'-tas* 'semen' (*ri* 'flow') and *sru'-tas* 'stream', 'current' (*sru* 'flow').

**-ti : action and agent.**

148. This suffix is used to form a large number of feminine action nouns; it also appears in a few agent nouns employed either as adjectives or masculine substantives<sup>1</sup>. The root generally has the same weak form as appears before the *-ta* of the past passive participle<sup>2</sup>; it is, however, more often accented than the suffix. In a few words the suffix is added with the connecting vowels *-a-*, *-i-* or *-r-*.

1. **Action nouns.** With accent on the suffix are formed e. g. *iṣ-ti-* 'desire' (*iṣ* 'seek'), *ā-ti-* 'aid' (*√av-*), *kīr-ti-* 'praise' (*kṛ* 'commemorate'), *dhan-ti-* 'stream' (*dhān-* 'flow'), *pī-ti-* 'draught' (*pā* 'drink'), *pūr-ti-* 'reward' (*pr* 'fill'), *bhakti-* 'distribution' (*bhāj* 'divide'), *mat-ti-* 'thought' (*man* 'think'), *rā-ti-* 'gift' (*rā* 'give'), *rī-ti-* 'flow' (*ri* 'flow'), *viṣ-ti-* 'work' (*viṣ* 'be active'), *stū-ti-* 'praise'; from the reduplicated root: *carkṛ-ti-* 'praise' (*kṛ* 'commemorate'); with connecting *-a-*<sup>3</sup>: *amh-a-ti-* 'distress', *drś-a-ti-* 'appearance', *mith-a-ti-* 'conflict', *vas-a-ti-* 'abode'. With accent on the root are formed e. g. *iṣ-ti-* 'offering' (*√yaj-*), *gā-ti-* 'motion' (*√gam-*), *dā-ti-* 'liberality' (*dā* 'give'), *vyā-dhi-* 'increase' (*√vydh-*), *sām-ti-* (AV. VS.) 'repose' (*√śam-*); from the reduplicated root *dādhī-ti-* 'devotion' (*dhī* 'think')<sup>4</sup>; with connecting *-a-*: *ām-a-ti-*<sup>5</sup> 'indigence' (*am* 'be afflicted').

a. The derivative *dī-ti-* 'giving' when used as the final member of a compound is reduced to *-tti-*: *bhāga-tti-*, *maghā-tti-*, *vāsu-tti-*; above 26 a 2.

2. **Agent nouns.** These are rare, amounting to hardly 20 in number. **Accented on the suffix:** *jñā-ti-* m. 'relative', *pat-ti-* m. (AV. VS.) 'pedestrian', *rā-ti-* 'willing to give'; with connecting *-a-*: *ar-a-ti-* m. 'servant', *khal-a-ti-* (VS.) 'bald', and with accent on the connecting vowel *vyk-d-ti-* m. 'murderer'. **Accented on the root:** m. *dhū-ti-* 'shaker', *pā-ti-* 'master', *mīṣ-ti-* 'fist', *sāp-ti-* 'steed'; adjectives: *dhīṣ-ti-* (VS.) 'bold', *pū-ti-* (AV.) 'putrid', *vāṣ-ti-* 'eager'; and from the reduplicated root *jīgar-ti-* m. 'swallower'; with connecting vowels: *ām-a-ti-* 'poor', *rām-a-ti-* (AV. TS.) 'liking to stay', *īj-ī-ti-* 'glowing', *turv-i-ti-*, N. of a man (*turv* = *tur*, *tr* 'overcome'), *dābh-t-ti-*<sup>6</sup>, N. of a man<sup>7</sup>, *snāh-a-ti-* 'carnage' and *snāh-i-ti-* (SV.).

a. These derivatives are often compounded with prepositions<sup>8</sup>, which are almost always accented; thus *anu-ma-ti-* 'assent', *abhi-ti-* 'attack' (*abhi-ti-*), *ā-hu-ti-* 'offering', *nir-r-ti-* 'dissolution', *vy-āp-ti-* (AV.) 'attainment', *sām-ga-ti-* 'coming together', *abhi-mā-ti-* 'insidious' (*man* 'think')<sup>9</sup>; with suffix accented, only *ā-sak-ti-* 'pursuit', *ā-su-ti-* 'brew' (*√su-*) and 'enlivening' (*√sū-*); also *abhi-s-ti-* m. 'helper' beside *abhi-s-ti-* f. 'help'.

<sup>1</sup> See the list in GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1719—21; LINDNER p. 76—79.

<sup>2</sup> The roots *tan-* 'stretch', *ram-* 'rest', *han-* 'strike' may retain the nasal: *tān-ti-* f. 'cord', *sān-ti-* 'enjoyment' (AV. VS. TS.) beside *rān-ti-* (VS.), *ā-han-ti-* (VS.) beside *ā-ha-ti-* 'uninjured condition'.

<sup>3</sup> The *-a-* here often, if not always, belongs to a verbal stem.

<sup>4</sup> Roots which have the connecting *-i-* in the past participle, do not take it here: *gūp-ti-* (AV.) 'protection' beside *gūp-i-tā*, *prā-dṛp-ti-* 'arrogance' beside *ā-dṛp-i-tā* 'not in-

fatuated' (also *ā-dṛp-tā*). These are, however, the only two examples.

<sup>5</sup> But with the connecting *-a-* accented: *am-ā-ti-* 'lustre', *ram-ā-ti-* (AV.) 'haunt', *vrat-ā-ti-* 'creeper'.

<sup>6</sup> This word may be a compound (\**dabhi-iti-*).

<sup>7</sup> *jayāti*, N. of a man, is according to BR. and GRASSMANN derived from *yat* 'stretch'.

<sup>8</sup> See LINDNER p. 77 f.

<sup>9</sup> Compounded with a noun: *kāma-kā-ti-* 'requiring the fulfilment of a wish'.

b. The suffix is added to a secondary stem in *jān-aya-ti*- (VS.) f. 'generation'; it seems to have a secondary character in *yūva-ti*- f. 'maiden', adj. 'young'. It is secondary in *pakṣa-ti*- (VS.) 'root of the wing'; in the numerals *vimśa-ti*- '20', *ṣaṣ-ti*- '60', and others; in *pañc-ti*- f. 'set of five'; in the pronominal words *kā-ti* 'how many?', *tā-ti* (AV.) 'so many', *yā-ti* 'as many as'; and in *addhā-ti*- m. 'sage', formed from the adverb *ad-dhā* 'truly'.

### **-tu : action and agent.**

149. The great majority of the words derived with this suffix are infinitives appearing in the form of the dative, ablative-genitive, and accusative cases. Besides these, there are a few action nouns used independently, and still fewer agent nouns. The root is usually accented<sup>1</sup> and takes Guna; but the suffix is accented in some half dozen instances, in two or three of which the radical syllable is weakened. The gender is usually masculine, but a few feminines and neuters also occur.

1. **Accented on the root:** m. *ś-tu*- 'weft' (*vā*- 'weave'), *krā-tu*- 'capacity' (*kr*- 'make'), *tān-tu*- 'thread', *-dhā-tu*-<sup>2</sup> 'element', *sāk-tu*- 'groats' (*√sañj*-), *śt-tu*- 'bond' (*śi*- 'bind'), *śū-tu*- 'libation' (*su*- 'press'), *dhā-tu*- adj. 'drinkable' (*dhe*- 'suck'); m. *mān-tu*- 'adviser'; f. *vās-tu*- 'morning' (*vas*- 'shine'), *sū-tu*-<sup>3</sup> (AV.) 'birth'; n. *dā-tu*- 'division' (*dā*- 'divide'), *vās-tu*-<sup>4</sup> 'abode' (*vas*- 'dwell').

2. **Accented on the suffix:** m. *ak-tī*- 'ray' (*añj*- 'anoint'), *gā-tī*- 'way' (*gā*- 'go') and 'song' (*gā*- 'sing'), *jan-tī*- 'creature', *he-tī*- 'cause' (*hi*- 'impel'); with weak radical vowel: *ṛ-tī*- 'season', *pi-tī*- 'drink' (*pī*- 'swell')<sup>5</sup>.

a. The suffix is attached in a few instances (as in some infinitives) with connecting *-i*-: *dur-dhār-i-tu*- 'irresistible', *su-hṛv-i-tu*- 'to be successfully invoked', *tur-phār-i-tu*-<sup>6</sup>.

b. The suffix appears in a few instances to be attached to a present or a secondary conjugational stem: *adha-tī*- m. 'welfare' (*ādha-te* 'thrives'), *tapya-tī*- adj. 'glowing' (*tapya-te* 'is heated'), *vāha-tī*- m. 'wedding' (*vāha-ti* 'conveys'), *siśāsā-tu*-<sup>7</sup> 'desirous of obtaining'; *jīvā-tī*- f. 'life' (*jīva-ti*- 'lives').

c. Derivatives formed with *-tu* are in several instances compounded with the particles *duṣ*- and *su*-: *dur-dhār-i-tu*- and *dur-dhār-tu*- 'irresistible', *dur-vār-tu*- 'difficult to ward off', *duṣ-pār-i-tu*- 'unconquerable', *su-yān-tu*- 'guiding well', *su-śrō-tu*- 'hearing willingly', *su-hān-tu*- 'easy to slay'; also with a pronoun in *svāitu*- 'going one's own' (*sva*-) gait' (*etu*-).

### **-tna : action and agent.**

150. This suffix is very rare, occurring only in *cyau-tnā*- n. 'concussion', adj. 'animating' (*cyu*- 'stir') and in *rā-tna*- n. 'gift' (*rā*- 'give').

### **-tnu : agent.**

151. This suffix, which is always accented, forms more than a dozen adjectives and a few substantives. It is added to the root either directly or more commonly with the connecting vowel *-a*- (which probably belongs to the present stem) or *-i*- (which is almost exclusively used with causative stems).

1. **Attached directly to the root:** *kṛ-tnū*- 'active', *dar-tnū*- m. 'breaker', *ha-tnū*- 'deadly' (*√han*-); with reduplication: *jiga-tnū*- 'hastening' (*gam*- 'go'), *jigha-tnū*- 'harming' (*han*- 'strike').

2. **With connecting *-a*-:** *kav-a-tnū*-<sup>8</sup> 'miserly', *pṛy-a-tnū*- 'reviling' (*pṛiya-ti*

<sup>1</sup> The infinitives always accent the root (105).

<sup>2</sup> Only in the compounds *tri-dhātu*- 'three-fold' and *saptā-dhātu*- 'sevenfold'.

<sup>3</sup> Without Guna.

<sup>4</sup> With lengthened *a*.

<sup>5</sup> *kṛ-tu-as* 'times' is probably an acc. pl. of a stem *kṛ-tu*- 'making'. Cp. BB. 25, 294.

<sup>6</sup> The derivation of this word is uncertain and its meaning is obscure. [Cp. Mahābhāṣya Vol. I, p. 363, l. 25.]

<sup>7</sup> From the desiderative stem of *śā*- 'obtain'.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. WHITNEY, Roots, under *kū*- 'design'.

'abuses'), *meh-a-tñi-*, N. of a river (*mēha-ti*), *ā-ruj-a-tñi-* 'breaking' (*rujā-ti* 'breaks').

3. With connecting *-i-*: *drav-i-tñi-* 'running' (*dru-* 'run'); from causative stems: *tanay-i-tñi-* 'thundering', *drāvay-i-tñi-* 'hasting' (*dru-* 'run'), *poṣay-i-tñi-* 'causing to thrive' (*√poṣ-*), *māday-i-tñi-* 'intoxicating' (*√mad-*), *sūday-i-tñi-* 'causing sweetness to flow' (*√sūd-*), *stanay-i-tñi-* m. 'thunder' (*√stan-*); *an-āmay-i-tñi-* 'not making ill', 'curative' (*√am-*).

### **-tra : agent.**

152. This suffix was doubtless originally formed by a secondary *-a* added to *-tr* (the weak form of *tar-*). But having early attained an independent character, it came to be largely employed as a primary suffix. It is used to form some half dozen adjectives<sup>1</sup> and about 60 substantives, the latter being neuters except about a dozen (partly masc. and partly fem.)<sup>2</sup>. The substantives generally express the means or instrument by which the action of the verb is performed, sometimes the place where it is performed. The root is generally accented and has Guna; but it is sometimes unaccented and has a weak vowel. The suffix is generally added directly to the root, but in about a dozen instances with a connecting vowel.

1. Attached directly to the root: adjectives: *jāt-tra*-<sup>3</sup> 'victorious', *śvā-trā*-<sup>4</sup> 'invigorating'; with reduplication: *johū-tra*- 'calling aloud' (*√hū-*).

m. *a-trā*-<sup>5</sup> 'eater', *iś-tra*-<sup>6</sup> 'buffalo', *dāṃs-tra*- 'tusk' (*dāṃs-* 'bite'), *mān-tra*- 'prayer'; with weak (etymologically doubtful) root: *pu-trā*- 'son', *mi-trā*-<sup>7</sup> 'friend', *vy-trā*-<sup>8</sup> 'foe'.

f. *āṣ-tra*- 'goad' (*aś-* 'reach'), *nāṣ-tra*- (AV. VS.) 'destroyer' (*√naś-*), *mā-tra*- 'measure', *hū-tra*- 'sacrifice'.

n. With accent on the root: *ā-tra*-<sup>9</sup> 'food', *kār-tra*- (AV.) 'spell', *kṣē-tra*- 'field', *kṣhō-tra*- 'whetstone', *gā-tra*- 'limb', *jñā-tra*- (VS.) 'intellectual faculty', *tān-tra*- 'warp', *dā-tra*-<sup>10</sup> 'gift', *dā-tra*- 'knife', *dhār-tra*- 'support' (VS. TS.), *pāt-tra*- (VS.)<sup>11</sup> 'wing', *pā-tra*- 'cup', (*pā-* 'drink'), *pēs-tra*- (AV.) 'bone', *mū-tra*- (AV.) 'urine', *mēdhra*- (AV.) 'penis', *yōk-tra*- 'rope', *vār-tra*- (AV.) 'dam', *vās-tra*- 'garment', *śrū-tra*- 'ear', *sū-tra*- (AV.) 'thread' (*sū-* 'sew').

With accent on the suffix and often with an abstract meaning: *as-trā*- (AV.) 'missile', *kṣa-trā*-<sup>12</sup> 'dominion', *dā-trā*- 'share', *deś-tra*- 'indication' (*√dīś-*), *ne-trā*- (AV.) 'guidance', *rās-trā*- 'dominion', *śas-trā*- (VS.) 'invocation', *śās-trā*- 'command', *sat-trā*- 'sacrificial session', *sto-trā*- 'praise', *sthā-trā*- 'station', *ho-trā*- 'sacrifice'.

2. With connecting vowel *-a-*: *ām-a-tra*- 'violent', *yāj-a-tra*- 'adorable'; *krnt-ā-tra*- 'shred', *gāy-a-trā*- 'song', *pāt-a-tra*- 'wing', *vādh-a-tra*- 'deadly weapon', f. *var-a-trā*- 'strap'; with *-i-*: *khan-i-tra*- 'shovel', *car-i-tra*- 'foot', *jan-i-tra*- 'birth-place', *pav-i-tra*- 'sieve', *bhar-i-tra*- 'arm', *bhav-i-tra*- 'world', *san-i-tra*- 'gift'; with *-u-*: *tār-u-tra*-<sup>13</sup> 'overcoming'.

<sup>1</sup> These have mostly masc. forms, some neuter; the only one which has fem. forms is *yājatra*- 'deserving adoration'.

<sup>2</sup> Six or seven masculines and five feminines.

<sup>3</sup> With exceptional Vṛddhi of the radical syllable.

<sup>4</sup> From *śvā* = *śū*- 'swell'.

<sup>5</sup> For *at-trā*- from *a-* 'eat'. Cp. p. 125, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> With weak root though accented.

<sup>7</sup> Occurs in the RV. as a n. when it means 'friendship'.

<sup>8</sup> Occurs also as a n. in the RV. when plural.

<sup>9</sup> For *āt-tra*- from *ad-* 'eat'.

<sup>10</sup> Probably for *dāt-tra*- from the present-stem of *dā-* 'give'.

<sup>11</sup> Only at the end of a compound in the RV.

<sup>12</sup> *nakṣatra*- 'asterism' is perhaps a compound. Cp. above 81, 2 a.

<sup>13</sup> Cp. *tar-u-tār-* 'victor'.

**-tri : agent.**

153. This very rare suffix occurs in only three or four derivatives: *ā-tri*<sup>1</sup> 'devouring', *śā-tri*-m, N. of a man<sup>2</sup>; with connecting -a in *arc-ā-tri* 'roaring'; also in the f. form with ī in *rā-trī*-3 'night'.

**-tru : agent.**

154. This suffix is found only in *śātru*- 'enemy' for \**śāt-tru*-, perhaps from *śad*- 'prevail'.

**-tva : agent.**

155. This suffix probably arose by the addition of the secondary suffix -a to action nouns in -tu, which turned them into adjectives used in a gerundive sense. It occurs in about a dozen such derivatives which are almost restricted to the RV.; e. g. *kār-tva*- 'to be made'<sup>4</sup>.

**-tha : action.**

156. This suffix is almost exclusively used to form action nouns (some of which have acquired a concrete meaning) in all genders<sup>5</sup>. The root generally appears in a weak form, as the suffix is mostly accented. The suffix is attached to the root either directly or more commonly with a connecting vowel<sup>6</sup>.

1. Attached directly to the root: m. *ār-tha*-<sup>7</sup> 'goal', *gā-thā*- 'song', *pak-thā*-, N. of a man, *bhṛ-thā*- 'offering', *rā-tha*-<sup>8</sup> 'car', *hā-thā*-<sup>9</sup> 'slaughter'; in composition with prepositions: *saṁ-i-thā*- 'conflict', *nir-y-thā*- 'destruction', *saṁ-ga-thā*- 'union' (*gam*- 'go'), *ud-gṛ-thā*-<sup>10</sup> (AV.) 'singing of chants'; in composition with nouns: *putra-kr-thā*- 'procreation of sons', *dirgha-yā-thā*- 'long course', *go-pr-thā*-<sup>11</sup> 'protection' (*pā*- 'protect') and 'draught' (*pā*- 'drink') of milk'.—f. *kās-thā*- 'course', *gā-thā*- 'song', *nī-thā*- 'trick'.—n. *uk-thā*- 'saying' (*√vac*-), *tīr-thā*- 'ford' (*tī*- 'cross'), *nī-thā*- 'song', *yū-thā*-<sup>12</sup> 'herd', *rik-thā*- 'inheritance'<sup>13</sup>.

2. With connecting vowel -ā-: *ay-ā-tha*- n. 'foot', *uc-ā-tha*- n. 'praise' (*√vac*-), *car-ā-tha*- n. 'mobility', *tveṣ-ā-tha*- m. 'fury', *proth-ā-tha*- n. 'snorting', *yaj-ā-tha*-<sup>14</sup> 'worship', *raṁ-ā-tha*- m. 'roar', *vakṣ-ā-tha*- m. 'growth', *vid-ā-tha*-<sup>15</sup> n. 'assembly', *śap-ā-tha*- m. 'curse', *śay-ā-tha*- n. 'lair', *śvas-ā-tha*- m. 'snorting', *sac-ā-tha*- m. 'aid', *stan-ā-tha*- m. 'thunder', *stav-ā-tha*- m. 'praise', *sraṁ-ā-tha*- m. or n. 'flow'; with prefix: *ā-vas-a-thā*- (AV.) 'abode', *pra-vas-a-thā*- n. 'absence', *prāṇ-ā-tha*-<sup>16</sup> (VS.) 'respiration'.

a. With -ū: *jār-ū-tha*-, m. a kind of demon ('wearing out', *jr*-), *vdr-ū-tha*- n. 'protection'; with -u: *mat-ū-tha*-<sup>17</sup> m. 'sage'.

<sup>1</sup> For *āt-tri*- from *ad*- 'eat'. Cp. p. 124, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> For *śāt-tri*- from *śat*- 'cut in pieces'.

<sup>3</sup> In AV. *rā-tri*- also.

<sup>4</sup> See below, Future Passive Participles, 581.

<sup>5</sup> The fem. form of the suffix is -thā.

<sup>6</sup> This vowel for the most part belongs in reality to a present stem.

<sup>7</sup> With accented strong root.

<sup>8</sup> The root is uncertain.

<sup>9</sup> With root accented though weakened by loss of nasal (*han*- 'slay').

<sup>10</sup> With *gā*- 'sing' weakened to *gī*-.

<sup>11</sup> Both *pā*- 'protect' and *pā*- 'drink' are weakened to *pī*-. Cp. above 27.

<sup>12</sup> The root in this word is uncertain.

<sup>13</sup> *prsthā*- 'back' probably contains the root *sthā*- 'stand', = \**pra-sthā*- 'prominent'.

<sup>14</sup> The gender is uncertain, as the word occurs in the dat. sing. only.

<sup>15</sup> Probably from *vidh*- 'worship': OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 54, 608—611; cp. above p. 23, note 10.

<sup>16</sup> When there is a prefix the accent is thrown on the suffix; but *prāṇ*- (= *pra-an*-) is treated like a root.

<sup>17</sup> Perhaps from *man*- with double suffix (-tu, -thā).

**-thi : agent.**

157. As far as can be judged from the very few examples occurring, this suffix was used to form agent nouns. It is attached with or without a connecting vowel. The derivation of all the words which seem to be formed with this suffix is doubtful: *āt-i-thi-* m. 'guest' (if from *at-* 'wander'); *ud-ār-a-thī-* adj. 'rising'; *me-thī-* (AV.) m. 'pillar' (*mī-* 'fix'). The neuters *āsthī-* (AV. VS., beside *asth-ān-*) 'bone' and *sīkthi-* (beside *sakth-ān-*) may be formed with the suffix *-i*.

**-thu : action.**

158. This very rare suffix, which is not found in the RV., appears only with the connecting vowel *-a-* (which in reality belongs to a present stem), forming masculine action nouns: *ej-ā-thu-* (AV.) 'trembling', *vep-ā-thu-* 'quivering', *stan-ā-thu-* (AV.) 'roar'.

**-na : action and agent.**

159. This suffix is in the first place used, like *-ta*, to form past passive participles<sup>1</sup>; e. g. *bhin-nā-* from *bhid-* 'split'; but, unlike *-ta*, it is never added to the root with a connecting vowel or to a secondary conjugation stem.

It is further employed to form a number of adjectives and masculine substantives, mostly accented on the suffix. It also forms a few feminine (*-nā*) and neuter substantives, all but one of the latter being accented on the root. The substantives have partly an abstract and partly a concrete meaning. A medial vowel never takes *Guṇa*, but a final vowel nearly always does.

1. The adjectives (f. *-nā*) are: *ās-nā-* 'voracious', *us-nā-* 'hot', *ū-nā-* 'deficient', *r-nā-* 'guilty', *kṛs-nā-* 'black', *kṣo-nā-* 'immovable' (?), *nag-nā-* 'naked', *bradh-nā-* 'pale red', *śv-nā-* 'red', *śro-nā-* and *ślo-nā-* (AV.) 'lame', *ślakṣ-nā-* (AV.) 'slippery', *śvlt-na-* 'white', *syē-nā-* 'agreeable'; compounded: *an-āmṛ-nā-* 'inviolable', *ā-rūky-na-* (AV.) 'tender', *sadā-pr-nā-* 'always munificent'.

2. Substantives are: m. *ghṛ-nā-* 'heat', *budh-nā-* 'bottom', *bhrū-nā-* 'embryo', *yaj-nā-* 'sacrifice', *śye-nā-* 'eagle', *ste-nā-* 'thief'; *sam-pras-nā-* 'question'; accented on root: *ās-na-* 'stone', *kār-na-* 'ear', *vār-na-* 'colour', *śhṣ-na-*, N. of a demon, *svāp-na-* 'sleep'. — n. *tī-na-* 'grass', *dhū-na-*<sup>2</sup> 'booty', *par-nā-* 'wing', *vas-nā-* 'price', *śīs-na-* 'penis', *śu-nā-* 'welfare', *śū-na-* 'want', *sī-na-* 'property'. — f. *tīṣ-nā-* 'thirst', *dhū-nā-* 'milk cow', *śē-nā-* 'missile', *sthū-nā-* 'post'.

**-nas : action.**

160. This suffix, which has the same meaning as *-as* and *-tas*, is used in forming a few action nouns which have mostly acquired a concrete sense. These are *āp-nas-* n. 'possession', *ār-nas-* n. 'flood', *bhar-nas-*<sup>3</sup> 'bearing' (?), *rīk-nas-* n. 'property left by bequest' (*ric-* 'leave'). With connecting vowel: *drāv-i-nas-* n. 'movable property' (*dru-* 'run'), *pār-ī-nas-* m. 'abundance' (*pār-* 'fill'). It also appears in the agent noun *dām-ū-nas-* adj. 'domestic', m. 'friend of the house' (*dam-*).

**-ni : action and agent.**

161. This not very frequent suffix is employed to form m. and f. action nouns as well as agent nouns (adjectives and substantives). Either the radical vowel or the suffix may be accented; and the root in several instances takes *Guṇa*. The feminines have rarely an abstract sense, having generally acquired a concrete meaning.

<sup>1</sup> For a list of these see below 576.

<sup>2</sup> Probably from *dhū-* 'place'.

<sup>3</sup> In *sahāsra-bharṇas-* 'thousandfold'.



1. The feminines are: *jūr-ni-* 'heat', *-jyā-ni-*<sup>1</sup> (AV.) 'injury', *me-ni-* 'missile', *śrī-ni-* 'line', *śrī-ni-* 'hip', *śrī-ni-* and *śrī-ni-* 'sickle'; masculines are: *ghf-ni-*<sup>2</sup> 'heat', *yō-ni-* 'receptacle'.

2. Agent nouns, adjectives and m. substantives, are: *ag-ni-* m. 'fire', *jūr-ni-* 'singeing', *tūr-ni-* 'speeding', *dhar-ni-* m. 'supporter', *pīś-ni-* 'speckled', *pre-ni-* 'loving' (√ *prī-*), *bhūr-ni-* 'excited', *vāh-ni-* m. 'draught animal', *ṛṣ-ni-* and *vṛś-ni-* 'virile', m. 'ram'.

a. The suffix occurs with a connecting *-u-* in *hrād-ū-ni-* f.(?) 'hail'<sup>3</sup>.

#### **-nu : action and agent.**

162. With this suffix is formed a small number of action and agent nouns of all genders, but mostly masculine. The action nouns often have a concrete meaning. As the suffix is almost invariably accented, the radical vowel, with one exception, never shows Guṇa. This suffix, like *-tu*, is sometimes preceded by *-a* (which really belongs to present stems).

1. The substantives occurring are: *kṣep-ni-* m. 'jerk' (x. 51<sup>6</sup>), *dā-nu-*<sup>4</sup> m. f. 'demon', f. 'dew', n. 'drop', *dhe-ni-* f. 'cow', *bhā-ni-* m. 'light', *vag-ni-* m. 'sound', *viś-nu-*<sup>5</sup> m., N. of a god, *sū-ni-* m. 'son', *sthā-ni-*<sup>6</sup> m. 'pillar'; with connecting *-a-*: *kṛand-a-ni-* m. 'roaring', *kṣip-a-ni-* m. 'missile', *nad-a-ni-* m. 'roaring', *nabh-a-ni-*<sup>7</sup> m. 'fountain'<sup>8</sup>.

2. Adjectives are: *grdh-ni-* 'hasty', *dhr̥ś-ni-* 'bold'; with connecting *-a-*: the compound *vi-bhañj-a-ni-* 'breaking to pieces'.

#### **-pa : concrete substantives.**

163. A few words are formed with this suffix, but the origin of all of them is more or less obscure<sup>9</sup>. These are: *pīś-pa-* n. 'flower', *stu-pā-*<sup>10</sup> (VS.) m. 'tuft', *stū-pa-*<sup>10</sup> m. 'top-knot'; perhaps also *tāl-pa-* m. 'couch', *śās-pa-* (VS.) n. 'blade of grass', *śīl-pa* (VS.) n. 'ornament', *śār-pa-* (AV.) 'winnowing basket'; possibly *apū-pā-* m. 'cake', *ūla-pa-* m. 'shrub', *kūṇa-pa-* (AV.) n. 'corpse'<sup>11</sup>.

#### **-ma : action and agent.**

164. This suffix forms a considerable number of action nouns (almost exclusively masculine) as well as agent nouns, both adjectives and substantives. Only a single neuter and one or two feminine substantives occur. The suffix is accented more than twice as often as the root. The vowel *r* always takes Guṇa in the radical syllable; on the other hand, initial or medial *i* and *u* never take Guṇa; when final they only do so if the root is accented. Several of these derivatives in *-ma* appear beside others in *-man*; some at least are transfers from the latter; thus *dhār-man-* 'ordinance' alone is found in the RV., while *dhār-ma-* appears beside it in the later Saṃhitās.

1. Accented on the suffix: adjectives: e. g. *jih-mā-* 'oblique', *tig-mā-* 'sharp', *das-mā-* 'wondrous', *bhī-mā-* 'terrible', *śag-mā-* 'mighty'; with reduplication,

<sup>1</sup> In *sarva-jyāni-* (AV.) 'complete loss of property'.

<sup>2</sup> Beside *ghṛ-ni-* m. and *ghṛ-nā-* f.

<sup>3</sup> This suffix is in several words preceded by *-a-*, much in the same way as *-ti*; but as *-ani* has assumed a more independent character it is treated above (122) as a separate suffix.

<sup>4</sup> With irregular accent.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps originally an adjective \**viś-ni-*, with shift of accent on becoming a Proper Name. But cp. p. 85, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> The origin of the cerebral *ṛ* here is obscure.

<sup>7</sup> Also *nabh-anī-* f.

<sup>8</sup> The Proper Name *kṛś-ānu-* is perhaps similarly formed, but with long *-ā-*.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. LINDNER p. 69; LIDEN, IF. 18, 496.

<sup>10</sup> Probably from a root *stu-* 'drip'; see WHITNEY, Roots.

<sup>11</sup> *yūpa-* m. 'sacrificial post' is probably derived from *yup-* 'obstruct'.

*tītu-mā* 'powerful'; **substantives**: **m.** *aj-mā* 'course', *idh-mā* 'fuel', *ghar-mā* 'heat', *dar-mā* 'breaker', *dhū-mā* 'smoke', *nar-mā* (VS.) 'jest', *ruk-mā* 'ornament', *hi-mā* 'cold'.

**2. Accented on the root: substantives**: **m.** e. g. *ī-ma* 'friend' (*av*- 'favour'), *ē-ma* (VS.) 'course', *dhār-ma* (AV. VS. TS.) 'ordinance', *bhū-ma* 'brightness', *sār-ma* 'flow', *sō-ma* 'Soma' (*√su*-), *stō-ma* 'praise' (*√stu*-), *hō-ma* 'offering'; **f.** *hī-mā* 'winter'; **n.** *bīl-ma* 'chip'.

**a.** The suffix seems to be added once with connecting *-a-* (which really belongs to a present stem) in the *f.* *sar-ā-mā* 'the fleet one', *N.* of a goddess.

### **-man: action and agent.**

**165.** This suffix forms a large number of derivatives<sup>1</sup>, which are almost exclusively action nouns. The great majority of these are neuters accented on the root, but there are also a good many masculines accented on the suffix. Besides these occur a few agent nouns, mostly accented on the suffix, both adjectives and masculine substantives, all of them, except *brah-mān* 'priest', of rare occurrence. The same word in several instances varies in meaning according to the accent and gender<sup>2</sup>; e. g. *dhār-man* *n.* 'ordinance', *m.* *dhār-mān* 'ordainer'. The root in these derivatives usually takes *Guṇa*; in a few instances it has *Ṛddhi* or lengthens *a*; sometimes it is weak. The suffix is often added with the connecting vowels *-i-* or *-ī-*. The derivatives are occasionally compounded with prepositions, which are then nearly always accented.

**1.** Examples of action nouns are: **n.** *ād-man* 'food', *ē-man* 'course', *kār-man* 'action', *kārṣ-man* 'goal', *jān-man* 'birth', *trā-man* 'protection', *dā-man* 'gift' (*dā* 'give') and 'bond' (*dā* 'tie'), *nā-man* 'name', *pāt-man* 'flight', *brāh-man* 'devotion', *bhār-man* 'table', *bhū-man* 'world', *vāk-man* 'invocation', *vārt-man* 'course', *vās-man* 'dwelling', *sāk-man* 'power', *sās-man* 'praise', *sāk-man* 'power', *hī-man* 'sacrifice' (*√hu*-) and 'invocation' (*√hū*-); with **connecting -i-**: *jān-i-man* 'birth', *vār-i-man* 'expanse' (beside *var-i-mān* *m.*); with **connecting -ī-**: *dār-ī-man* 'destruction', *dhār-ī-man* 'ordinance', *pār-ī-man*<sup>3</sup> 'abundance', *bhār-ī-man* 'maintenance', *vār-ī-man* 'expanse', *sār-ī-man* 'course', *sāv-ī-man* 'impulse'<sup>4</sup>, *hū-ī-man* 'invocation'. — **m.** *ās-mān* (AV. VS.) 'heat', *o-mān* 'favour', *jē-mān* (VS. TS.) 'superiority', *drāgh-mān* (VS.) 'length' (beside *drāgh-i-mān*-), *pāp-mān* (AV.) 'wickedness', *bhū-mān* 'abundance', *vid-mān* 'knowledge', *svād-mān* 'sweetness', *he-mān* 'impulse'; with **connecting -i-**: *jar-i-mān* 'old age', *prāth-i-mān* 'breath', *mah-i-mān* 'greatness', *var-i-mān*, *varṣ-i-mān* (VS.) 'height' (beside *vārṣ-man* and *varṣ-mān*-), *har-i-mān* 'yellowness'.

**2. Agent nouns accented on the suffix** are: *dar-mān* 'breaker', *dā-mān* 'giver', *dhār-mān* 'supporter', *brah-mān* 'one who prays', *bhuj-mān* 'fertile', *vad-mān* 'speaker', *sad-mān* 'sitter', *so-mān* 'Somapresser'; **accented on the root**: *ās-man* 'stone', *ī-man* 'friend', *jē-man* 'superior', *bhās-man* 'chewing'<sup>5</sup>.

**a.** The following words are according to difference of accent neuter action nouns or masculine agent nouns *dā-man* 'gift' and *dā-mān* 'giver'; *dhār-man* 'ordinance' and *dhār-mān* 'ordainer'; *brāh-man* 'worship' and *brah-mān* 'priest'; *sād-man* 'seat' and *sad-mān* 'sitter'.

<sup>1</sup> For lists of these see GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1730 f.; LINDNER p. 91—93.

<sup>2</sup> Somewhat in the same way as the derivatives in *-as* (126).

<sup>3</sup> Also with anomalous *-e-*: *pār-e-man* (SV1.).

<sup>4</sup> Also *stār-ī-man* 'spreading' used in the loc. as an infinitive.

<sup>5</sup> In a compound also *svādu-kṣād-man* 'having sweet food'.

b. In a few words difference of gender and accent is not accompanied by difference of meaning: *vārṣ-man-* n. and *varṣ-mán-* m. both mean 'height'; *svāḍ-man-* n. and *svāḍ-mán-* m. 'sweetness'; *vār-i-man-* n. and *var-i-mán-* m. 'expanse'.

c. In a few instances difference of accent is accompanied by a reversal of the usual distinction of meaning: *jē-man-* 'victorious', *jē-mán-* (VS. TS.) 'superiority'; *ḍ-man-* m. 'friend', *o-mán-* m. 'favour'.

d. A few derivatives in *-man* both action and agent nouns are compounded with prepositions: *vi-gā-man-* n. 'step', *prā-bhar-man-* n. 'presentation', *prā-yā-man-* n. 'departure', *vi-dhar-man-* m. 'maintainer', *vi-pat-man-*<sup>1</sup> 'flying through', *anu-vart-man-* (AV.) 'following after', *vi-sar-mán-*<sup>2</sup> m. 'flowing asunder'.

#### **-māna : agent.**

166. This suffix is used to form the present<sup>3</sup>, future, and aorist middle participle and the present passive participle<sup>4</sup>. It is always preceded by *a* except in the anomalous perfect participle *sasṛ-mānā-* (= *sasṛ-ānā-*) 'speeding'.

#### **-mi and -mī : action and agent.**

167. The suffix *-mi* is used to form a few adjectives and masculine substantives; it also forms (generally in the form of *-mī*) a few feminine substantives with a concrete meaning: *ūr-mi-* m. 'wave' (*√vr-*), *-kūr-mi-* 'action' in *tuvi-kūr-mi-* 'working mightily', *jā-mī-* 'related', 'kinsman'; *bhū-mi-* and *bhū-mī-* f. 'earth', *lakṣ-mī-* f. 'sign', *sūr-mī-* f. 'tube'; probably also *ras-mi-* m. 'ray' and the adj. *krudh-mi-*<sup>5</sup> (RV<sup>1</sup>.) 'irascible'.

#### **-min : agent.**

168. A few adjectives have the appearance of being formed with a suffix *-min*. They are *iṣ-min-* 'impetuous', *bhū-min-* 'shining', *śus-min-* 'roaring'. They may, however, be explained as secondary derivatives made with the suffix *-in*, like *dhūm-in-* from *dhūmā-* 'smoke'.

#### **-ya : gerundive.**

169. This suffix is used to form a large number of future participles passive<sup>6</sup>. It probably has a primary character in other derivatives besides these; but it is so difficult to distinguish them from those which are secondary, that it is preferable to treat all but gerundives under secondary *-ya* (228).

#### **-yu : action and agent.**

170. This suffix forms a few action and agent nouns. The root remains unchanged, while the accent varies. Action nouns are: *man-yū-* m. 'anger', *mṛt-yū-* m. 'death'. Agent nouns are: *dās-yu-* m. 'enemy', *druh-yū-*, N. of a man ('hostile'), *ślpi-yu-* 'enemy'; *bhuj-yū-* both adj. 'wealthy' and m. as N. of a man. Adjectives only are: *yāj-yu-* 'pious', *śundh-yū-* 'pure', *sāh-yu-* 'strong'.

#### **-ra : agent.**

171. A large number of derivatives are formed with this suffix<sup>7</sup>, which is usually accented, the root consequently almost always appearing with a weak vowel. These words are mostly adjectives, but a few substantives occur in all genders. The suffix is frequently added with the connecting vowels *-a-*, *-i-*, *-ī-*, *-u-*.

<sup>1</sup> Or as a Bahuvrīhi 'having the flight of a bird' (*vi-*).

<sup>2</sup> With unusual accent on the suffix instead of on the preposition.

<sup>3</sup> In the *a*-conjugation.

<sup>4</sup> See below under those tenses, 427, 435, 442, 447; 512, 538; and cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 226; LINDNER 72.

Indo-aryische Philologie. I. 4.

<sup>5</sup> The only form occurring *krudhmī*, N. pl. n. might, however, come from *krudh-min-*.

<sup>6</sup> See below, Future participles passive, 578; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 230; LINDNER 76, p. 96—99.

<sup>7</sup> See LINDNER 78, p. 100—102; WHITNEY 1188.

1. Of derivatives accented on the suffix there are more than 60 adjectives; e. g. *ak-rá* 'swift', *ug-rá* 'mighty', *cit-rá* 'bright', *tu-rá* 'strong', *mā-rá* 'stupid', *sak-rá* 'mighty', *śuk-rá* 'bright', *hims-rá* 'injurious', Substantives are: m. *us-rá* 'bull', *kṣu-rá* 'razor', *mydh-rá* 'foe', *rud-rá*, N. of a god, *vam-rá* 'ant', *vī-rá* 'man', *śūd-rá* 'man of the fourth caste'; n. *abh-rá* 'cloud', *kṛcc-rá* 'distress', *krū-rá* (AV. VS.) 'wound', *kṣī-rá* 'milk', *kṣid-rá* 'weight', *rip-rá* 'defilement', *sī-rá* 'plough'; f. *hī-rā* (AV. VS.) 'vein'.

a. With connecting vowel *-a-*: *drav-a-rá* 'running', *pat-a-rá* 'flying', *ny-oc-a-rá* (AV.) 'suiting'<sup>1</sup>; n. *gambh-a-rá* 'depth', *tas-a-rá* 'shuttle'<sup>2</sup>; with *i-*: *aj-i-rá* 'swift', *iṣ-i-rá* 'lively', *dhvas-i-rá* 'stirring up', *badh-i-rá* 'deaf', *mad-i-rá* 'pleasing', *rudh-i-rá* (AV.) 'red', *sphī-rá* 'fat'; m. *kṣad-i-rá*, a kind of tree; n. *sar-i-rá* (VS.) 'wave'; with *ī-*: *gabh-ī-rá* and *gambh-ī-rá* 'deep'; with *u-*: *aṇh-u-rá* 'narrow', *vith-u-rá* 'tottering'.

2. Of stems accented on the root the only adjectives are: *gṛdh-ra* 'greedy', *tīm-ra* 'stout', *dhī-ra* 'wise', *vīp-ra* 'inspired'; substantives are: m. *āj-ra* 'field', *īnd-ra*, N. of a god, *vāj-ra* 'thunderbolt', *vārdh-ra* (AV.) 'girth', *śū-ra* 'hero'; n. *āg-ra* 'point', *rāndh-ra* 'hollow', *śvābh-ra* 'pit'; f. *dhā-rā* 'stream', *śīp-rā* 'jaw', *śū-rā* 'intoxicating liquor'.

a. With connecting vowel *-i-*: *sthāv-i-ra* 'firm'; m. *āṅg-i-ra*, N. of a seer, *ās-i-ra* 'missile'; with *-ī-*: *śāv-ī-ra* 'mighty'; n. *śār-ī-ra* 'body'; with *-u-*: m. *ās-u-ra* 'spirit', *bāk-u-ra* 'trumpet'.

a. A few of these derivatives are compounded with prepositions: *ni-ai-rá* 'attentive', *ni-mṛg-ra* 'attached'; m. *ā-kha-rá* 'lair', *sam-ud-rá* 'sea'.

#### **-ri : agent.**

172. This suffix forms adjectives as well as m. and f. substantives. It is sometimes added with connecting *-u-*. The root is more frequently accented than the suffix.

1. Adjectives are: *bhū-ri* 'abundant', *vād-ri* 'emasculated', *śubh-ri* 'beautiful'; with connecting *-u-*: *jās-u-ri* 'exhausted', *dās-u-ri* 'pious', *sāh-u-ri* 'mighty'.

2. Substantives are: m. *āṅgh-ri* (VS.) 'foot', *jī-ri* 'flowing water', *sū-ri* 'patron'; f. *ābh-ri* (AV. VS.) 'hoe', *ās-ri* 'edge', *ūs-ri* 'dawn', *vāṅk-ri* 'rib'; with connecting *-u-*: *āṅg-ū-ri* 'finger'; *-rī* occurs in *tand-rī* (AV.) 'weariness'.

#### **-ru : agent.**

173. This rare suffix forms adjectives and a very few neuter substantives. It is added either directly to the root or with a preceding *-a-*, *-ā-*, or *-e-*. Either the root or the suffix may be accented.

1. Adjectives are: *cā-ru* 'dear', *dhā-ri* (AV.) 'sucking', *pē-ru* 'causing to swell' (*pē-*), *bhī-ri* 'timid'; *ar-ā-ru* 'hostile', *pat-ā-ru* 'flying'; *jāb-ā-ru*<sup>3</sup> (RV<sup>1</sup>) 'speeding', *pīy-ā-ru* 'reviling', *vand-ā-ru* 'praising', *sar-ā-ru* 'injurious'; *mad-e-ri* 'intoxicating', *san-ē-ru*<sup>4</sup> 'obtaining'.

2. Substantives are: n. *ās-ru* 'tear', *śmās-ru* 'beard'.

#### **-la : agent.**

174. This rare suffix, a later form of *-ra*, is equivalent in sense and use to the latter, sometimes also interchanging with it. It forms adjectives and a

<sup>1</sup> *bhārvarā* (of doubtful meaning) is probably a secondary formation, and *vāsarā* 'matutinal' seems to be derived from *vasar* 'morning'.

<sup>2</sup> Also *-rkṣarā* 'thorn' m. in *an-rkṣarā* 'thornless'.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps for *\*jāv-ā-ru* from *jū-* 'speed'.

<sup>4</sup> The suffix is secondary in *mitrē-ru* 'ally'.

few masculine and neuter substantives. The radical syllable is accented in two or three substantives only. The suffix is added either directly to the root or with the connecting vowels *-a-*, *-i-*, *-u-*.

Derivatives thus formed are: *-pā-lā-* (VS.) m. 'guardian' in *aja-pālā-* (VS.) 'goat-herd', *suk-lā-* (AV.) n. 'white colour' (beside *suk-rā-* 'white'), *sthū-lā-* (AV.) 'thick' (beside *sthū-rā-*); with connecting *-a-*: *tyṣ-ā-la-* 'joyous', *bhṛm-a-lā-* (AV.) 'torpid', *mūs-a-la-* (AV.) m. 'pestle', *śab-ā-la-* 'mottled', *śam-a-la-* (AV.) n. 'defilement'; with *-i-*: *ām-i-la-* m. 'wind', *trā-i-lā-* 'porous', *sal-i-lā-* 'surging' (beside *sar-i-rā-* VS. 'flood'); with *-u-*: *tanḍ-u-lā-* (AV.) m. 'grain', *śak-u-lā-* (AV. VS.) m., a kind of fish.

*-li* and *-lu* : agent.

175. The suffix *-li* occurs only once as the equivalent of *-ri* in *ang-ī-li-* (VS<sup>1</sup>) f. 'finger' (beside *ang-ī-ri-*). Similarly *-lu* occurs only once as the equivalent of *-ru* in *patayā-lh-* (AV<sup>1</sup>) 'flying', formed from the conjugation stem *patīya-* (from *pat-* 'fly').

*-va* : agent.

176. This suffix forms about 20 adjectives and seven or eight substantives, mostly masculines with a concrete meaning. With one or two exceptions it is added directly to the root. The accent is rather oftener on the suffix than on the radical syllable. The root hardly ever appears in a strengthened form.

1. Accented on the suffix are the adjectives: *ārḥ-vā-* 'upright', *ṛk-vā-* 'praising', *ṛs-vā-* 'lofty', *tak-vā-* 'swift', *dhru-vā-* 'fixed', *pak-vā-* 'ripe', *mal-vā-* (AV.) 'foolish', *yah-vā-* 'swift', *raṇ-vā-* 'joyful', *viś-vā-*<sup>1</sup> 'all', *śik-vā-* (AV.) 'deft', *śyā-vā-* 'dark brown', *hras-vā-* (VS.) 'short'; the substantives: m. *ār-vā-* 'stall', *śar-vā-* (AV. VS.), N. of a god, *sru-vā-* 'ladle'; f. *pruṣ-vā-* (AV.) 'rime'; *vidh-ā-vā-*<sup>2</sup> 'widow'.

2. Accented on the root are: *ṛbh-va-* 'skilful', *é-va-* 'quick', m. 'course', *ṛī-va-* 'fat', *ṣūr-va-* 'preceding', *vāk-va-* 'twisting', *viś-va-* 'all', *sār-va-* 'all'; m. *ās-va-* 'horse', *kḥāl-va-* (AV. VS.), a kind of grain, *śrāk-va-* 'corner of the mouth'; f. *ām-i-vā-* 'disease'<sup>3</sup>.

a. A few such derivatives occur only compounded with prefixes: *ā-khar-va-* 'not shortened', *āu-kukha-* (VS.) 'too bald', *vi-bhā-va-* 'brilliant'.

*-van* : agent.

177. This suffix is used almost exclusively to form agent nouns<sup>4</sup>, both adjectives and substantives, which are mostly masculine, but sometimes neuter. Though the root is regularly accented<sup>5</sup>, it almost invariably appears in its unstrengthened form. If it ends in a short vowel *-t-* is added before the suffix. The feminine of these words is regularly formed with *-varī* (179 a).

Examples of adjectives are: *ṛk-van-* 'praising', *kṛ-t-van-* 'active', *drūh-van-* 'injurious', *pāt-van-* 'flying', *ṛī-van-* 'fat', *yāj-van-* 'sacrificing', *rā-van-* (VS.)

<sup>1</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. ROTH, KZ. 19, 223; BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> Also n. *ūlba-* 'caul' if this stands for \**ūlva-* from *vr-* 'cover'.

<sup>4</sup> The only action nouns are the few which in the active are employed as infinitives; cp. WHITNEY 1169 e.

<sup>5</sup> The only exceptions are two words formed with the connecting vowel *-i-*, *mūs-i-vān-* 'robber', *san-i-t-van-* 'bestower', and two others from the reduplicated root, *rārā-van-* 'liberal', *cikīl-vān-* 'wise'.

'bestowing', *śák-van-* (VS.) 'able', *śít-t-van-* 'pressing Soma'; substantives: m. *ádḥ-van-* 'road', *ár-van-* 'steed', *grá-van-* 'stone'; n. *tíg-van-* 'ford', *dhán-van-* 'bow' and 'desert', *pár-van-* 'joint', *sná-van-*<sup>1</sup> (AV. VS.) 'sinew'.

a. Several derivatives with *-van* are compounded with prepositions; thus *atí-śkád-van-* (VS.) 'transgressing', *upa-hás-van-* 'mocking', *vi-vás-van-* 'shining forth', *vi-mṛṣ-van-* (AV.) 'cleansing', *sam-bhṛ-t-van-* (AV.) 'accumulating'<sup>2</sup>.

**-vana, -vani, -vanu : agent.**

178. These rare suffixes are doubtless secondary forms of *-van*. They are all three accented: *-vana* and *-vanu* on the final, *-vani* on the first syllable. With *-vana* are formed: *vag-vand-* 'talkative', *sat-vand-*, m. 'warrior' (beside *sát-van-*), and from the reduplicated root *śusuk-vand-* 'shining' (*√śuc-*). The suffix *-vani* seems to be preferred for derivatives from the reduplicated root; thus besides *tur-vāni-* 'overcoming', *bhur-vāni-* 'restless', occur *jujur-vāni-* 'praising', *tutur-vāni-* 'desiring to gain', *dadhr̥ṣ-vāni-* 'daring', *śusuk-vāni-* 'shining' (*√śuc-*); the obscure word *arhariṣvāni-* 'exultant' seems to be derived with this suffix from an irregularly reduplicated form of *hr̥s-* 'be excited'. With *-vanu* is formed only *vag-vanít-* m. 'noise'.

**-vara, -vala : action and agent.**

179. This suffix makes a few masculine nouns (f. *-r̥*) chiefly accented on the final syllable of the suffix, and a very few neuter substantives accented on the root. The masculines are: *i-t-varít-* 'going', *īś-varít-* (AV.) 'able', *phár-va-* 'sower', *vyadh-varít-* (AV.) 'piercing'<sup>3</sup> (*√vyadh-*). Neuter substantives are: *kár-va-* 'deed', *gúh-va-* (AV.) 'thicket'. There are also two feminines which have the appearance of being derived with this suffix, *ur-vārā-* 'field' and *ur-vār̥-* (AV.) 'filament', but their origin is uncertain. This suffix appears with *l* instead of *r* in *vid-valá-* 'cunning'.

a. The f. of this suffix, *-varī*, is used as the f. of adjectives in *-van*, with which it corresponds in accent and treatment of the radical syllable. There are about 25 of these feminines in the RV.; e. g. *yáj-varī-* 'pious', *śī-t-varī-* 'speeding'<sup>4</sup>.

**-vas : action and agent.**

180. This very rare suffix forms only the neuter substantive *vár-i-vas-* 'wide space' (beside *vár-i-man-*) and the adjectives *fbh-vas-* 'skilful' (beside *fbh-va-* and *fbh-van-*) and *śík-vas-* 'skilful' (beside *śík-van-*). The vocative *khid-vas* (VI. 22<sup>4</sup>) 'oppressing' is probably from a perfect participle *khid-vāms-*<sup>5</sup> formed without reduplication, not from a stem *khid-vas-*.

**-vāms : agent.**

181. This suffix is used to form a large number of perfect participles active, being added with or without the connecting vowel *-i-*; e. g. *cakṛ-vāms-* 'having done', *ty-i-vāms-* 'having gone'; sometimes without reduplication; e. g. *vid-vāms-* 'knowing'<sup>6</sup>. This suffix, which is always accented, is in the weak cases reduced to *-ús-* before vowels<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On two or three doubtful derivatives with this suffix see WHITNEY 1169 b.

<sup>2</sup> Several others are compounded with nouns; see LINDNER p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Pada text *vi-adhvarā-*.

<sup>4</sup> See WHITNEY 1171 b; for such femi-

nines occurring in the AV. see his Index Verborum 375.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. pw.; in BR. the stem is given as *khid-van-*. According to WHITNEY 1173 b, it is derived from *√khād-*.

<sup>6</sup> For the forms occurring see below 492.

<sup>7</sup> See Declension, *-vāms* stems, 347.

**-vi : agent.**

182. This rare suffix is used to form some half dozen adjectives and one f. substantive, partly from the simple root (which is accented), partly from the reduplicated root (of which the reduplicative syllable is accented). The adjectives are: *ghīṣ-vi*- 'lively', *jīr-vi*-<sup>1</sup> (AV.) 'aged', *dhrīḥ-vi*- 'firm'; *jāgr-vi*- 'watchful', *dā-dhr-vi*- 'sustaining', *dī-dī-vi*- 'shining'<sup>2</sup>; f. *dār-vi*-<sup>3</sup> 'ladle'.

**-vīt : agent.**

183. This suffix, which is perhaps an extension of *-vi* with *-t*, occurs in the single form *cikit-vīt* (RV<sup>1</sup>.) 'deliberately'.

**-sa : agent.**

184. This suffix is used to form about two dozen adjectives and substantives of all genders. It is added to the root with or without the connecting vowels *-i-* or *-ū-*. The accent is sometimes on the suffix, sometimes on the root, which is usually unstrengthened. Many of these derivatives are of obscure origin.

The suffix is added direct in: *gīt-sa*- 'adroit', *dīk-sa*-<sup>4</sup> (VS.), *prk-sā*- 'dappled' (*√prc*-); *ūt-sa*- m. 'fountain', *kīt-sa*-, N. of a man, *ghraṇ-sā*- m. 'sun's heat', *drap-sā*- m. 'drop', *ruk-sā*- m. 'tree'; *bhī-sā*-<sup>5</sup> f. 'fear'.

a. The suffix is added with a connecting vowel (*-ī-*, *-ū-*) in: *tav-i-sā*-<sup>6</sup> 'strong', *bhar-i-sā*- 'rapacious', *māh-i-sā*- 'mighty'<sup>7</sup>; *ṛj-i-sā*- 'rushing', *ṛbī-sa*-<sup>8</sup> n. 'chasm', *phr-i-sa*- n. 'rubbish'; *man-i-sā*- f. 'devotion'; *ar-u-sā*-<sup>9</sup> 'red', *as-iṣ-a*- 'voracious', *tār-u-sa*- m. 'overcomer', *phr-u-sa*- m. 'man', *mān-u-sa*- 'man'; *āṅg-ū-sā*- m. 'hymn', *piy-ū-sa*- n. 'biestings'.

**-sani : agent.**

185. This suffix is found only in the derivatives *car-ṣaṇi*- 'active', f. pl. 'people', and *par-ṣāṇi*- 'carrying across' (*pr*- 'cross').

**-sara : agent.**

186. This suffix appears only in *mat-sard*- 'intoxicating' (*√mad*-) and perhaps in *sap-sard*- (I. 168<sup>9</sup>) 'inspiring awe' (?) if derived from *sap*- 'do homage'.

**-sas : action.**

187. This suffix seems to be contained in *vāp-sas*- (RV<sup>1</sup>.) 'beauty' (?)<sup>10</sup>, and possibly in *tār-ū-ṣas*- (RV.) 'superior' (*√tr*-).

**-sna : agent.**

188. This suffix (perhaps syncopated for *-sana*) forms some half dozen adjectives and m. or n. substantives: *tūk-ṣṇā*- 'sharp' (*√tīj*), *de-ṣṇā*-<sup>11</sup> n. 'gift'

<sup>1</sup> From *jr*- 'age'; see WHITNEY's note on AV. xiv. 121. The RV. has *jiv-vi*-.

<sup>2</sup> The derivation of *pra-pharvī*- (RV<sup>1</sup>.) is uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> In VS. *dārū*- in the vocative *darvi*.

<sup>4</sup> In *i-dīk-sa*- (VS.) 'looking like this' 'such' (from *dṛś*- 'see').

<sup>5</sup> Only in the I. s. *bhīṣā* which is a contraction for *bhīyasā*.

<sup>6</sup> The f. is *taviṣī*-.

<sup>7</sup> The f. is *māhiṣī*-.

<sup>8</sup> The absence of cerebralization in the *s*, together with the *b*, makes the origin of this word quite uncertain; it is most probably borrowed.

<sup>9</sup> The f. is *āruṣī*-.

<sup>10</sup> This is Śaṅkara's interpretation of the word.

<sup>11</sup> Generally to be read trisyllabically as *da-iṣṇā*-.

(*dā-* 'give'), *ślak-ṣṇá-* (AV.) 'smooth'; with connecting *-a-*: *kar-á-sna-* m. 'fore-arm', *mát-a-sna-*, n. 'lung', *vadh-a-sná-* n. 'deadly weapon'.

**-snu : agent.**

189. This suffix, which is always accented, forms adjectives, being added with or without a connecting vowel to the simple root, or more usually with connecting *-i-* to the causative stem.

1. From the simple root: *jī-ṣṇi-* 'victorious', *danik-ṣṇi-* (VS.) 'biting' (*√danis-*), *nī-sat-ṣṇi-* 'sitting down'; *vadh-a-ṣṇi-* 'murderous', *vr̥dh-a-ṣṇi-* 'joyous'; *car-i-ṣṇi-* 'wandering', *á-maviṣṇu-*<sup>1</sup> (x. 94<sup>11</sup>) 'immovable' (*√mū-* = *mī-*).

2. From the causative stem: *tāpay-i-ṣṇi-* 'tormenting', *namay-i-ṣṇi-* 'bending', *patay-i-ṣṇi-* 'flying', *pāray-i-ṣṇi-* 'saving', *posay-i-ṣṇi-* (AV.) 'causing to thrive', *māday-i-ṣṇi-* 'intoxicating', *abhi-śocay-i-ṣṇu-* (AV.) 'causing torments'.

## II. Secondary Nominal Derivation.

LINDNER, Altindische Nominalbildung p. 114—52. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 454—80.

190. Secondary nominal stems are those derived from stems already ending in a suffix. They, however, include derivatives from pronominal roots, as *i-tara-* 'other', and exceptionally from indeclinable words or case-forms, as *antár-vant-* 'pregnant' (*antár* 'within'), *māma-ka-* 'belonging to me' (*māma* 'of me'). The stem to which secondary suffixes are added is subject to certain changes. Thus final *-a* and *-i* vowels are regularly dropped before suffixes beginning with a vowel or *y*, while final *-u* generally takes Guṇa; thus *asv-in-* 'possessing horses' (*ásva-*), *khād-in-* 'adorned with rings' (*khādi-*), *vāyav-yā-* 'relating to the wind' (*vāyí-*). Again, the *n* or the *a* of stems ending in *-an* is occasionally lost, e. g. *vṛṣa-tvā-* 'manly power', *vṛṣṇ-ya-* 'manly' (but *vṛṣan-vant-* 'drawn by stallions'); while stems in *-ant* regularly appear in the weak form of *-at*, e. g. *vāivasvat-a-* 'son of Vivásvant'. The commonest change is, however, the strengthening of the initial syllable with **Vṛddhi**<sup>2</sup>, e. g. *āmitrá-* 'hostile' (*a-mitra-* 'enemy'), *pārthiv-a-* 'relating to the earth' (*pr̥thiví-*), *maitrāvaruṇ-* 'derived from Mitrá-várūṇa', *sáubhaga-* 'luck' (*su-bhāga-* 'lucky').

As regards meaning, the great majority of secondary suffixes form adjectives with the general sense of 'relating to' or 'connected with'. In several, however, the meaning has become specific. Thus the suffixes *-āyana*, *-i*, *-eya*, form patronymics or metonymics; *-in*, *-mant*, *-vant* express possession; *-tama* and *-tara* imply degrees of comparison; *-tā* and *-tva* form abstract substantives. The masculines and feminines of adjectives are frequently used as appellatives, while the neuter is commonly employed as a substantive expressing the attributive sense of the adjective as an abstraction.

a. The secondary suffixes are in their alphabetical order the following: *-a*, *-ā*, *-ānī*, *āyana*, *āyī*, *āyya*, *-i*, *-in*, *-ima*, *-iya*, *-ī*, *-īna*, *-īya*, *-enī*, *-enya*, *-eya*, *-eyya*, *-ka*, *-ta*, *-tana* and *-tva*, *-tama*, *-taya*, *-tara*, *-tavya*, *-tā*, *-tāt*, *-tāti*, *-tya*, *-tva*, *-tvatā*, *-tvana*, *-tha*, *-na*, *-nī*, *-bhā*, *-ma*, *-mant*, *-maya*, *-min*, *-mna*, *-ya*, *-yī*, *-ra*, *-la*, *-va*, *-vat*, *-van*, *-vant*, *-vaya*, *-vala*, *-vin*, *-vya*, *-śa*.

<sup>1</sup> Thus derived in pw.; in BR. emended to *á-maviṣṇu-* 'immortal'; in GRASSMANN explained as *āma-viṣṇu-* 'mit Ungestüm andringend'.

<sup>2</sup> Strengthening with Guṇa is, on the other

hand, extremely rare in secondary derivation, as *devā-* 'divine' (*div-* 'heaven'), *dr̥ṇa-* 'wooden vessel' (*dr̥i-* 'wood'), *bheṣaj-ā-* 'medicine' (*bhiṣáj-* 'healing'); cp. 191 a a.



191. With the suffix *-a* is formed a very large number of derivatives which are primarily adjectives expressing the sense of relation to or connexion with the primitive word; in the m. and f. they are, however, often used as appellatives, and in the neuter as abstracts. The first syllable of the primitive word, whether it is simple or compound is in the great majority of instances strengthened with *Vṛddhi*; e. g. *mārut-a* 'relating to the Maruts' (*marūt*-), *māghon-a* n. 'bountifulness' (*maghāvan*- 'bountiful')<sup>1</sup>, *dāśarājñ-a* 'battle of the ten kings' (*dāśa-rājan*-)<sup>2</sup>; *jāitṛ-a* 'victorious' (*jē-tṛ*- 'conqueror'), *tvāṣṭr-a* 'belonging to Tvaṣṭi'; *mānav-ā* 'belonging to man' (*mānu*-), *tānu-a*<sup>3</sup> 'belonging to the body' (*tāni*-); *sārasvat-ā* 'coming from the Sarasvatī', *aindrāgn-ā* (AV. VS. TS.) 'belonging to Indra and Agni' (*indrāgni*); *yāmuna-ā* (AV.) 'coming from the Yamunā'; *vādhryaśv-a*<sup>4</sup> 'descended from Vadhryaśvā', *vaiśvadev-ā* (AV. VS.) 'sacred to all the gods' (*viśvā-deva*-).

a. A comparatively small number of derivatives add the suffix without taking *Vṛddhi*. These are probably to a considerable extent due to transfers from other declensions to the *a*-declension. Such are *tamas-ā* (AV.) 'dark-coloured', *parus-ā* 'knotty' (*pārus*- 'knot'), *hemant-ā* 'winter'; *āpāk-a* 'distant' (*āpāñc*- 'behind'); *hotṛ-ā* 'office of priest' (*hóṭṛ*-); *sakhy-ā* 'friendship' (*sákhi*- 'friend').

a. With *Guna* are formed *tray-ā* 'threefold' (*tri*- 'three'), *dvay-ā* 'twofold' (*dvi*- 'two'), *nāv-a* 'new' (*nū*- 'now'); *dev-ā* 'divine' (*dīv*- 'heaven'), *bheṣaj-ā* 'medicine' (*bhīṣaj*- 'healer').

192. The suffix *-ā* is used in a very large number of stems to form the feminine of adjectives which in the masculine and neuter end in *-a*. Thus *nāv-ā* f., *nāva*- m. n. 'new'; *priy-ā* f., *priyā*- m. n. 'dear'; *gat-ā* f., *gatā*- m. n. 'gone'.

193. The suffix *-ānī*<sup>5</sup> is used to form the feminine from stems in *-a*, designating the wife of the corresponding male being, or expressing a feminine personification: *arany-ānī* 'Forest Nymph' (*āranya*- 'forest'), *indr-ānī* 'wife of Indra', *uśinār-ānī* 'Queen of the Uśinaras', *urj-ānī* 'Strength' (personified), *purukūts-ānī* 'wife of Purukutsa', *mudgal-ānī* 'wife of Mudgala', *varuṇ-ānī* 'Varuṇa's wife'.

194. The suffix *-āyana* forms a few patronymics with *Vṛddhi* in the first syllable: *ānty-āyanā* (VS. TS.) 'descendant of Āntya', *āmuṣy-āyanā* (AV.) 'descendant of so and so' (*āmīṣya*- gen. of *adās*), *kāṇv-āyana* 'descendant of Kaṇva', *dākṣ-āyanā* (VS. AV.) 'descendant of Dakṣa'; also the f. *rām-āyanī* (AV.) 'daughter of the Black One' (*rāmā*-). The derivative *ukṣaṇ-āyana*, N. of a man, being formed without *Vṛddhi* is perhaps not meant for a patronymic.

195. The suffix *-āyī* occurs perhaps only twice, forming the feminine from two masculine stems in *-i* and designating the wife of the corresponding male: *agn-āyī* 'wife of Agni' and *vṛṣākāp-āyī* (only voc.) 'wife of Vṛṣākapi'.

196. The suffix *-āyya* forms gerundives<sup>6</sup>; e. g. *śrav-āyya* 'glorious' (*śru*- 'hear'). There are also a few other derivatives similarly formed, which are used as ordinary adjectives or as neuter abstracts; thus *ṇṛ-pāyya* 'guarding

<sup>1</sup> Formed from the weakest stem *maghōn*-.

<sup>2</sup> With syncope of the vowel of the suffix.

<sup>3</sup> Without *Guna* of the *ū*; similar exceptions in *pāśv-ā* 'side' (*pāśu*- 'rib'), *paidv-ā* 'belonging to Pedu', *mādhv-a* 'full of sweetness' (*mādhu*-), *yādv-a* 'belonging to Yadu'.

<sup>4</sup> It is natural to suppose that the suffix

*-a* is added to stems in *-a* as to others (the final vowel of the primitive disappearing before it) and not that derivation by *Vṛddhi* alone takes place here; cp. WHITNEY 1208 i.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. LEUMANN, KZ. 32, 294 ff.

<sup>6</sup> These are probably formed from dative infinitives in *-ai* + *-ya*; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1422; cp. also IF. 12, 2.

men', *bahu-pāyya-* 'protecting many'; *pūrva-pāyya-* 'first drink', *mahay-āyya-* 'enjoyment', *kuṇḍa-pāyya-* and *puru-māyya-* as Proper Names; also formed from nouns, *ras-āyya-* 'tasteful' (*rāsa-* 'sap') and *uttam-āyya-* n. 'summit' (*uttamā-* 'highest')<sup>1</sup>.

197. The suffix *-i* forms a few patronymics from nouns in *-a* with Vṛddhi in the initial syllable: *āgniveś-i-* 'descendant of Agniveśa', *pāurukuts-i-* 'son of Purukutsa', *prātardan-i-* 'descendant of Prātardana', *prāhrād-i-* (AV.) 'son of Prahrāda', *samvaran-i-* 'descendant of Samvarana'. Similarly formed, but with the sense of an ordinary substantive, is *sārath-i-* 'charioteer' (from *sa-rātha-m* 'on the same chariot'). Two other words add a secondary *-i* without Vṛddhi or patronymic sense: *tūpū-i-* 'burning' and *śucant-i-*, N. of a man (seemingly an extension of the participle *śuc-ānt-* 'shining')

198. Hundreds of adjectives are formed with the suffix *-in* from stems in *-a*, but very rarely from stems with any other final; e. g. *ark-in-* 'praising' (*arkā-* 'praise'), *mantṣ-in-* 'wise' (*mantṣ-śā-* 'wisdom'), *arc-in-* 'radiant' (*arci-* 'beam'), *śatagv-in-* 'consisting of hundreds' (\**śata-gva-*), *varm-in-* 'clad in armour' (*vārman-*), *śvan-in-* (VS.) 'keeping dogs' (*śván-*). With loss of final *-as*: *ret-in-* 'abounding in seed' (*rétas-*) and perhaps in the Proper Name *varc-in-* (*vārc-as-* 'power'); with loss of *-ya*: *hiraṇ-in-* 'adorned with gold' (*hiraṇ-ya-*).

199. The suffix *-ima* is very rare, being employed to form adjectives from the stems in *-tra* and from one in *-ra*: *kṛtr-ima-* 'artificial', *khan/tr-ima-* 'made by digging', *pūtr-ima-* (AV.) 'purified'; *agr-imā-* 'foremost' (*āg-ra-* 'front').

200. The suffix *-iya* is employed to form some 20 adjectives (from stems in *-a*). It is only a modified form of *-ya* which is added for facility of pronunciation after two or more consonants, the last of which is generally *r*, rarely *n*, *m* or *v*; e. g. *abhr-iyā-* 'derived from the clouds' (*abhṛd-*), *samudr-iyā-* 'belonging to the sea' (*samudrā-*), *indr-iyā-* 'belonging to Indra'; *kṛṣṇ-iyā-*, N. of a man (*kṛṣṇā-* 'black'); *ṛgm-īya* 'praiseworthy'; *aśv-iyā-* 'consisting of horses', 'troop'.

201. The suffix *-ī* is employed in a very large number of derivatives to form the feminine of masculine stems; often from stems in *-a*<sup>2</sup>; e. g. *āruś-ī-* 'ruddy' (*aruśā-*), *dev-ī-* 'goddess' (*devā-*); or in *-u*; e. g. *prthiv-ī-* 'broad' (*prthiv-*); or from stems formed with suffixes ending in consonants, as participles in *-at* or *-ant*, e. g. *pīprat-ī-* 'protecting' (*pī-* 'take across'), *ad-at-ī-* 'eating' (*ad-ānt-*), *mād-ant-ī-* 'rejoicing' or in *-vāṇis*, e. g. *jagm-īś-ī-* 'having gone'; comparatives in *-īyāṇis*, e. g. *nāv-īyas-ī-* 'new'; stems in *-tar*, e. g. *avitṛ-ī-* 'protectress'; in *-mant*, e. g. *dhenu-māt-ī-* 'abounding in nourishment'; in *-vant*, e. g. *āma-vat-ī-* 'impetuous'; in *-an*, e. g. *sōma-rājñ-ī-* 'having Soma as king'; in *-in*, e. g. *arkin-ī-* 'radiant'; in *-āñc*, e. g. *arvāc-ī-* 'hitherward'; in compounds of *-han* 'slaying', e. g. *a-pati-gñh-ī-* 'not killing a husband', of *-dṛś-* 'look', as *su-dṛś-ī-* 'well-looking', and of *-pād* 'foot', as *a-pād-ī-* 'footless'.

202. The suffix *-īna* forms more than a dozen adjectives from the weak stems of derivatives in *-āñc*, expressing direction without change of meaning; e. g. *arvāc-īna-* and *arvāc-īnā-* 'turned towards' (*arvāñc-* 'hitherward'). It also forms six or seven adjectives from other words, expressing the general sense of relation; e. g. *añjas-īna-* 'straightforward' (*añjasa-* 'straight'), *viśvajān-īna-* (AV.) 'containing all kinds of people'.

<sup>1</sup> See WHITNEY 1218 a.

formed with Vṛddhi in the initial syllable;

<sup>2</sup> This is regularly the case in stems e. g. *mānuṣ-a-* 'human', f. *mānuṣ-ī-*.

203. The suffix *-īya* forms fewer than a dozen general adjectives, of which only two occur in the RV.; e. g. *ārjīk-īya*, designation of a Soma vessel, *gr̥ha-medh-īya* 'relating to the domestic sacrifice'; *āhav-an-īya* (AV.) 'sacrificial fire', *parvat-īya* (AV.) 'mountainous'. This suffix also appears in the three ordinals *dvit-īya* 'second', *trī-īya* 'third', *tur-īya* 'fourth'.

204. The suffix *-ena* with Vṛddhi of the initial syllable, occurs only once, forming a general adjective, in its feminine form *samidh-enī* 'relating to fuel' (*samidh-*).

205. The suffix *-enya* was doubtless originally formed by the addition of *-ya* to derivatives made with *-na*, but it nearly always has a primary value as forming gerundives; e. g. *dr̥ś-énya* 'worthy to be seen'. It appears, however, also in the two ordinary adjectives *kīrt-énya* 'famous' (*kīrti-* 'fame') and *vīr-énya* 'manly' (*vīrá-* 'hero').

206. The suffix *-eya*, with Vṛddhi of the initial syllable, is employed to form fewer than a dozen adjectives of a patronymic or metronymic value and some half dozen adjectives of a general character, the latter occasionally appearing in the neuter as abstract substantives; e. g. *ārs-eyá-* 'descended from a seer' (*īśi-*), *ādīt-eyá-* 'son of Aditi'; *páurus-eya-* 'relating to man' (*pūruṣa-*), *māun-eya-* 'position of a sage' (*mūni-*). Two words with this suffix are formed without initial Vṛddhi, following the analogy of gerundives from roots ending in *ā* like *dāya* 'to be given' (*dā-* 'give'): *didr̥kṣ-éya-* 'worth seeing' (as from *didr̥kṣ-ā-* 'desire to see') and *sabh-éya-* 'fit for an assembly' (*sabhā-*).

207. The very rare suffix *-eyya* forms adjectives with a gerundive sense in *stus-éyya-*<sup>1</sup> 'praise-worthy', and *śapath-eyyā-* (AV.) 'worthy of cursing'. It also forms an ordinary adjective used as a neuter substantive, *sahas-éyya-* n. 'lying together' (*śī-* 'lie').

208. The suffix *-ka* was probably used originally to form adjectives expressive of connexion, but it has become so attenuated in meaning as often to be added to substantives or adjectives without changing the sense; while on the other hand it has become specialized as a suffix forming diminutives. 1. Examples of its significant use are: *ānta-ka-* 'making an end' (*ānta-*), *rūpa-ka-* (AV.) 'having an assumed form' (*rūpá-* 'form'); *asmā-ka-* 'our' (*asmā-* 'us'), *māma-ka-* 'my' (*māma* 'of me'); *ānti-ka-* 'near' (*ānti* 'before'). 2. The suffix appears without changing the meaning in e. g. *dūra-ká-* 'distant' (*dūrā-* 'far'), *vamra-ká-* 'ant' (*vamrá-* 'ant'), *sarva-ká-* (AV.) 'all' (*sárva-*), and in the fem. form of *-kā* in: *avi-kā-* 'ewe' (*āvi-* 'sheep'), *iṣu-kā-* (AV.) 'arrow' (*iṣu-*), *dhénu-kā-* (AV.) 'cow' (*dhenū-*). 3. The diminutive sense appears in e. g. *arbhā-ká-* 'small', *kumāra-ká-* 'little boy', *pāda-ká-* 'little foot', *putra-ká-* 'little son'<sup>2</sup>. Sometimes a contemptuous meaning is conveyed at the same time, as in *anya-ká-* 'other' (*anyá-*), *dā-ka-m* 'in vain' (*dā-m* 'enough')<sup>3</sup>.

a. With Vṛddhi in the first syllable is formed *māma-ká-*<sup>4</sup> 'belonging to me' (*māma*); and with connecting *-i-*: *vārs-i-ka-* (AV. VS.) 'belonging to the rains' (*vārsá-*), *vāsant-i-ka-* 'belonging to the spring' (*vasantá-*), and in the fem. *kairāt-ikā-* (AV.) 'relating to the Kirātas'.

209. The rare secondary suffix *-ta* has an ordinal sense in *eka-tá-* (VS.)

<sup>1</sup> This gerundive is probably based on the infinitive *stusé* 'to praise'; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1422 (5).

<sup>2</sup> The feminine of some of these diminutives is formed with *-ikā*: *īyāt-ikā-* 'so

small', *kumār-ikā-* (AV.) 'little girl', *khārv-ikā-* (AV.) 'mutilated', *śakunt-ikā-* 'little bird', *śīt-ikā-* 'cool' (AV. *śītá-* 'cold').

<sup>3</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 521.

<sup>4</sup> Beside the more normal *māma-ka-*.

'First', *dvi-tā* 'Second', *tri-tā* 'Third' as Proper Names. It also appears in *ava-tā* 'well' and *muhūr-tā* 'moment'.

210. With the suffix *-tana* and its syncopated form *-tna* are made, from adverbs or prepositions, a very few adjectives with a temporal sense: *nū-tana* and *nū-tna* 'present' (*nū* 'now'), *sanā-tāna* (AV.) and *sanā-tna* (AV.) 'eternal' (*sanā* 'from of old'), *prā-tnd-* 'ancient' (*prā* 'before').

211. The suffix *-tama* has two uses. It is employed to form superlatives from nominal stems and from the preposition *id*; e. g. *puru-tāma* 'very many', *mādhumat-tama* 'very sweet', *rathī-tama*<sup>1</sup> 'best charioteer'; *ut-tamā*<sup>2</sup> 'highest'. It is also used to form ordinals; e. g. *śata-tamā* 'hundredth'.

212. With the suffix *-taya* are formed only two adjectives from numerals in the sense of 'consisting of so many parts': *cātus-taya* (AV.) 'fourfold' and *dśa-taya* 'tenfold'.

213. The suffix *-tara* is regularly used to form comparatives from adjectives, substantives, or the preposition *id*; e. g. *tavās-tara* 'stronger', *rathī-tara* 'better charioteer', *vṛtra-tāra* 'worse Vṛtra'; *it-tara* 'higher'. It also forms the ordinary adjective *dīvā-tara* (RV.) 'diurnal' (*dīvā* 'by day'), and a few substantives in which the meaning of the suffix is somewhat obscure: *aśva-tāra*<sup>3</sup> (AV.) 'mule' (f. *-ī*), *vatsa-tarā*<sup>4</sup> 'weaned calf'<sup>5</sup> (f. *-ī*).

214. The suffix *-tav-ya*, probably originating from the predicative use of dative infinitives in *-tav-e* and beginning to be used in a gerundive sense, appears only twice in the AV.: *jan-i-tav-yā* 'to be born' and *hims-i-tav-yā* 'to be injured'.

215. The suffix *-tā* forms, from adjectives and substantives, some two dozen abstract nouns expressing the sense conveyed by the English suffixes *-ness* and *-ship*; e. g. *bandhū-tā* 'relationship', *vasī-tā* 'wealthiness'; *agī-tā* 'lack of cattle', *devā-tā* 'divinity', *puruṣā-tā* 'human nature'; *janā-tā* (AV.) has acquired the concrete sense of 'mankind'<sup>6</sup>. Exceptional formation appears in *mamā-tā* 'selfishness' and *trētā*<sup>7</sup> (VS. TS.) 'triad'. This suffix is probably contained in *sū-nī-tā*<sup>8</sup> 'gladness' also.

a. The suffixes *-tāti* and *-tāt* are related to *-tā* and have the same sense. With the former are made about a dozen abstract substantives; e. g. *a-riṣṭā-tāti* 'security', *grbhītā-tāti* 'the being seized', *jyeṣṭhā-tāti* 'superiority', *devā-tāti* 'divinity', *vasī-tāti* 'wealth', *sarvā-tāti* 'completeness'. The two substantives *śāni-tāti* 'good fortune' and *satyā-tāti* 'truth' also appear as adjectives meaning respectively 'beneficent' and 'truthful'. The suffix *-tāt*, which seems to be an abbreviation of *-tāti* and occurs only in the RV., is employed to form four or five abstract substantives: *uparā-tāt* 'proximity', *devā-tāt* 'divine service', *vṛkā-tāt* 'wolfishness', *sarvā-tāt* 'completeness'.

216. The suffix *-tya* forms some half dozen adjectives and substantives from prepositions and adverbs. These are *āpa-tya* n. 'offspring', *amā-tya* 'companion' (*amā* 'at home'), *āvis-tya* 'manifest' (*āvis* 'openly'), *nīṣ-tya* 'foreign' (*nīṣ* 'out'), *sānu-tya* 'secret'<sup>9</sup>. This suffix is also added to

<sup>1</sup> Also in the Proper Name *gō-tama*.

<sup>2</sup> The superlatives *tīvīṣ-tama* 'strongest' and *surabhīṣ-tama* 'most fragrant' insert a sibilant before the suffix.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps 'more (like a) horse' (than an ass).

<sup>4</sup> Probably 'more than a calf'.

<sup>5</sup> In *ratham-tarā*, designation of a kind of Sāman, in which the case ending of the acc. remains, the second part is doubtless

the verbal *-tara* 'speeding' (*tr-* 'cross'). *kārotarā* 'filter' and *kaulitarā*, designation of Sāmbara, are probably formed with *-a* and Vṛddhi.

<sup>6</sup> Like 'humanity' in English.

<sup>7</sup> Also in *trēt-in-tā* (RV.) 'the threefold flame of three fires'.

<sup>8</sup> Though it appears also as a neuter *sū-nīṣ-ta* 'gladness' and as an adjective 'joyful'.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. *sanu-tār* 'aside'.

the substantive *āp-* 'water' to form the two adjectives *ap-tyā-* and *āp-tyā-* 'watery'.

217. With the suffix *-tva* are formed more than thirty abstract substantives with the same sense as those in *-tā*; e. g. *amṛta-tvā-* 'immortality', *āham-uttara-tvā-* (AV.) 'assertion of superiority', *bhṛātṛ-tvā-* 'brotherhood', *maghavat-tvā-* 'liberality', *raksas-tvā-* 'sorcery'. The final syllable of the primitive is lengthened in *an-āgāts-tvā-* 'sinlessness'; while it is shortened in *sadhani-tvā-*<sup>1</sup> 'companionship'. Owing to the influence of the nominative, *s* is inserted before the suffix in *su-prajā-s-tvā-* 'possession of many children' and with initial *Ṛddhi* in *sauprajā-s-tvā-*<sup>2</sup> (AV<sup>1</sup>.) 'possession of good offspring'.

a. The two suffixes *-tā* and *-tva*, identical in meaning, are pleonastically combined in the form of *-tva-tā-* in the two derivatives *iṣita-tvātā-* 'excitement', and *puruṣa-tvātā-* 'human nature'.

218. The suffix *-tvana*, an extension of *-tva* with *-na*, appears in the formation of some eight neuter abstracts occurring almost exclusively in the RV. These are *kavi-tvanā-* 'wisdom', *jani-tvanā-* 'state of a wife'; *pati-tvanā-* 'matrimony', *martya-tvanā-* 'the ways of man', *mahi-tvanā-* 'greatness', *vasu-tvanā-* 'wealth', *vr̥ṣa-tvanā-* 'manliness', *sakhi-tvanā-* 'friendship'. All of these except *martya-tvanā-* have beside them the corresponding abstracts formed with *-tva*<sup>3</sup>.

219. The suffix *-tha* forms a few ordinals from cardinals, and adjectives from pronominal stems with a general numerical sense. Thus *catur-thā* (AV.) 'fourth', *ṣaṣ-thā-* (AV. VS.) 'sixth', *saptā-tha-* 'seventh'; *kati-thā-* 'the how manyth?'.<sup>4</sup>

220. The rare secondary suffix *-na* appears in one adjective derived with initial *Ṛddhi* from a substantive, *strī-ṇa-* 'feminine' (*strī-* 'woman'), and in three adjectives derived from adverbs without any internal change: *purā-ṇa-* 'ancient' (*purā* 'before'), *viśu-ṇa-* 'various' (*viśu-* 'apart'), *samā-ṇa-* 'like' (*samā-* 'equal').

221. The suffix *-nī* is used to form the feminine of *pāti-* 'lord' and *paraṣ-ā-* 'knotty', as well as of several adjectives in *-ta* denoting colours. Thus *pāt-nī-* 'mistress', *pāruṣ-ṇī-*, as N. of a river. The suffix is substituted for *-ta* in *ē-nī-* 'variegated' (*ē-ta-*), *rōhi-ṇī-* 'red cow' (*rōhi-ta-* 'red'), *śyē-nī-* 'white cow' (*śyē-tā-* 'white'), *hāri-ṇī-* 'fallow' (*hāri-ta-*). In a few such words *-nī* is substituted for the final *a*, while *h* takes the place of the *t*: *āsik-nī-* 'black' (*āsi-ta-*), *pālik-nī-* 'grey' (*pāli-tā-*), *hārik-nī-* in the diminutive form *hārikṇ-ikā-* (AV.) 'yellowish' (*hāri-ta-* 'fallow').

222. The suffix *-bha* forms half a dozen derivatives, all names of animals except one adjective<sup>5</sup>: *ṛṣa-bhā-* and *vr̥ṣa-bhā-* 'bull', *garda-bhā-* and *rāsa-bha-*<sup>6</sup> 'ass', *śara-bhā-* (AV. VS.) 'fabulous eightlegged animal'. The one adjective is *sthūla-bhā-* (AV<sup>1</sup>.) beside *sthūla-* 'big'.

223. The suffix *-ma* forms some eight superlatives, partly from prepositions, and the ordinals from the cardinals for 'five' and 'seven', 'eight', 'nine', 'ten'. The former are: *adha-mā-* 'lowest', *apa-mā-* 'farthest', *ava-mā-* 'lowest',

<sup>1</sup> From *sadha-nī-* ('one who leads with him') 'companion', which is, however, analysed in the Pāda text as *sa-dhanī-*.

<sup>2</sup> *saubhaga-tvā-* 'happiness' is formed from *sāubhaga-* 'welfare' = 'condition of welfare', not from *su-bhāga-* 'lucky', from which is formed *subhaga-tvā-* 'welfare'.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. LINDNER 26 and 28.

<sup>4</sup> See BRUGMANN, Morphologische Untersuchungen 2, p. 198, and Grundriss 2, p. 315.

<sup>5</sup> See BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 203; cp. p. 89, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> Formed, with *Ṛddhi* and accented on the initial syllable, from *ras-* 'roar', 'bray' etc.

*upa-má-* 'highest', *ánta-má-*<sup>1</sup> 'nearest', *cara-má-* 'last', *para-má-* 'remotest', *madhya-má-* 'middlemost'. The ordinals are: *pañca-má-* (AV. VS.) 'fifth', *sapta-má-* (VS.) 'seventh', *aṣṭa-má-* 'eighth', *nava-má-* 'ninth', *daśa-má-* 'tenth'.

224. The suffix *-mant* forms in the Samhitās between 80 and 90 possessive adjectives, like the parallel suffix *-vant*<sup>2</sup>, with which it is to some extent interchangeable. Unlike *-vant*, however, it never forms derivatives from stems ending in *-ā* except *kāṇva-mant-* (RV.) 'prepared by the Kanvas' and *yáva-mant-* 'rich in barley'. Examples are: *aśáni-mant-* 'possessing the thunder-bolt', *śadhi-mant-* (AV.) 'rich in herbs', *krātu-mant-* 'having power', *vadhū-mant-* 'drawn by mares'(?), *hótr-mant-* 'provided with a sacrificer', *gō-mant-* 'rich in kine', *virúk-mant-* 'gleaming', *garūt-mant-* 'winged'(?), *kakūd-mant-*<sup>3</sup> 'provided with a hump', *cákṣus-mant-* 'possessed of eyes', *vidyūn-mant-*<sup>4</sup> 'containing lightning'.

a. A final *i* is sometimes lengthened: *tvīṣi-mant-* 'vehement' (*tvīṣi-* 'vehemence'), *dhṛáṣi-mant-* 'gliding' (*dhṛáṣi-* = *dhṛáṣi-* 'gliding motion'), *hīrī-mant-* 'tawny-horsed' (*hīrī-* = *hāri-* 'bay steed'); *-ī* is inserted in *jyótiṣ-ī-mant-* (AV.)<sup>5</sup> 'full of light' (beside *jyótiṣ-mant-*), and *s* in *śuci-s-mant-*<sup>6</sup> 'shining'. In the derivative *susu-mant-* (RV.) 'very stimulating' the suffix seems to have primary value<sup>7</sup>. The adverb *āsu-māt* (AV.)<sup>8</sup>, formed from the neuter of this suffix, seems to follow the analogy of adverbs in *-vat* from derivatives in *-vant*.

225. The suffix *-maya* (f. *-ī*) forms fewer than a dozen adjectives with the sense of 'consisting of', 'derived from', 'abounding in'. The suffix *-as* remains unchanged before the *m*, but *ā* is assimilated as in external Sandhi. Derivatives thus formed are: *ayas-māya-* 'made of metal', *aśman-māya-* 'made of stone', *kim-māya-* 'consisting of what?', *go-māya-* 'consisting of cattle', *nabhas-māya-* 'vaporous', *manas-māya-* 'spiritual', *mṛn-māya-* 'made of clay' (*mṛd-*), *śaka-māya-* 'arising from dung', *sū-māya-*<sup>9</sup> 'well-fashioned'.

226. The suffix *-mín* was most probably due to the derivatives in *-in* from nouns in *-ma*, like *dhūm-in-* 'smoking' (*dhūmá-* 'smoke') which are fairly common. It has an independent character, however, in *iṣ-mín-* 'impetuous' and *ṛg-mín-*<sup>10</sup> 'jubilant with praise' (*ṛc-*).

227. The rare suffix *-mna* forms a few neuter abstracts from nouns or particles. It seems to be an extension with *-a* of *-man* syncopated like *-tna* for *-tana*. The derivatives formed with it are: *dyu-mná-* 'brightness' (*dyū-* 'sky'), *nr-mná-* 'manliness' (*nṛ-* 'man'), *ni-mná-* 'depth' (*nī-* 'down'), *su-mná-* 'welfare' (*su-* 'well').

228. The very common suffix *-ya*<sup>11</sup> forms a large number of adjectives of relation, including a good many patronymics, and abstract substantives. It is pronounced *-ia* nearly four times as often as *-ya*. The feminine is usually *-yā*, both in adjectives and abstract substantives; but in the former it is sometimes *-ī*, as *ār-ī-* and *ār-yā-* 'Aryan', *dāiv-ī-*<sup>12</sup> and *dāiv-yā-* 'divine'.

a. All the patronymics besides a good many general adjectives, and most of the abstract substantives are formed with initial Vrddhi; e. g. *ādīt-yā-* 'Son of Aditi', *sāhadev-yā-* 'descendant of Sahadeva'; *grāiv-yā-* (AV.) 'relating to the neck' (*grīvā-*), *dāiv-yā-* 'divine' (*devā-* 'god'), *prājāpat-yā-* (AV.)

<sup>1</sup> Once (I. 1655) *anta-má-*; cp. p. 89, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Which is, however, about three times as common.

<sup>3</sup> The VS. has *kakūn-mant-* as in external Sandhi.

<sup>4</sup> With assimilated *t* as in external Sandhi.

<sup>5</sup> Following the analogy of *tāviṣi-mant-* 'strong'.

<sup>6</sup> Occurring only once in the vocative *śuciṣ-mas*.

<sup>7</sup> The word is analysed in the Pada text as *susu-mān*.

<sup>8</sup> This derivative seems to preserve the originally nominal character of this suffix.

<sup>9</sup> In this derivative the original guttural appears, though it has become sonant as in external Sandhi.

<sup>10</sup> See WHITNEY 1210—1213 (p. 459—466) and LINDNER 36 (p. 138—144).

<sup>11</sup> These are evident instances of the reduction of unaccented *yā* to *ī*; cp. 24 a.

'relating to Prajāpati'; *ādhipat-ya-* 'lordship' (*ādhi-pati-* 'lord'), *jānarāj-ya-* (VS.) 'kingship' (*jana-rājan-* 'king of the people'), *vaiṁanas-yā-* (AV.) 'dejection' (*vī-manas-*), *sāṁgrāmajit-ya-* (AV.) 'victory in battle' (*samgrāma-jit-* AV.) 'conquering in battle'), *śūvaśv-ya-*<sup>1</sup> 'wealth in horses' (*śv-śva-*).

b. Derivatives formed without Vṛddhi are mostly ordinary adjectives, being about four times as numerous as those formed with Vṛddhi. They are made from stems with all kinds of finals. The following are examples: *śśv-ya-* 'relating to horses' (*śśva-*); *urvar-yā-* (VS.) 'belonging to cultivated land' (*urvárā-*); *āv-yā-* 'belonging to sheep' (*āvi-*); *vāyav-yā-*<sup>2</sup> 'belonging to wind' (*vāyī-*); *nār-ya-* 'manly' (*nī-* 'man'); *pītr-ya-* 'belonging to the fathers' (*pītr-*); *gāu-ya-* 'derived from cows' (*gó-*); *nāv-yā-* (AV.) 'navigable' (*nāu-* 'boat'), *svarāj-ya-* 'autocracy' (*sva-rāj-* 'sovereign'); *karman-yā-* 'skilful in work' (*kárman-*), *vīśṇu-ya-*<sup>3</sup> 'virile' (*vīśṇan-* 'male'); *sat-yā-*<sup>4</sup> 'true' (*sánt-*), *prāc-yā-* (AV.) 'eastern' (*prāc-*); *āyus-yā-* (VS. AV.) 'length of life' (*āyus-*).

a. The final *-a* is retained before the suffix in *hīrayā-ya-* 'made of gold' (*hīraṇya-*), while *-au* is dropped before it in *aryam-yā-* 'intimate' (*arya-mān-* 'companion'). The suffix is added pleonastically in *avyā-ya-* and *āvya-ya-* 'belonging to sheep' (beside *āv-ya-*) and *gāvya-ya-* 'derived from cows' (beside *gāu-ya-*); also in forming a few possessive compounds, as *śu-hāst-ya-* 'skilful-handed' (beside *śu-hāsta-*)<sup>5</sup>. It is also used in forming a few governing compounds, as *ādhi-gart-ya-* 'being on the driver's seat' (*gárta-*), *abhi-nābh-yā-m-*, adv. 'near the clouds' (*nābhas-*)<sup>6</sup>.

β. In some adjectives and substantives, the suffix has a primary appearance; e.g. *pūs-ya-* 'flower', *yūj-ya-* 'related', *mādh-ya-* 'middle', *mār-ya-* 'young man', *sūr-ya-* 'sun', f. *sūr-yā-*<sup>7</sup> (*svār-* 'light').

γ. Though as a gerundive suffix *-ya* must be regarded as primary, it is manifestly secondary in certain adjectives which have a gerundive sense; thus *a-vi-mok-yā-* (AV.) 'not to be loosened', *pari-varg-yā-*<sup>8</sup> (AV.) 'to be avoided'.

δ. Akin to the gerundives are a few abstract feminines in *-yā*; e.g. *kṛ-t-yā-* 'action', 'enchantment', *vid-yā-*<sup>9</sup> (AV.) 'knowledge', *deva-yaj-yā-* 'worship of the gods'.

229. The rare suffix *-yin*, like *-in*, forms a few possessive adjectives, all of which except one occur in the VS. They are *ātata-yin-* (VS.) 'having one's bow drawn' (*ā-tata-*), *dhanvā-yin-* (VS.) 'bearing a bow' (*dhānvan-*), *marā-yin-*<sup>10</sup> (RV<sup>1</sup>), N. of a man, *śrka-yin-* (VS.) 'having a spear' (*śrkā-*), *svadhā-yin-*<sup>11</sup> (VS.) 'owning the Svadhā'.

230. The suffix *-ra* forms four superlatives from prepositions and about a dozen ordinary nouns, most of which are adjectives. The superlatives are *dāha-ra-* 'lower', *āpa-ra-* 'later', *āva-ra-* 'lower', *ūpa-ra-*<sup>12</sup> 'lower'. The ordinary adjectives formed with the suffix have the sense of 'belonging to' or 'connected with'. It is usually added direct; e.g. *dhūm-rā-* 'grey' (*dhūmā-* 'smoke'), *āsrī-rā-* 'ugly', *pāṁsu-rā-* 'dusty' (*pāṁsū-* 'dust', AV.), and with initial Vṛddhi *āgnīdh-rā-* 'belonging to the fire-kindler' (*agnīdh-*). It is added with connecting *i* in *medh-i-rā-* 'wise' (*medhā-* 'wisdom') and *rath-i-rā-* 'riding in a car'. It also occurs in a few substantives, some of which are of

<sup>1</sup> As if from *śvaśva-*; like *vaiyaśv-ā-* 'descendant of Vyaśva'; cp. WHITNEY 1204 b, c.

<sup>2</sup> With Guna of final *-u* as usual before secondary suffixes (190); *prāśav-yā-* 'to be partaken of' (*prā-ś-*) and *ūrjav-yā-* 'rich in nourishment' (*ūrj-*) are formed without any primitives *prāśu-* and *ūrju-*.

<sup>3</sup> With syncope in the suffix of the primitive; cp. 190.

<sup>4</sup> From the weak stem of the primitive; cp. 190.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 1212 c.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 1212 m.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 1213 e; and Roots, under *svar-* 'sound'.

<sup>8</sup> Here the guttural shows that these words are derived from nominal stems *-moka-* and *-varga-*.

<sup>9</sup> In the RV. only in the compound *jātā-vidyā-* 'knowledge of creatures'.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps meaning 'brilliant' or, according to Sayana, 'destroying' enemies.

<sup>11</sup> The TS. IV. 4. 114 has *svadhā-vin-*.

<sup>12</sup> For *ānta-ra* cp. above p. 90, 39 and note 1.

doubtful etymology: *karmā-ra*<sup>1</sup> 'smith', *muśka-rā*- (AV.), a kind of small animal<sup>2</sup>, *śāmbara*<sup>3</sup>, N. of a demon, *śāṅkurā*- (AV.) 'penis', *sahās-ra*- 'thousand'.

231. The suffix *-la* forms about a dozen adjectives with the same meaning as those formed with *-ra*, with which it sometimes interchanges and of which it is generally a later form. Examples are: *āṣṭi-lā*- (AV.) 'ugly', *kapi-lā*- 'brown', *jīva-lā*- (AV.) 'lively', *tīlvi-la*- 'fertile', *bahu-lā*- 'abundant', *madhu-lā*- 'sweet', *śvā-la*- (AV.) 'shiny'. This suffix also forms two or three diminutives: *vr̥ṣa-lā*- 'little man', *śiśū-la*- 'little child', and the fem. *śalāka-lā*- (AV.) 'small splint'.

232. The suffix *-va* forms a few adjectives: *arṇa-vā*- 'billowy', *keśa-vā*- (AV.) 'hairy', *añji-vā*- (AV.) 'slippery', *śanti-vā*- (AV.) 'friendly', *śradhhi-vā*- 'credible'.

233. The suffix *-vā* forms seven feminine abstract substantives, with a local sense, from adverbs or prepositions: *arvā-vāt*<sup>4</sup> 'proximity', *ā-vāt*- (AV.) 'proximity', *ud-vāt*- 'height', *ni-vāt*- 'depth', *parā-vāt*- 'distance', *pra-vāt*- 'height', *saṃ-vāt*- 'region'.

234. With the suffix *-van*, before which *-a* and *-i* may be lengthened, are formed some twenty derivatives, nearly all adjectives with the sense of 'possessing' or 'connected with'. The adjectives are: *amati-vān*- 'indigent', *arāti-vān*- 'hostile', *ṛghā-van*- 'impetuous', *ṛṇā-vān*- 'indebted', *dhitā-van*-<sup>5</sup> 'rich in gifts', *dhi-van*- (AV.) 'clever', *maghā-van*- 'bountiful', *śruṣṭi-vān*- 'obedient', *satyā-van*-<sup>6</sup> (AV.) 'truthful', *samād-van*- 'warlike', *svadhā-van*-, f. *-varī*-<sup>7</sup> 'faithful', *hārd-van*- (VS.) 'hearty'; also the feminines *sumnā-vārti*- 'bringing favour', *sūṇṭi-vārī*- 'joyous'. Somewhat anomalously formed are *indhan-van*- 'possessed of fuel' (*indhana*-), *sahā-van*-<sup>8</sup> and *sāho-van*-<sup>9</sup> (AV.) 'mighty'. There are also the substantives *āthar-van*- m. 'fire-priest', *muṣṭ-vān*- m. 'robber', and *śanti-van*-<sup>10</sup> 'reward'.

235. The suffix *-vant* forms, from nominal stems of every kind, possessive adjectives numbering at least 250 in the Saṃhitās. A final vowel is often lengthened before the suffix, most frequently *-a*, but very rarely *-u*. Examples are: *keśa-vant*- 'hairy', *āśvā-vant*- 'possessed of horses' (beside *āśva-vant*-); *prajā-vant*- 'having progeny'; *sākhi-vant*- 'having friends', *śākṭi-vant*- 'mighty' (*śākṭi*- 'might'); *dyāvā-prthivī-vant*-<sup>11</sup> (AV.) 'connected with heaven and earth'; *viśṇu-vant*- 'accompanied by Viṣṇu', *viśvā-vant*- 'dividing' (*viśvā*- 'apart'); *hāriti-vant*- 'gold-coloured'; *āsan-vant*- (AV.) 'having a mouth', *rōmaṇ-vant*- and *lōma-vant*- (AV.) 'hairy', *śrīṣaṇ-vant*- (AV.) 'having a head'; *kakūbh-vant*- (MS. 1. 11<sup>1</sup>) 'having a peak'; *svār-vant*- 'splendid'; *pīyāśva-vant*- 'containing milk', *nas-vant*- (AV.) 'having a nose'. With external Sandhi: *pīśad-vant*- 'variegated'<sup>12</sup>.

a. Some of these derivatives, especially if formed from pronominal stems, have the meaning of 'resembling' instead of 'possessing'; thus *mā-vant*- 'like me', *i-vant*- 'so great', *kī-vant*- 'how far?', *īndras-vant*-<sup>13</sup> 'like Indra', *nīla-vant*-

<sup>1</sup> *śtvāra*- 'treasury' probably stands by haplology for *śtvā-vāra*-.

<sup>2</sup> The word occurs in TS. v. (B) as an adjective meaning 'having testicles'.

<sup>3</sup> Probably a foreign word.

<sup>4</sup> From *arva*- 'hither' contained in *arvāñc*- 'hitherward' and some other derivatives.

<sup>5</sup> The Pada text has *dhitā-van*-.

<sup>6</sup> The Pada text has *satyā-van*-.

<sup>7</sup> The fem. of the secondary *-van* being formed like that of the primary *-van*; see 177 and cp. 179 a.

<sup>8</sup> The Pada text has *sahā-van*-.

<sup>9</sup> The only instance of external Sandhi with this suffix.

<sup>10</sup> With *-t* interposed, as after short radical vowel preceding primary *-van*; e. g. *kṛt-van*-.

<sup>11</sup> Retaining the double accent of the primitive.

<sup>12</sup> In a few derivatives *-vant* has the appearance of a primary suffix: *vivās-vant*- or *vi-vāsvant*- 'shining', *dr-vant*- 'swift', *yuh-vant*- 'speeding'.

<sup>13</sup> With the *s* of the nominative.



'blackish', *ny-vánt-* 'manly'. From this sense is derived the use of the **neuter** acc. as an **adverb of comparison**, e.g. *manuṣ-vát* 'like Manus', 'as Manus did'.

236. The very rare suffix **-vaya**, probably a noun in origin, seems to be found only in one numeral adjective, *cātur-vaya-* 'fourfold', and one substantive, *dru-vāya-* (AV.) 'wooden dish'.

237. The suffix **-vala** (cp. 179) seems to be used in the formation of secondary derivatives only in *kṛṣi-valā-* 'peasant' (*kṛṣi-* 'tillage') and in the fem. *naḍ-valā-* (VS.) 'reed-bed'.

238. The suffix **-vin** is used in forming nearly twenty possessive adjectives from stems ending in **-a** (which is lengthened), **-ā<sup>1</sup>**, **-as**; thus *ubhayā-vin-* 'partaking of both' (*ubhāya-*), *aṣṭrā-vin-* 'obedient to the goad', *yaśas-vin-* (AV.) 'beautiful'. To the analogy of the derivatives from stems in **-as** is due the insertion of *s* in *śata-s-vin-* 'possessing a hundred'. The only derivatives from stems ending in any consonant other than *s* are *dhr̥ṣad-vin-* 'bold' (*dhr̥ṣāt-*) and *vāg-vin-* (AV.) 'eloquent' (*vāc-* 'speech'), both formed as in external Sandhi.

239. The only derivative of the suffix **-vya** forming names of relationship which occur in the Saṃhitās seems to be *bhrātṛ-vya-* (father's) 'brother's son'<sup>2</sup>.

240. The suffix **-śa** forms eight or nine adjectives or substantives without in most instances changing the original meaning. The **adjectives** are *śta-śa-* 'variegated', *bābhlu-śa-* (VS.) 'brownish', *yuva-śa-* 'youthful', and with possessive sense *roma-śa-* 'hairy'. The **substantives** are *aṅku-śa-* m. 'hook', *kāśma-śa-* (AV.) m. or n. 'stupefaction'(?), *kalī-śa-* m. 'jar', *turvā-śa-*, N. of a man, *lopā-śa-*<sup>3</sup> m. 'jackal'.

## V. COMPOUNDS.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 245—282. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1246—1316. — REUTER, Die altindischen nominalcomposita, ihrer betonung nach untersucht, KZ. 31, 157—232; 485—612. — WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik, 2<sup>1</sup>, Nominalkomposition, 1905: cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 20, 162—172 (Anzeiger).

241. **Form of compounds.**—The Vedic language has inherited from the Indo-European speech the power of combining words into a compound treated like a simple word as regards accent, inflexion, and construction. Both in the frequency and the length of compounds the Vedic language resembles that of Homer. In the RV. and the AV. no compounds of more than three independent members occur; and those which consist of three members are rare, such as *ādabdhā-vrata-pramati-* 'superior-minded owing to unbroken observances', *pūrva-kāma-kṛtvān-* 'fulfilling former wishes', *mitho-avadya-pa-* 'mutually warding off want', *hāri-manyu-sāyaka-* 'stimulating the mettle of the bays'.

The **two characteristic features** of a compound are **unity of accent** and use of the **uninflected stem in the first member** (or members). There are, however, exceptions to both these rules. The Sandhi between the two numbers is occasionally different from that between words in a sentence. Occasionally also tmesis of a compound occurs<sup>4</sup>. Generally speaking a

<sup>1</sup> The doubtful word *vy-aśuv-in-* (VS<sup>1</sup>.) seems to add *-in* to the present stem with interposed euphonic *-v-*.

<sup>2</sup> *pitr-vya-* 'father's brother', 'uncle', occurs in the later language.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. GUSTAV MEYER, IF. 1, 328.

<sup>4</sup> Frequently in dual compounds, as *dyāvā ha kṣāmā* 'heaven and earth'; occasionally in others also, as *śiṇas cic chēṣam* for *śiṇaḥ-śēṣam*; *nārā vā śāmsam* for *nārā-śāmsam*; *saptā me saptā* for *saptā-saptā me*.

compound assumes a modified and single meaning as compared with the same words used in juxtaposition in a sentence; e. g. *kṛṣṇa-sakunī-* (AV.) 'raven', while *kṛṣṇāḥ sakunīḥ* would mean 'black bird'. Compounding must take place when a derivative has to be formed from the two words; as *kṣétrapat-ya-* 'property' beside *kṣétrasya páti-* 'lord of the field'. Sometimes, however, the case-ending remains while the compound accent is used, as *rāyas-poṣa-dā-* 'bestowing abundance of wealth', beside *rāyās pōṣa-* 'abundance of wealth'. There is a tendency to compounding when the first of two syntactical words is indeclinable. Thus beside *sāṃ yós* 'happiness and welfare' also appears *sāṃ-yós* (I. 34<sup>6</sup>); and analogously the indeclinable form or stem of a word takes the place of the case<sup>1</sup>. Sometimes compounds are formed by the coalescence of inflected words occurring side by side in a sentence. Thus *viśvāḥ* (TS.) 'all days' beside *āhā viśvā* (RV.) has become *viśvāḥ* 'daily' with a single accent. Occasionally, when two compounds have the same final member, the latter is used only once, as *mitrótā*<sup>2</sup> *médhyātithim* (I. 36<sup>7</sup>) for *mitrātithim utá médhyātithim*; *patayán mandayát-sakham* (I. 4<sup>7</sup>) for *patayát-sakham mandayát-sakham*. Sometimes one of the members of a compound governs a case<sup>3</sup> outside the compound, as *drvato māṃsa-bhikṣām* (I. 162<sup>12</sup>) 'begging for the flesh of the steed'; in some instances pleonastically, as *gaṇānāṃ gaṇá-patim* (II. 23<sup>4</sup>) 'troop-leader of troops'. A case-form may agree with the first member of a compound when that member has the form or even only the sense of that case, as *rāyās-kāmo viśvāpsnyasya* (VII. 42<sup>6</sup>) 'desirous of wealth of all forms'; or a case-form may agree with the second member, while coordinated in sense with the first, as *mahā-dhané* . . *árbhe* (I. 7<sup>5</sup>) 'in great booty (and) in small'.

a. The gender of compounds is, in Copulatives (Dvandvas) and Determinatives (Tatpuruṣas) ending in substantives, that of the last member<sup>4</sup>; but collective compounds are regularly neuter<sup>5</sup>. Compounds ending in adjectives, possessives, and governing compounds have the gender of the substantives with which they agree or which they represent. The number in Determinatives is that of the last member. In Copulatives of the older types it is dual or plural according to the total number meant by the combination, while it is singular (and neuter) in the later type. Collective compounds (whether copulatives or possessives) are singular. Compounds ending in adjectives, possessives, and governing compounds, have the number of the substantive with which they agree or which they represent.

### A. The First Member of Compounds.

242. Its form.— The first member of nominal compounds may consist of nouns (including numerals and pronouns) or indeclinables suitable for qualifying nouns. Exceptionally an inflected form appears in this position qualifying the second member in dependent determinatives and possessives. This is mainly due to words frequently in juxtaposition becoming permanently joined; thus beside the two independent words *jāts pátiḥ* (VII. 38<sup>6</sup>) 'lord of the family'

<sup>1</sup> Thus for *viṣṇoḥ kṛāma-* (AV. TS.) 'step of Viṣṇu' there appears in a B. passage of the TS. (V. 2. 1<sup>1</sup>) the compound *viṣṇu-kṛāmā-*.

<sup>2</sup> The Pada text reads *mitrā utá*.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to be almost restricted to the genitive in the Samhitās, but many examples of other cases (acc., inst., dat., abl.) occur in the later language.

<sup>4</sup> In a few Dvandvas the gender of the

first member prevails (265, notes 1 and 2); and a few Determinatives change the gender of the final member, as *patnī-sāla-* (VS.) n. (*sālā-*) 'shed for the wives (of sacrificers)' and *agra-jihvā-* (VS.) n. 'tip of the tongue' (*jihvā-*).

<sup>5</sup> Both Dvandvas (266) and Bahuvrhis (290).

we find the compound *jās-patim* (I. 185<sup>b</sup>)<sup>1</sup>. But it partly also arises from a desire to express the syntactical relation of the words in the compound even without antecedent juxtaposition; as in the verbal determinatives *dhanaṇi-jayá-* 'winning booty', *apsu-sád-* 'dwelling in waters'; or in possessives like *rāyās-kāma-* 'desirous of wealth'. Such case-endings show a tendency to encroach beyond their legitimate sphere; thus the frequency of the ending *-as* before *-pati-*, e. g. *vāc-ās-pāti-* 'lord of speech', led to its becoming the general genitive sign before that word, as in *rātha-s-pāti-* 'lord of the car' (*rātha-*). Similarly, according to *apsu-ksī-t-* 'dwelling in the waters' was formed *apsu-jī-t-* beside *ab-jī-t-* 'winning waters', where the locative is not appropriate. Ordinarily the first member appears only in its stem form. As the stem cannot express **number** it may mean either the singular or the plural. That it often indicates the plural is shown by expressions like *narāṇi* or *jānānāṇi nr-pāṭī-* 'manguardian of men' or 'people'. The plural sense is also evident in compounds like *devā-kṛta-* 'made by the gods', *vīrā-jāta-* 'produced by men', *nr-pāṭī-* 'lord of men'. In personal pronouns and cardinals the number is of course inherent in the stem itself.

a. The **gender** is expressed in the first member only in as far as feminine words retain their f. stem when coordinated in copulatives or dependent on the final member in the sense of a case in determinatives; e. g. *patnī-sāla-* (VS.) 'shed for wives'. The f. suffix *-ā* is, however, often shortened to *a*<sup>2</sup>, as in *amīva-hān-* 'destroying suffering', *amīva-sātana-* 'dispelling suffering' (*amīva-*). But when a feminine adjective as first member agrees attributively with a feminine in the last member, it appears in the masculine stem-form<sup>3</sup>; e. g. *prāyata-dakṣiṇa-* 'one by whom a sacrificial fee (*dakṣiṇā*) has been presented'<sup>4</sup>.

243. If the **stem** is liable to gradation, that form is used which occurs in the **weak** cases. Thus in the **vowel stems** *-i*, *-u*, *-r*, appear; e. g. *pāti-jusṭa-* 'dear to a husband', *vasu-vid-* 'finding wealth', *pitṛ-yajñā-* 'sacrifice to the manes'. Similarly *dyu-* (*dīṇ-*) 'heaven' appears before consonants, as *dyu-ksā-* 'dwelling in heaven', *dyū-bhaktā-* 'presented by heaven', but *div-* before vowels, as *div-īt-* 'going to heaven', *div-iṣṭi-* 'prayer'. The two stems *dāru-* 'wood' and *āp-* 'water' are reduced to *dru-* and *ap-*: *dru-pādī-* 'wooden pillar', *dru-sād-* 'sitting on the tree'; *ap-tīr-* 'overcoming the waters', *ab-jā-* 'derived from waters'. The stem *pūmāṇs-* 'man' appears in the weak form *pūṇs-* in *pūṇs-calt-* (VS. AV.) and *pūṇs-calt-* (VS.) 'courtezan' ('running after men').

a. **Stems in -an** have *-a* not only before consonants<sup>5</sup>, but also before vowels<sup>6</sup> and *y*, *v*<sup>7</sup>; e. g. *rāja-putrā-* 'king's son', *ukṣāṇna-* 'devouring bulls' (*ukṣān-*), *āsmāsyā-* 'whose mouth is a rock' (*āsmān-*), *brāhmeddha-* 'kindled with devotion' (*brāhman-*), *brahmaudanā-* (AV.) 'boiled rice (*odanā-*) for Brāhman's' (*brahmān-*). Exceptions, however, are *nemann-iṣ-* 'following the lead', *vṛṣaṇ-aśvā-* 'drawn by stallions', *vṛṣaṇ-vasu-* 'having great wealth'<sup>8</sup>.

b. **Stems in -in** seem to follow the same analogy, dropping the *-n* before consonants; thus *śāci-gu-* (only voc.) 'having strong cattle' and *śāci-pūjana-* (only voc.) 'worshipping the strong'<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The compounding of such forms probably often started from vocatives like *sahasra putra* treated as a unit in regard to accent.

<sup>2</sup> This, however, seems to be due to metrical influence.

<sup>3</sup> An exception in *uvy-āt-* 'giving wide aid', where the f. stem *uvī-* appears instead of the m. *uvī-*.

<sup>4</sup> In *brhāc-chandas-* (AV.) 'having Brhati

as metre' and *jāgac-chandas-* (AV. VS.) 'having Jagati as metre', the first members doubtless represent neuter names of the metres.

<sup>5</sup> As in *rāja-bhis* etc.

<sup>6</sup> Unlike *rāj-ñ-e* etc.

<sup>7</sup> Not *-an* as in *rājan-yā-*, *udan-vānt-*.

<sup>8</sup> In *āsānn-iṣu-* 'having arrows in his mouth' the first member is a locative.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 54 β, note.

c. Occasionally the **weak grade stem** used as first member does not occur as an independent word; thus *kṣā-pāvant-* and *kṣa-pāvant-* 'earth-protector' from *kṣām-* 'earth'; *jñu-bād-* 'bending the knee' from *jñu-* 'knee'; *man-dhāt-* 'devout man' from *mān-as-* 'mind' (through \**manz-*), *sāt-pati-* 'lord of the abode', probably from *sād-as-* 'abode' (through \**sats-*).

204. When in the inflexion of a word two or more **collateral stems** (not differing in gradation only) are used, the one which appears in weak cases is mostly employed as first member in compounds. 1. Even though the stem *ās-yā-* 'mouth' is inflected throughout, the alternative stems of weak cases *ās-* and *āsan-* are preferred: *ā-daghnā-* 'reaching to the mouth', *āsann-iṣu-*<sup>1</sup> 'having arrows in his mouth'. 2. *udān-*<sup>2</sup> 'water' is preferred to *uda-kā-*<sup>3</sup>; *uda-grābhā-* m. 'holding water', *uda-pū-* (AV.) 'purified by water', *uda-meghā-* 'water-shower'; *uda-kā-* appears only in *uddakātman-*<sup>4</sup> (AV.) 'having water for its chief substance'. 3. Of the three stems *pānthān-*, *pathi-*, *pāth-*, only the middle one, which appears before consonant endings, is used: *pathi-kṛt-* 'path-making', *pathi-rākṣi-* 'protecting roads'. 4. *śākan-*<sup>5</sup> is preferred to *śākṛt-* 'dung': *śaka-dhūma-* (AV.) 'dung-smoke', *śaka-piṇḍā-* (VS.) 'lump of dung', *śika-pūta-* ('purified by dung'), N. of a seer. 5. *śīrśān-* is preferred to *śīrśa-head*: *śīrśa-kapālā-* (AV.) 'skull', *śīrśa-bhīḍya-* (AV.) n. 'head-splitting', *śīrśa-mayā-* (AV.) m. 'disease (*āmaya-*) of the head'. 6. There is fluctuation between *pād-* and *pāda-* 'foot', *māṃs-*<sup>6</sup> and *māṃsā-* 'flesh', *hṛd-* and *hṛdaya-* 'heart': *pad-ghoṣā-*<sup>7</sup> (AV.) 'sound of footsteps', but *pāda-grāhya-*, ger. 'seizing by the foot'; *māṃs-pācana-* 'used for cooking flesh', but *māṃsa-bhikṣā-* 'begging for flesh', *hṛd-rogā-* 'heart-disease', but *hṛdayā-vidh-* 'wounding the heart'<sup>8</sup>.

245. **Alternative adjective stems** sometimes appear in the first member of compounds. Thus in the RV. *mahi-* interchanges with *mahā-*<sup>9</sup> 'great' in Karmadhārayas and Bahuvrīhis, as *māhi-kṣatra* 'owning great sway', but *mahā-dhand-* 'great booty', *mahā-manas-* 'great-minded'<sup>10</sup>. A few stems in *-i* appear instead of or interchanging with others in *-ra*: *ṛji-* in *ṛji-pyā-* and the Proper Names *ṛjī-tvan-*<sup>11</sup> beside *ṛjṛā-* 'quick' in *ṛjṛāśva-* ('having quick horses'), N. of a man; \**dabhi-* in *dabhīti-* (for \**dabhi-iti-*) 'injurer', beside *dabhrā-* 'small' in *dabhrā-cetas-* 'of little wit'; *śviti-* in *śviti-dān-*<sup>12</sup> 'bright', beside *śvitrā-* (AV.) 'white'; *saci-* in *saci-vid-* 'belonging together', beside *ā-sk-ra-*<sup>13</sup> 'united'; perhaps also *-kravi-* for \**kruvi-* in *ā-kravi-hasta-* 'not having bloody hands', beside *krū-rā-*<sup>14</sup> (AV.) 'bloody'.

a. A few adjective stems in *-i* used as first member neither occur as uncompounded adjectives nor have corresponding adjective stems in *-ra*: *tvi-jātā-* 'mightily born', *tvi-grāva-* 'strong-necked', *tvi-ōjas-* 'very strong'; *gabhi-sāk* (AV.) 'deep down'.

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 145, note 8.

<sup>2</sup> Inst. sing. *udā*, pl. *udā-bhis*.

<sup>3</sup> Nom. n. acc. *udakām*.

<sup>4</sup> With irregular accent; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>i</sup>, p. 56, note.

<sup>5</sup> Inst. *śāka-bhis* (TS.), nom. acc. *śākṛt*.

<sup>6</sup> Beside *vanā-* 'wood' (which is fully inflected and appears in *vanā-dhīti-* 'layer of wood'), the stem *van-* (gen. *van-ām*, loc. *vaṃ-si*) is perhaps used in *vām-saga-* 'bull', *van-dhīra-* 'car-seat', and *van-ād-* 'devouring wood'(?).

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps in *pād-grāhi-*, N. of a man or demon, if *pād-* = *pad-*, cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 148 a.

<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, of the alternative stems *asṛj-* and *asṛn-* 'blood', only the nom. acc. form is used; e. g. *asṛk-pāvan-* (AV.) 'drinking blood', *asṛn-mukha-* (AV.) 'bloody-faced'.

<sup>9</sup> *mahā-* being the m., *mahi-* the n. nom. acc. stem, beside the weak dat. *mah-é* etc.

<sup>10</sup> The AV. has the stem *mahāt-* in the Karmadhāraya *mahāt-kāṇḍā-* 'great section'.

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps also in *ṛjīti-* (= *ṛjī-iti-*), cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>i</sup>, p. 59.

<sup>12</sup> Cp. *śiti-pād-* 'white-footed', *śiti-prsthā-* 'white-backed'.

<sup>13</sup> From *sac-* 'be attached' with syncope.

<sup>14</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>i</sup>, p. 59.

246. Extension of the stem sometimes takes place in the first member. The commonest addition is *-a* owing to the frequency of that ending: *dur-a-dabhiná-* (AV.) 'eluding doors', *aśvin-a-kyta-* (VS.) 'done by the Áśvins'; *viśaṁjas-*<sup>1</sup> (VS.) 'ruling the people'; *ṣaṭ-a-rcá-*<sup>2</sup> (AV.) 'collection of six verses'. An *a*-stem becomes one in *-as* in *yakṣmo-dhā-* (AV.) 'seat of a disease' (*yākṣma-*). An extension with *-d* appears in *śatād-vasu-*<sup>3</sup> 'having a hundred (*śatā-*) treasures', and in *ām-ati-d-bhuta-*<sup>4</sup> 'unsurpassed'.

a. Shortening of the stem sometimes takes place by the dropping of a final *t* or *s* (preceded by *a*) or of the vowel *-a*; thus *prṣodarā-* (TS. v. 6. 14<sup>1</sup>) 'having a spotted (*prṣat-*) belly' (*udāra-*); *āpna-rāj-* 'ruling over riches' (*āpnas-*); *bhar-iśá-*<sup>5</sup> (iv. 40<sup>2</sup>) 'desiring booty' (*bhāra-*); *tīl-plīñja-* (AV.) 'barren sesamum' (*tīlā-*); *sas-plīñjara-* (TS. iv. 5. 2<sup>3</sup>) 'reddish like grass' (*sasā-*), may also be an example, but it is more probably a modification of *śas-plīñjara-* (VS. xvi. 17) by haplogy for *\*śaspa-plīñjara-*.

247. Adverbs often occur as first member of compounds. In several instances a nominal stem in *-a* represents an adverbial case (acc., inst., abl., loc.) formed from that stem; thus *nitya-vatsa-* 'having a calf continually' (*nityam*); *satya-yāj-* 'sacrificing truly' (*satyām*), *samantā-śiti-bāhu-* (VS.) 'whose forefeet are white all round' (*samantām*); *sana-jā-* 'born of old' (= *sanā* or *sanāt*); *upākā-cakṣas-* 'visible from near at hand' (*upākē* 'near'). Occasionally a nominal stem which has no separate existence is abstracted from the adverb; thus *arā-manas-* 'ready-minded' (from *āram* 'ready'), *arā-matī-* 'suitable prayer', *abhyardha-yājvan-* 'offering apart' (*abhyardhās*). A cardinal is sometimes thus used instead of its adverb: *try-āruṣa-* 'reddish in three places' (*trī-s*), *dvi-jā-* (AV.) 'born twice' (*dvi-s*).

248. The case-ending is also preserved in several instances; thus *araṇ-kṛt-* 'preparing', *sākam-likṣ-* 'sprinkling together', *sākaṇ-yij-* 'joined together' (*sākām*), *sāyam-bhavad-* (AV.) 'becoming evening'; *pañcā-dosā-* (VS.) 'late evening'. Adverbs that are neither case-forms nor look like them regularly remain unchanged; thus *akṣṇayā-drūh-*<sup>6</sup> 'injuring wrongly'; *itthā-dhī-* 'truly devout'; *idā-vatsarā-* (VS. AV.) 'the present year', a particular kind of year; *pūnar-nava-* 'renewing itself', *pūnar-bhū-* 'arising again'; *viśvāto-dhī-* 'observing in all directions', *viśu-rūpa-* 'coloured variously' (*viśu-*), *viśū-vṛt-* 'rolling in various directions'. A nasal is added in *makṣu-ṇ-gamā-* 'approaching quickly' (*makṣū*).

249. Prepositions frequently occur as the first member of a compound. 1. Owing to their originally adverbial character they may qualify ordinary adjectives or substantives like adverbs; thus *āti-kṛṣṇa-* (VS.) 'excessively dark', *vī-mah-* 'very great'; *prā-napāt-* 'great grandson', *vī-vā-* 'opposing shout'; and in Bahuvrihis: *prā-śṛṅgā-* (VS.) 'having prominent horns', *vy-āṁsa-* 'having shoulders wide apart'.

2. Owing to their constant connexion with verbs they are very common before verbal nouns; e.g. *ūpa-ṣṭu-t-* and *ūpa-stuti-* 'invocation'; *puro-hita-* 'domestic priest'.

3. Owing to their frequent connexion with cases, they also appear in a governing sense; e.g. *ādhi-gart-ya-* 'being on the car-seat', *anu-pathā-* 'following the path'.

<sup>1</sup> For *viśa-ojas-* like (AV. VS.) *satyāñjas-* (= *satya-ojas-* instead of *viś-ojas-*).

<sup>2</sup> Like *pañcarcā-* = *pañca-rcā*.

<sup>3</sup> Influenced by the analogy of *pañcāśād-* '50' etc., and *vidād-vasu-*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Due to a confusion of *\*ati-bhuta-* = *ati-bhūta-* 'surpassed' and *adbhuta-* 'marvellous'.

<sup>5</sup> According to the analogy of *gar-iśā-* 'desiring cows'.

<sup>6</sup> *akṣṇa-yāvan-* 'going across' stands by haplogy for *\*akṣṇayā-yāvan-*. Cp. WACKER-NAGEL 21, p. 128 d.

a. Prepositions as first member sometimes appear in a shortened form; thus *bhi-* = *abhi-* in *bhi-sā-j-*<sup>2</sup>: 'healer'; *o-* = *ava* in *o-gaṇā-* 'away from the crowd' 'isolated', 'wretched', and in *o-patā-* 'top-knot' ('that which is tied down', from *pa-* 'fasten'). On the other hand, *anu* several times appears lengthened to *ānu-*: thus *an-ānu-kṛtyā-* 'inimitable', *an-ānu-dā-* 'not giving way', *an-ānu-diṣṭa-* 'unsolicited', *an-ānu-bhūti-* 'disobedient'. *ānu-gák* 'in constant succession'.

250. *Sam* and *sa-*. — The preposition *sám* is of very common occurrence as first member. This is its form invariably before vowels, and when accented originally always before consonants. Its unaccented form *sa-* (= *sm-*) should phonetically always appear before consonants. But the proper use of *sám-* and *sa-* before consonants has begun to be confused.

a. In determinatives (1) when the final member is a verbal noun *sam-* always appears before a vowel, as *sam-aikā-* (AV.) 'hook' (from *añc-* 'bend'), *sam-idh-* 'fuel'; and *sám-* if accented predominates<sup>3</sup> before consonants, being phonetic; e. g. *sám-gati-* f. 'coming together', *sám-dhātṛ-* 'one who puts together', *sám-prkta-* 'mixed'. *sá-*, however, also occurs in *sá-gdhi-* (VS. MS.) f. 'eating together', *sá-cyuti-* (MS. II. 7<sup>12</sup>) 'falling together', *sá-piti-* (VS. MS.) f. 'drinking together', *sá-hūti-* f. 'joint invocation'.

(2.) *sa-* is preserved before accented verbal nouns formed from the simple root with or without *-t*, or with the suffixes *-a*, *-ana*, *-van*, *-in*; thus *sa-cit-* 'thinking', *sa-bādā-* (TS. III. 2. 12<sup>4</sup>) 'oppressed', *sa-yij-* 'united', *sa-vjdh-* 'increasing together', *sa-sthībhi-* (TS. IV. 3. 12<sup>5</sup>), a kind of metre. *sa-syād-* 'streaming together'<sup>4</sup>; *sa-kṣi-t-* 'dwelling together', *sa-srī-t-* 'streaming'<sup>5</sup>; *sa-gm-d-* (VS.) 'coming to terms', *sa-jūṣa-* 'unanimous', *sa-mādana-* 'conflict'<sup>6</sup>; *sa-yā-van-* 'going along with', *sa-yig-van-* 'united with', *sa-sthā-van-* 'standing together', *sa-jī-t-van-* 'victorious'; *sa-vās-in-* (AV.) 'dwelling together'<sup>7</sup>.

(3.) Before ordinary adjectives *sam-* appears in *sám-vasu-* 'fellow-dweller', *sám-miśla-* 'commingling', *sám-priya-* (VS.) 'loving one another', and even when unaccented before ordinary substantives in *sam-vatsarā-* 'year', *sam-grāmā-* (AV.) 'assembly', but *sa-pātnī-* 'co-wife'.

b. In Bahuvrīhis when the meaning is (1.) 'together' (as in the verbal use of the preposition) *sam-* appears, as *sám-hanu-* (AV.) 'striking the jaws together', *sam-gavī-* m. '(time when the) cows (are driven) together', and (as usual before vowels) *sam-udrā-* m. 'sea'. But when the meaning is (2) 'united with', 'accompanied by' what is expressed by the final member, *sa-* is almost exclusively used (and nearly always even accented)<sup>8</sup>, as *sá-ctas-* 'accompanied by intelligence', 'rational'; *sam-* occurs here only in *sám-sahasra-* 'accompanied by a thousand', and in *sám-patnī-* (AV.) 'accompanied by her husband'<sup>9</sup>. In this sense *sam-* still appears before vowels in *sám-agra-* and *sam-agrā-* (AV.) ('including the top'), 'complete', *sám-aṅga-* (AV.) 'accompanied by all limbs'<sup>10</sup>, 'complete', *sám-āśir-* 'accompanied by mixture', 'mixed'; but even here *sa-* once in the RV. takes the place of *sam-* in the compound *sāśana-* (x. 90<sup>4</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> The initial *a-* of some other prepositions is lost in the later language: *pi-* = *āpi* (SB.); *dhi-* = *ādhi* and *va-* = *āva* are post-Vedic.

<sup>2</sup> See WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 72 s, and cp. BRUGMANN, KZ. 25, 214, note.

<sup>3</sup> *sam-* occurs more than three times as often as *sa-* before consonants, doubtless owing to the parallel use of *sam-* with verbs.

<sup>4</sup> But also *sam-gir-* 'assenting', *sam-yāt-* 'contiguous'.

<sup>5</sup> But also *sam-jī-t-* 'conqueror', *sam-hā-t-* 'layer'.

<sup>6</sup> But also *sam-gamā-* 'coming together', *sam-draṇa-* 'suitable for walking on'.

<sup>7</sup> With verbal nouns otherwise formed, as with *-tra* or *-na* only *sam-* occurs, as *sam-hotrā-* 'joint sacrifice', *sam-praśnā-* 'interrogation'.

<sup>8</sup> With the usual Bahuvrīhi accent on the first member.

<sup>9</sup> In order to distinguish this sense from that of *sa-pātnī-* 'co-wife'.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. also the adv. *sam-antā-m* (AV.) 'including the ends', 'completely'.

'provided with food' (*śāna-*), 'eating', and becomes common in the later Sāṃhitās; e. g. *sāṅga-* (AV.) 'accompanied by the limbs' (*śāṅga-*), *sāntardeśa-* (AV.) 'accompanied by the intermediate quarters' (*antar-deśā-*). — When the meaning is (3.) 'in common', 'same', 'identical'<sup>1</sup> *sa-*<sup>2</sup> is very common before consonants, as *sā-keta-* 'having the same intention', *sā-lakṣman-* 'having the same characteristics'; while *sam-* appears only in *saṃ-śīśvarī-* 'having a calf in common', *sām-manas-* (AV.) 'being of the same mind', unanimous', *sām-mātr-* 'having the same mother'. In this sense *sam-* alone appears (as usual) before vowels: *sām-anta-* 'contiguous' ('having the same boundary'), *sām-okas-* 'having a common abode', 'living together'.

251. Particles, which for the most part have no independent existence, frequently appear as first member of compounds.

1. The negative particle, the form of which in the sentence is *na*, almost invariably appears in composition as *a-*<sup>3</sup> before consonants, and invariably as *an-* before vowels. It completely reverses the meaning of the final member; thus *mitrā-* 'friend', *a-mitra-* 'enemy', *śastī-* 'praise', *ā-sasti-* 'curse'<sup>4</sup>. As participles, infinitives, and gerunds are nominal forms, they may be compounded with the privative particle: thus *ā-bibhyat-* 'not fearing', *ā-buḍhya-māna-* 'not waking', *ā-dāsyant-* (AV.) 'not about to give', *ā-vidvāṃs-* 'not knowing'<sup>5</sup>. The syntactical form of the particle is very rare: *na-murā-* (AV.) 'non-dying'(?).<sup>6</sup> Perhaps also in *nā-pūt-* 'grandson', if it originally meant 'un-protected'<sup>7</sup>.

2. *su-* 'well', 'very', except in the RV. very seldom used independently<sup>8</sup>, and *dus-* 'ill', 'hardly', which occurs as a prefix only, appear as first member in determinatives and possessives; e. g. *su-kāra-* 'easy to be done', *śū-kṛta-* 'well-done', *su-dā-* 'giving willingly', *su-vasanā-* 'fair raiment', *su-varuḥ-* 'fair-coloured', *sv-śśva-* 'having excellent horses'; *dū-dā-* (AV.) 'not-worshipping', 'irreligious', *dus-cyavanā-* 'difficult to be felled', *dur-vāsas-* 'having bad clothing', 'ill-clad'; *dur-āhū* (AV.) 'wail!' is formed as an antithesis to *sv-āhū* 'hail!'.<sup>9</sup>

3. There are a few prefixes beginning with *k-* which seem to be etymologically connected with the interrogative, and express depreciation, badness, or difficulty: *ku-*<sup>10</sup> in *ku-carā-* 'wandering about', *ku-nakhin-* (AV.) 'having diseased nails', *ku-naṇṇamā-* 'hard to bend', *kū-yava-* (VS.) 'bringing bad harvest'<sup>11</sup>; *kad-* in *kat-payā-* 'swelling horribly'; *kim-* in *kim-śilā-* (VS. TS. MS.) (land) 'having small stones', *kim-puruṣā-*, a kind of mythical being ('some-what like a man'); a collateral form *kavā-* perhaps in *kavāri-* 'stingy', *kavā-sakṣā-* 'selfish'<sup>12</sup>.

4. The particles *-id* and *-cid* make their way into the first member of compounds in the company of pronominal words to which they may be

<sup>1</sup> *saṃāna-* is also used in this sense: as *saṃānā-bandhu-* 'having the same relatives'.

<sup>2</sup> *sa-* has the sense of 'one' in *sāhnā-* (AV.) 'lasting one day', *sa-kṛt* 'once', *sa-dīvas* and *sa-dyās* 'on one and the same day'.

<sup>3</sup> This is the low-grade form (= *ṇ-*) of *nā-*.

<sup>4</sup> It frequently reverses the pregnant sense of the final member, as *vi-śastī-* '(good) dissector', *a-viśastī-* 'bad dissector'.

<sup>5</sup> See KNAUER, Ueber die betonung der composita mit *a* privativum im Sanskrit, KZ. 27, 1—68; examples from the later Sāṃhitās in DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax p. 540 f., Syntaktische Forschungen 2, p. 530f.

<sup>6</sup> *nā-puṃsa-ka-* 'neuter' also occurs in MS. and ŚB.

<sup>7</sup> See LEUMANN, Festgruss an Böhtlingk, p. 77 f. For a few other doubtful compounds with *na-* see WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 78, note.

<sup>8</sup> *śū-* occurs as an independent particle about 250 times (but never at the beginning of a sentence) in the RV., rarely in the later Sāṃhitās: only 14 times in AV.

<sup>9</sup> Often in adverbs such as *kū-tas* 'whence', *kū-tra* 'where'.

<sup>10</sup> On a few doubtful compounds with *kū-*, see WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 83, note.

<sup>11</sup> Also in *kāvā-tiryāṇic-* (TS.) 'directed somewhat across'.

appended; thus *tad-id-artha-* 'directed to that particular object'; *kā-cit-kārā-* 'effecting all manner of things'; *kū-cid-arthīn-* 'striving to get anywhere', *kuha-cid-vīd-* 'wherever being'.

5. A few **interjectional** or **onomatopoetic words** are compounded with *-kāra-* and *-kṛti-* 'making' = 'sound', 'utterance', or *-kartṛ-* 'maker', to express the actual phonetic sound of those words: thus *vaṣaṭ-kārā-* (AV. VS.) 'the interjection *vaṣaṭ*', *svadhā-kārā-* 'pronouncing (the benediction) *sva-dhā*', *svāhā-kṛti-* 'consecration with the call *svāhā*', *hīn-kartṛ-* (TS.) 'one who utters the sound *hīn*', *hīn-kārā-* (VS.) 'the sound *hīn*'. In *has-kartṛ-* 'enlivener', *has-kārā-* 'laughter', *hās-kṛti-* 'loud merriment', the first member represents either an interjection connected with the verb *has-* 'laugh', or a reduced form of *\*hasas-* 'laughter' (like *sāt-pati-* for *sādas-pati-* through *\*sāts-pati-*).

### B. The Last Member of Compounds.

252. **Its form.** — Practically all nouns may appear in this position. But many verbal nouns, especially participles, if used in their primary sense, are found exclusively after indeclinables which are capable of being combined with the corresponding verbs. Some stems also occur as final members though not used independently; such are verbal nouns formed from the simple root with or without an added determinative *-t*; also derivatives like *-janīna-* (AV.) 'belonging to the people (*jāna-*) of -'.

a. **Change of ending.** — When the gender of the final member is changed, the *-ā* of feminine words, even though radical, becomes *-a* in masculine or neuter compounds; thus *priyosriyā-* 'fond of cows' (*usriyā-*); *an-avasā-* 'restless' (from *ava-sā-* 'rest'), *a-śraddhā-* 'unbelieving' (from *śrad-dhā-* 'belief'), *ṛtā-jyā-* 'well-strung' (from *jyā-* 'bowstring'). Even *-ī* in a few instances becomes *-a*; thus *ati-rātrā-* 'performed overnight' and *aho-rātrā-* 'day and night' (*rātrī-*); *api-śarvarē* 'early in the morning' and *ati-śarvarē* or *ati-śarvarāṣu* (AV.) 'late at night' (*śarvarī-*).

On the other hand m. and n. stems in *-a* regularly end in *-ā* in the feminine, as *cittā-garbhā-* 'having evident offspring' (*gārbha-* m.); and *pāti-* 'husband' in f. possessives substitutes *-patnī-*; thus *eka-patnī-* (AV.) 'having a single husband', *dāsā-patnī-* 'having demons as lords', *sa-patnī-* 'having one husband in common', *sām-patnī-* (AV.) and *sahā-patnī-* (AV.) 'having her husband with her', *su-patnī-* 'having a good husband'; also in the determinative *vīrā-patnī-* 'wife of a hero'.

253. **Alternative stems.** — When in the inflexion of a word alternative stems are used, only one of these, and as a rule the older one, appears as final member of possessive compounds: thus *dānt-* 'tooth' (not *dānta-*) in *śatā-dant-* (AV.) 'hundred-toothed', *śuci-dant-* 'bright-toothed'; *pād-* 'foot' (not *pāda-*): *a-pād-* 'footless', *uttānā-pad-* 'whose feet are extended', *eka-pad-*<sup>1</sup> 'one-footed'; *nās-* 'nose' (not *nāsā-*) in *ījū-nas-*<sup>2</sup> 'straight-nosed', N. of a man<sup>3</sup>; *ūdhan-* 'udder' (not *ūdhar-*) in *an-ūdhān-*<sup>4</sup> 'udderless', *rapśād-ūdhan-* 'having a distended udder', f. *ā-cchidrodhnī-* 'having an intact udder'; *dhānvan-* 'bow' (not *dhānus-*) in *abalā-dhanvan-* (AV.) 'having a weak bow', *āvatata-dhanvan-* (VS.) 'having an unstrung bow', *kṣīprā-dhanvan-* 'having a swift bow', *śatī-*

<sup>1</sup> The AV., however, has the nom. sing. *eka-pāda-h*.

<sup>2</sup> According to BLOOMFIELD also in *rujānās*, for *rujānā-nās* 'broken-nosed'; see p. 59, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> According to WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 92 (top), *a-nāsikā-* occurs in TS. (VII. 5. 12<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 93, note.



*dhanvan-* (VS.) 'having a hundred bows'<sup>1</sup>; *śīrśān-* 'head' (not *śīras-*) in *a-śīrśān-* 'headless', *tri-śīrśān-* 'three-headed'<sup>2</sup>, f. *rūru-śīrśu-* 'having the head of a Ruru antelope'<sup>3</sup>; *hṛd-* 'heart' (not *hṛdaya-*) in its long-grade form *-hārd-* in *dur-hārd-* (AV.) 'ill-disposed' and *su-hārd-* 'good-hearted'.

a. Sometimes an alternative stem is used which has not been preserved as an independent word; thus *-jñu-* 'knee' (weak form of *jānu-*) in *asitā-jñu-* (AV.) 'dark-kneed', *mitā-jñu-* 'firm-kneed'<sup>4</sup>; an old stem *-medhas-* in *su-medhās-* 'wise' and *puru-mēdhas-* (SV.) 'wise' beside the regular compounds in *-medha-* (from *medhā-* 'wisdom') such as *puru-mēdha-* 'having much wisdom'; *-tvacas-*<sup>5</sup> 'skin' in *sūrya-tvacas-* (AV. VS.) 'having a skin bright as the sun' and *hīranya-tvacas-* (AV.) 'having a golden skin', beside *tvac-* in *sūrya-tvac-* and *hīranya-tvac-*.

254. Transfer stems.—Some four stems appear in certain forms changed to stems in *-as* from a misunderstanding of the nom. *-s* in *-ās-* (as in *su-prajāś-*); thus from *prajā-* 'offspring', *ā-prajas-* (AV.) 'having no offspring', and *su-prajāś-*<sup>6</sup> 'having good offspring', *īdā-prajas-*<sup>7</sup> (MS. I. 5<sup>3</sup>) 'descendant of Iḍā'; from *kṣā-* 'dwell', *divā-kṣas-* 'living in heaven'; from *dā-* 'give', *draviṇo-dās-* 'bestowing wealth'; from *dhā-* 'put', *vayo-dhās-* (AV. VS.) 'bestowing strength' and *varco-dhās-* (AV.) 'bestowing vigour'. On the other hand, by the loss of final *-s* or *-t* a few consonant stems are transformed to *a*-stems; thus beside *an-āgas-* 'guiltless' appears *an-āga-*, and beside *puru-dāmsas-* 'abounding in wondrous deeds', *puru-dāmsa-*; *ūrv-aśṭhīvā-* (VS.)<sup>8</sup>, n. du. 'thigh and knee', beside *aśṭhī-vānt-* m. du. 'knees' ('bony'); *ubhayā-da-*<sup>9</sup> (AV.) 'having teeth in both (jaws)', beside *ubhayā-dat-*.

255. Vowel gradation in final member.—a. 1. The low grade vowel of the roots *dā-* 'give' and *dhā-* 'cut' disappears when the past participles *\*dita-* 'given'<sup>10</sup> and *dita-* 'cut' and the action noun *\*diti-* 'giving' become unaccented final members in a compound: thus *dva-tta-* (VS.) 'cut off', *devā-tta-* 'given by the gods', *vy-ā-tta-* (AV. VS.) 'opened', *pāri-tta-* (VS.) 'given up'<sup>11</sup>, *ā-pratī-tta-* (AV.) 'not given back'; *bhāga-tti-* 'gift of fortune', *maghā-tti-* 'giving of presents', *vāsu-tti-* 'granting of wealth'<sup>12</sup>. Unreduced forms, however, occur in *tvā-dāta-* and *tvā-datta-* 'given by thee' and in *havyā-dāti-* 'sacrificial gift'<sup>13</sup>.

2. The vowels *ī* and *ū* in the radical syllable of the final member is in a few instances reduced to *i* and *u*; thus *try-udhān-* 'having three udders' (*ūdhān-*), *dhī-jī-* 'inspiring the mind' (*jū-* 'impel'), *su-śīrā-* 'having a good channel', 'hollow' (*śīrā-* 'stream'), *śuk-suti-* 'easy birth' (*sū-tī-* TB.), *ā-huti-* 'invocation' (otherwise *sā-huti-* 'joint invocation', etc.). Derivative *-ī* is reduced to *-i* in *ā-ni-bhṛṣṭa-taviṣi-* 'having unabated power' (*taviṣī-*).

<sup>1</sup> The determinative *indra-dhanūs-* 'Indra's bow', occurs in the AV.

<sup>2</sup> The AV. however has *grīthū-śīras-* 'broad-headed'.

<sup>3</sup> From *āsthan-* (beside *āsthi-*, AV.) occur both *an-asthān-* and *an-asthā-* 'boneless'.

<sup>4</sup> Other reduced stems are *sā-gdhī-* (VS.) 'joint meal' (*√ghās-*), *nīdā-* 'nest' (*nī+√sad-*), *upa-bā-i-* 'noise' (*upa+√pad-*) *ā-sk-ra-* 'united' (*√vac-*); perhaps *pari-mīdā-* 'best part of' (*āmśa-* 'part').

<sup>5</sup> Also in the derivative *tvacas-yā-* (AV.) 'being in the skin'.

<sup>6</sup> Under the influence of this new stem is formed *su-prajāś-tvā-* 'possession of good offspring' (for *\*su-prajāś-tva-*).

<sup>7</sup> In K. *īdā-prajas-* (IS. 3, 463) with the *ā* of *īdā-* unshortened.

<sup>8</sup> Formed by dropping the *-t* of the weak stem *aśṭhī-vāt-*.

<sup>9</sup> Formed by dropping the *-t* of the weak stem *-dat-*.

<sup>10</sup> This phonetic form has otherwise been ousted by the anomalous participle *dat-tā-* made from the weak present stem *dad-*.

<sup>11</sup> The participle *prā-tta-* 'given up' also occurs in TS. II. 2. 8<sup>4</sup> (B).

<sup>12</sup> *prā-tti-* 'gift' also occurs in TS. V. 4. 7<sup>2</sup> (B) and *nir-āva-tti-* 'distribution of shares' in K.

<sup>13</sup> The *ā* of *sāman-* 'chant' is perhaps reduced to *a* in *śk-sāma-* (VS.), *śk-sāma-* (TS.), and *śc-sāma-*; cp. WACKERNAGEL 21, 43 f. note.

3. The *o* of *gō* 'cow' is reduced to *-u* in *pīṣṭi-gu* 'rearing cows', N. of a man, and *su-gi* 'having fine cows'. The *-ai* of *rdi* 'wealth', is reduced to *-i* in *brhād-ri*<sup>1</sup> 'having abundant wealth'; perhaps also in *ṛdhād-ri*<sup>2</sup>, N. of a man.

4. Final *-i* and *-u* of the first member combine with the low grade form of *ā* of *āp* 'water' in the last member to *ī* and *ū*, in *dvi-āp*<sup>3</sup> 'island' (*dvi-āp*), *pratīp-ām* 'against' (*prati-*) 'the stream', *anūp-ā* 'pond' (*anu-āp*).

b. On the other hand, radical *a* in several instances appears lengthened to *ā*. This occurs in several possessive compounds of *jāni* 'wife': *bhādra-jāni* 'having a beautiful wife' (only voc.), *yīva-jāni* 'having a young wife', *vittā-jāni* 'having found a wife', 'married', and with shifted accent *dvi-jāni* 'having two wives' and *a-jāni* (AV.) 'having no wife'. A similar lengthening appears in *prthu-jāghana* (only voc. f.) 'broad-hipped'; *sahā-jānuṣa* 'with offspring' (*jānuṣa*); *ni-pādā* 'low ground' (*pādā*); *tvāt-pitāras* (TS. I. 5. 10<sup>2</sup>), N. pl. 'having thee as father'; *su-vācas* 'having good speech', 'very eloquent', *sā-vācas*<sup>5</sup> (AV.) 'employing similar speech', *vī-vācas* (AV.) 'speaking in various ways' (*vācas*), *viśvā-sārada* (AV.) 'occurring every autumn' (*sārada*) 'annual', *satā-sārada* 'lasting a hundred autumns'<sup>6</sup>.

256. Adjectival suffixes. — Adjective compounds not infrequently add certain suffixes to mark their adjectival character more clearly. These suffixes are *-ka*, *-i*, *-ya*, *-a*, *-in*.

1. The suffix *-ka*<sup>7</sup> is thus used in only two somewhat obscure compounds in the RV. *tri-kadru-ka* (only pl.), a designation of certain soma vessels (*kadru*) and *try-āmba-ka* 'having three mothers' (*amba* voc.); in the AV. occur *vī-manyu-ka* 'free from anger' and *sahā-kaṇṭhi-kā* f. 'with the throat' (*kaṇṭhā*, B.)<sup>8</sup>.

2. In the final member of a few Bahuvrīhis, the suffix *-i* sometimes takes the place of *-a*; thus *praty-arāhi* 'to whom the half (*ārāha*) belongs'; *āñjana-gandh-i* 'having a smell (*gandhā*) of ointment', *dhūmā-gandhi* 'smelling of smoke', *su-gāndhi* or *su-gandhi* 'sweet-smelling'; *kṛṣṭā-rādhi* (AV.) 'attaining success (*rādha*) in agriculture'.

3. The suffix *-ya* is frequently added in Bahuvrīhis; thus *anyadar-ya* 'born from another womb' (*uddra*), *dāśa-mās-ya*<sup>9</sup> 'ten months old', *dīrgha-jihv-yā* 'long-tongued'<sup>10</sup>, *mādhu-hast-ya* 'honey-handed', *mayūra-śep-ya* 'peacock-tailed'<sup>11</sup>, *viśvā-jan-ya* 'belonging to all men', *viśvā-dev-ya* 'relating to all gods', *viśvāṅg-yā* (AV.) 'being in all limbs', *sā-garbh-ya* (VS.) 'born from the same

<sup>1</sup> In the dative *brhādraye*; cp. BB. 25, 250.

<sup>2</sup> In the anomalous gen. sing. *ṛdhād-rayas*.

<sup>3</sup> Also *nīp-a* 'low-lying' (*ni-āp* 'into which the water flows down') in K.

<sup>4</sup> For a phonetic explanation of this phenomenon see WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>i</sup>, 43 (p. 100); and cp. I, 68.

<sup>5</sup> There is a various reading *sā-vācasas* in AV. VII. 12<sup>2</sup>, on which see WHITNEY's note.

<sup>6</sup> On *vi-hāyas* 'of extensive power', *sārva-hāyas* (AV.) 'having all vigour', *su-rāmā* 'delighting', *su-yāmā* 'guiding well', see WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>i</sup>, p. 101 (middle).

<sup>7</sup> This suffix, which is never accented, is probably identical with that which forms

adjectives, as *ānta-ka* 'ending' from *ānta* 'end'.

<sup>8</sup> In the YV. several examples occur; WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>i</sup>, p. 102, quotes from the TS. *a-karṇā-ka* 'earless', *a-dantā-ka* 'toothless', *a-pādā-ka* 'footless', *an-akṣi-ka* 'eyeless', *an-aśhi-ka* 'boneless', *a-tvāk-ka* 'skinless', *sāśir-ka* 'accompanied by a blessing', *an-āśir-ka* 'lacking a blessing'; from the MS. *a-cchandaś-ka* 'metreless', *an-āstha-ka* 'boneless'.

<sup>9</sup> Also *ṣaṇ-māsyā* 'six months old', and *saptā-māsyā* 'seven months old' in K.

<sup>10</sup> Also in TS. some compounds formed with *-deva-tyā* 'having — for a deity' (*devātā*); *nānā-viś-yā* (MS.) 'consisting of various villages'.

<sup>11</sup> Also *vī-śīn-ya* (K.) 'tailless'.

womb', *sa-dhan-yā*- 'accompanied by gifts', *sā-yūth-ya*- (VS.) 'belonging to the same herd', *su-hāst-ya*- 'fair-handed' (beside *su-hāsta*-), *hiraṇya-keś-ya*- 'golden-maned' (beside *hiraṇya-keśa*-)<sup>1</sup>.

The suffix *-ya* is also common in governing compounds with prepositions as first member; thus *ādhi-gart-ya*- 'being on the car-seat', *antaḥ-parsav-yā*- (VS.) and *antaḥ-pārsv-yā*- (VS.) 'being between the ribs', *antr-ya*- (AV.) 'being in the entrails', *api-kakṣ-yā*- 'situated near the arm-pit', *īpa-tṛn-ya*- (AV.) 'being in the grass', *īpa-mās-ya*- (AV.) 'occurring every month', *pāri-rath-ya*- (AV.)<sup>2</sup> 'being around the car', n. part of the car. It also appears in the adverbially used governing compounds *abhi-nabh-yā-m* 'near the clouds' and *ud-āp-yā-m* (AV.) 'upstream'.

4. The final member of *Bahuvrīhis* is very frequently extended by the suffix *-a*. In the RV. there are at least fifteen such stems; thus *akṣ*- 'eye' in *an-akṣ-ā*- 'eyeless', *ādhy-akṣ-a*- 'eye-witness', *catur-akṣ-ā*- 'four-eyed', *bhūry-akṣ-ā*- 'many-eyed', *sahasrākṣ-ā*- 'thousand-eyed', *hiraṇyākṣ-ā*- 'golden-eyed', *āktākṣ-a*- (AV.) 'whose eyes are anointed', *an-āktākṣ-a*-<sup>3</sup> (AV.) 'whose eyes are not anointed', *dhūmākṣ-ā*- (AV.) 'smoke-eyed', *paryastākṣ-ā*- (AV.) 'with eyes cast about', *sanisrasākṣ-ā*- (AV.) 'having constantly falling eyes', *hary-akṣ-ā*- (VS.) 'yellow-eyed'; *\*asth*-<sup>4</sup> 'bone' in *an-asth-ā*- 'boneless' beside *an-asthīn*-; *\*udar*- 'water' in *an-udr-ā*- 'waterless'; *gō*- 'cow' in *su-gūv-a*- 'having fine cows', *sam-gav-ā*- 'time when cows come together', and in *atithi-gv-ā*-, a name, *ṭa-gv-a*- 'variegated', *dāśa-gva*-, N. of a mythical group, *nāva-gv-a*-, N. of a mythical group; *janus*- in *sahā-jānuś-a*- 'with offspring'; *div*- 'heaven' in *bṛhād-div-a*- and *bṛhad-div-ā*-, N. of a seer, *su-div-ā*- (AV.) 'bright day'; *dūr*- 'door' in *śatā-dūr-a*- 'having a hundred doors'; *dhur*- 'yoke' in *su-dhūr-a*- 'going well under the yoke' (beside *su-dhūr*-), *sā-dhur-a*- (AV.) 'harnessed to the same yoke'; *nas*- 'nose' in *urū-nas-ā*- 'broad-nosed', *pavī-nas-ā*- (AV.) 'having a nose like a spear-head', *vārdhṛī-nas-ā*- (VS.) 'rhinoceros'; *mīdh*- in *vi-mīdh-ā*-.<sup>5</sup> (AV.) 'warding off foes' (beside *vi-mīdh*-, VS.); *rāi*- 'wealth' in *ā-rāy-a*- 'not liberal'; *vāstu*- 'dwelling' in *nāva-vāstu-a*- 'having nine abodes'; *śarād*- 'autumn' in *śatā-śarād-a*- 'lasting a hundred autumns'; *āp*- 'water' in *dvīp-ā*- 'island'<sup>6</sup>.

In the later *Saṃhitās* several other final members extended with *-a* occur: *āhan*- 'day' in *sāhn-ā*- (AV.) 'lasting a day'; *śo*- 'verse' in *eka-ro-ā*- (AV.) 'consisting of one verse'; *kṣām*- 'earth' in *su-kṣm-ā*- (VS.) 'consisting of good earth'; *netṛ*- 'leader' in *agni-netr-a*- (VS. TS.)<sup>7</sup> 'having Agni as leader': *path*- 'road', in *vi-path-ā*- (AV.), a kind of chariot ('fit for untrodden paths'); *pād*- 'foot' in *ā-bā-a*- (VS.) 'year'; *\*vatas*- 'year' in *tri-vats-ā*- (VS.) 'three years old'; *saṃ-dīś*- 'aspect' in *mādhū-samāś-ā*- (AV.) 'sweet-looking'.

a. The final member is also sometimes extended with *-a* after a governing preposition; thus *anu-path-a*- 'going along the road', *āntas-path-a*- 'being on the road', *anūp-ā*- 'tank' ('lying along the water'), *upānas-ā*- 'being on the car' (*-ānas*-), *parō-kṣ-a*- (AV.) 'away from the eye' (*akṣ*-), *puro-gav-ā*- 'leader' ('preceding the cows').

<sup>1</sup> *āśva-budh-ya*- 'based on horses' is probably for *\*āśva-budhn-ya*- (from *budhnā*- 'bottom') beside *āśva-budhna*- 'borne by horses'.

<sup>2</sup> The accent of these words in *-ya* is usually the same as it would be without the suffix; for a few exceptions, see WACKERNAGEL 21, 47 d (p. 108).

<sup>3</sup> The Mss. (AV. xx. 1286) read *anāktākṣa*-.

<sup>4</sup> See WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 108 (bottom).

<sup>5</sup> See BLOOMFIELD, AJPh. 17, 422 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Also the f. *vi-mīdh-ā*- (TS. II. 4. 21 B).

<sup>7</sup> On a few doubtful instances see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 109 (bottom).

<sup>8</sup> In TS. I. 8. 71 = VS. IX. 35, 36 several other names of deities compounded with *-netr-a*- occur.

b. A similar extension with *-a* occurs in collectives which are allied to Bahuvrīhis: thus *try-āyus-ā-* (VS.) 'threefold lifetime', *dvi-rāj-ā-* (AV.) 'battle of two kings', *ṣaḍ-rc-ā-* 'aggregate of six stanzas', *sam-udr-ā-* 'collection of waters' (\**udar-*), 'sea', *sa-vidyut-ā-* (AV.) 'thunderstorm' ('accompanied by lightning'). Akin to these are compounds in which the first member expresses a part of the last (with change of gender); thus *ardha-rc-ā-* (AV. VS.) m. 'half-stanza', *aparāhṇ-ā-* (AV.) m. 'afternoon', *ny-āhṇ-a-* (AV.) 'decline of day', *pūrvāhṇ-ā-* 'forenoon', *prā-pad-a-* 'tip of the foot'. There are further some neuter determinatives which probably had originally a collective sense; thus, with change of gender, *tri-div-ā-* 'third heaven', *su-div-ā-* (AV.) 'fine day'; *ā-path-a-* (AV.) 'pathlessness', *su-pāth-a-* 'good path'. From neuter stems in *-as*, *devainas-ā-* (AV.) 'curse of the gods', *manusyainas-ā-* (AV.) 'sin (*éna-*) of men'; *brāhma-varcas-ā-* (AV. VS.) 'divine power', *hasī-varcas-ā-* (AV.) 'vigour of an elephant', *brāhmaṇa-varcas-ā-* (AV.) 'dignity of a Brahman'.

c. The ending *-a* frequently takes the place of *-an*<sup>1</sup> in the final member of Bahuvrīhis, collectives, and Karmadhārayas; thus *deva-karmā-* 'doing divine work', *viśvā-karma-* 'performing all work', *vīrā-karma-* 'performing manly work', *priyā-dhāma-* 'occupying desirable places', *chando-nāma-* (VS.) 'named metre', 'metrical', *vi-parva-* 'jointless', *dvi-vṛṣā-*<sup>2</sup> (AV.) 'having two bulls', *añji-sakthā-* (VS.) 'having coloured thighs', *ut-sakthā-* (VS.) 'lifting up the thighs', *lomaśā-sakthā-* (VS.) 'having hairy thighs'<sup>3</sup>, *rk-sāmā-* 'the R̥c verses and the Sāmans', *ṣaḍ-ahā-* (AV.) m. 'period of six days'; *bhadrahā-* (AV.) n. 'auspicious day', *eka-vṛṣā-* (AV.) 'only bull', *mahā-vṛṣā-* (AV.) 'great bull'.

d. The suffix *-a* takes the place of *-ī* in *kāvā-sakkā-* 'having a niggard for a friend' (*sakhi-*), in *mandayāt-sakha-* 'gladdening his friend', and in *daśāṅgulā-* 'length of ten fingers' (*āṅgī-*).

5. In Bahuvrīhis the suffix *-in* is sometimes pleonastically added; thus *ku-nakh-in-* (AV.) 'having bad nails', *mahā-hast-in-* 'having large hands', *yaśo-bhag-in-* (VS.) 'rich in glory', *sa-rath-in-* (VS.) 'riding on the same chariot'.

257. Classification of Compounds.—The Indian grammarians divided compounds into three main classes according to their syntactical relations: 1) copulatives, or those in which the members are coordinated, called *dvandva*<sup>4</sup> ('couple'); 2) determinatives, or those in which the first member determines the second, called *tat-puruṣa-* ('his man')<sup>5</sup>; 3) those which are dependent on another word, called *bahu-vrīhi*<sup>6</sup>. The latter are usually regarded as compounds of the determinative class transmuted to adjectives, which would thus have a secondary character. They are often called 'possessives' since their meaning can usually be rendered by 'possessing', as *bahv-annā-* 'possessing much food'. To these may be added three other groups in order to treat Vedic compounds exhaustively: 4) governing compounds, or those in which the first member governs the last in sense; e. g. *kṣayāt-vīra-* 'ruling men'; 5) a certain remnant of irregular combinations which are best dealt with together; 6) iteratives, or repeated words which are treated as compounds in the Sāhityas inasmuch as they have only one accent and a special meaning when thus combined; in these the second member is called *āmreṣita-* 'repeated' by the Indian grammarians.

<sup>1</sup> This *-a* probably started in stems ending in *-man*, representing *\*-mn-a-*; see WACKER-NAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 118 c.

<sup>2</sup> *-vṛṣa-* for *-vṛṣan-* occurs in the AV. after other numerals also.

<sup>3</sup> For some doubtful examples see WACKER-NAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> The word first occurs in a B. passage of the TS. (I. 6. 94) in the form of *dvandvāni* 'couples', and in the AB.

<sup>5</sup> An example used as the name of the class.

<sup>6</sup> 'Having much rice', an example used as the name of the class.

## 1. Iteratives.

COLLITZ, Transactions of the Oriental Congress of Berlin 23, 287 ff. — DELBRÜCK, Vergleichende Syntax, Dritter Theil (1900), p. 141—153: Iterativcomposita. — WACKER-NAGEL 21, p. 142—148.

258. The repetition of an inflected form with loss of accent in the second word is very frequent in the RV. Such repetitions are treated in the Pada texts as compounds the members being separated by the Avagraha. The word thus repeated is generally a substantive and iteration is expressed chiefly in regard to time or distribution in regard to space; e.g. *dhār-ahar*, *divé-dive*, *dyāvi-dyavi* 'every day'; *grhē-grhe*, *dāme-dame*, *viśé-viśe* 'in every house'; *diśā-diśāḥ* (AV.) 'from every quarter'. Substantives are also thus repeated to express frequency or constant succession in other matters: *śātroḥ-śātroḥ* 'of every foe'; *ānnam-annam* (AV.) 'food in perpetuity'; *agnīm-agniṃ vah samidhā duvāsyata* (VI. 15<sup>6</sup>) 'worship Agni again and again with your fuel', *yajñāsya-yajñāsya* 'of every sacrifice' (X. 1<sup>5</sup>), *āṅgād-āṅāt* 'from every limb' (X. 163<sup>6</sup>), *pārvani-parvani* 'in every joint' (X. 163<sup>6</sup>). Adjectives repeated in this way are less common; e.g. *pānyam-panyam* . . *ā dhāvata* . . *sāmam* (VIII. 2<sup>25</sup>) 'cleanse Soma who is again and again to be praised'; *prācim-prācim pradīśam* (AV. XII. 37) 'each forward (eastern) direction'; *uttarām-uttarām sāmām* (AV. XII. 133) 'each following year', 'year after year'<sup>2</sup>.

a. The repeated word was originally used in the singular only. But the plural meaning of this repetition led to the beginnings of plural forms, as *ēkam-ekā satā daduḥ* (V. 52<sup>17</sup>) 'they have given a hundred each' (lit. 'hundreds, each one'). But a word thus iterated seems never to be in the plural except in agreement with a plural.

b. The frequency of -e as locative of a-stems led to the occasional use of the dative in consonant stems; *div-ē-div-e* (for \**div-i-div-i*) and *viś-ē-viś-e* (for \**viś-i-viś-i*).

c. The transition from iteratives to regular compounds, which appears in B., began with numerals. Thus the *ēka-ekaḥ* of the RV. (III. 29<sup>15</sup>) appears in the ŚB. as *ēkaika-*; and from the *dvā-dvā* of the RV. (VIII. 68<sup>14</sup>) we come to the adverbial *dvān-dvām* 'in pairs' in the MS., and finally to *dvandvā-* 'pair' in the TS. (B).

d. Adjective compounds in which a word is repeated for emphasis are unconnected with iteratives, differing from them both in sense and accent; thus *mahā-mahā-* 'mightily great'; *ṣaiṣṭ-* f. of \**ṣaiṣā-* (= *ṣa-ṣā-*) 'very speedy'<sup>3</sup>. Whether *carā-carā-* and *calā-calā-* 'moveable' belong to this group is somewhat uncertain.

## 2. Copulative Compounds.

REUTER, Die altindischen nominalcomposita, KZ. 31, 172—87: I. Copulative composita. — DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax 31. — RICHTER, Die unechten Nominalkomposita des Altindischen und Altiranischen: IF. 9, 23 ff. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1252—61. — WACKERNAGEL 21, 62—74 (p. 149—173).

259. Classification of Dvandvas.—This class consists of compounds consisting of two substantives, far less commonly adjectives, the syntactical relation of which in the sentence is the same and which may be regarded as connected in sense by 'and'. The successive stages in the development of this class can be closely traced from the beginning in the Samhitās. 1. First we have in the RV. the most numerous group (about three-fourths

<sup>1</sup> A vocative repeated to express emphasis is not treated in the same way: in *āranyāny āranyāni* (X. 146<sup>1</sup>) both vocatives are accented, the second being as emphatic as the first.

<sup>2</sup> The only repetition of a verbal form in this way is *piba-piba* (II. 11<sup>11</sup>) 'drink again and again'; cp. above 88.

<sup>3</sup> According to GELDNER, VS. 2, 15 the form *ṣaiṣyā* (RV. 1.) is the inst. sing. of *ṣaiṣṭ-* f. of \**ṣaiṣā-*; but according to BR. and GRASSMANN it is neut. pl. of *ṣaiṣyā-* (= *ṣa-ṣyā-*) 'to be striven for with desire', 'desirable'.

of all the Dvandvas) in which the compound consists of two co-ordinated nouns in the dual, each with its own accent. 2. The first member assumes an unchangeable form. 3. Only one accent remains and is restricted to the last syllable of the final member. 4. The first member assumes (but quite rarely in the RV.) the form of the stem. 5. The formation, becoming more general, can assume plural endings (but the RV. has only a few examples in the last book). 6. In the later Samhitās this type becomes quite general, forming a single category with the dual Dvandvas. 7. The final stage (of which the examples are few) is that of Dvandvas which are neuter singulars of a collective character.

260. In the commonest and earliest type of the old Dvandvas each member is dual in form and has a separate accent. This type seems to have originated from two grammatical practices frequent in the Vedas: (a) the juxtaposition of two coordinate words without *ca*; e.g. *bhūmano divās pāri* (IX. 73<sup>5</sup>) 'away from earth and heaven', *krātum dikṣam* (VIII. 42<sup>3</sup>) 'understanding and will'; (b) the use of the elliptic dual<sup>1</sup> which puts one of a pair in the dual to express both, as *dyāvā* 'heaven and earth'. This origin is probable because the dual Dvandvas are found alternating with one or both of these usages; thus *mitrā-vāruṇā* 'Mitra and Varuṇa' appears beside both *mitrā* alone and *mitrō vāruṇaḥ* (or *mitrō vāruṇas ca* and *mitrās ca vāruṇas ca*); *mātārā-pitārā* 'mother and father' beside *mātārā* or *pitārā* and *pitre mātṛe* and other cases, the VS. (IX. 19) having pleonastically even *pitārā-mātārā ca* meaning 'father and mother'. The transition from the syntactical collocation *divās . . . prthivīs* (VI. 30<sup>1</sup>) to a dual compound is seen in *divās-prthivīs* 'of heaven and earth' (occurring four times in the RV.) where the second word is put in the dual to show clearly that an associated couple is meant. In the RV. the two duals of the compound are often separated; e.g. *dyāvā ha kṣāmā* (X. 12<sup>1</sup>) 'heaven and earth'; *dyāvā yajñīdīḥ prthivī* (VII. 53<sup>1</sup>); *indrā no ātra vāruṇā* (IV. 41<sup>1</sup>)<sup>2</sup>; *ā nāktā barhiḥ sadatām usāsā* (VII. 42<sup>5</sup>) 'let Night and Dawn seat themselves upon the litter'; *indrā nī pūṣānā* (VI. 57<sup>1</sup>) 'Indra and Pūṣan'; *indrā nṛ agnī* (VI. 59<sup>3</sup>) 'Indra and Agni', *indrā yo agnī* (VI. 60<sup>3</sup>)<sup>3</sup>; *cākṣur māhi mitrāyor ām ēti priyaṁ vāruṇayoh* (VI. 51<sup>1</sup>) 'the great, dear eye of Mitra and Varuṇa comes'. In two or three examples of tmesis the dual ending appears in the first member only, while the singular remains in the second; thus *mitrā . . . vāruṇaḥ* (VIII. 25<sup>2</sup>) and *indrā yō vāṇi varuṇa*<sup>4</sup> (VI. 68<sup>5</sup>) 'O Indra and Varuṇa'. Generally, however, the two duals are in immediate juxtaposition, as *indrā-bṛhaspātī* 'Indra and Bṛhaspati'; *dyāvā-prthivī* 'Heaven and Earth'; *agnī-sómā* 'Agni and Soma'; gen. *mitrāyor-vāruṇayoh*<sup>5</sup> 'of Mitra and Varuṇa'.

The characteristic final vowel of the first member is *-ā*<sup>6</sup>, as *usāsā-nāktā* (or *nāktosāsā*); hence it even ousts *-ī* as in *agnā-viṣṇū* (AV.) 'O Agni and Viṣṇu'. Beside this *-ā* there sometimes appears *a* in the vocative, both in tmesis, as in *mitra rājānā varuṇā* (V. 62<sup>3</sup>) 'O kings Mitra and Varuṇa' (voc. of *rājānā mitrā-vāruṇā*, III. 56<sup>7</sup>; X. 64<sup>5</sup>); and when the members are joined, as

<sup>1</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 23, 302 ff., REUTER, KZ. 31, 176 ff., DELBRÜCK, Alt-indische Syntax 58 (p. 98), Vergleichende Syntax, Erster Theil 41 (p. 137 f.).

<sup>2</sup> In each of the first 6 stanzas of IV. 41 *indrā* and *vāruṇā* are separated by one or two words of two or three syllables.

<sup>3</sup> Also *viṣṇū agan vāruṇā* 'Viṣṇu and Varuṇa' in a Mantra in TB. II. 8. 45.

<sup>4</sup> The Pada text here reads *vāruṇā*; cp. *indrā kō vāṇi varuṇā* (IV. 41<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> Double duals in *-bhyām* do not appear to occur.

<sup>6</sup> The ending *-au* or *-āv* never occurs in the first member.

in *parjanya-vātā* (VI.49<sup>6</sup>), voc. of *parjanya-vātā* (VI.50<sup>12</sup>), and always in *indra-vāyū*<sup>1</sup> 'O Indra and Vayu'. The ending *-ī* appears in the first member in *agnī-sómau* 'Agni and Soma'; and *-ū* in *krātū-dākṣau* (VS.)<sup>2</sup>.

261. These coordinate duals having early come to be regarded as a unit, the commonest ending of the first member, that of the nom. acc., came to be retained unaltered in other cases and in derivatives<sup>3</sup>. Thus arose the forms *mitrā-váruṇābhyām*; *mitrā-váruṇayos* beside *mitráyor-váruṇayos*, *indrā-váruṇayos*; in the AV. *dyāvā-prthivībhyām* and *dyāvā-prthivyós* (instead of the *divós-prthivyós* of the RV.).

262. In a minority of instances, but comparatively oftener in the later Samhitās than in the RV., the first member loses its accent and only the last syllable of the final member (irrespectively of its original accent) has the acute<sup>4</sup>; thus *indrā-pūṣṇós* (beside *indrā-pūṣānā*); *somā-pūṣābhyām*; *bhavā-rudráu* (AV.) 'Bhava and Rudra', *bhavā-sarváu* (AV.) 'Bhava and Sarva'<sup>5</sup>; *vātā-parjanya* 'Vāta and Parjanya' (*parjanya*); *sūryā-candramāsā* 'sun and moon' (*candramās*).

a. In the later Samhitās there are a few examples in which the nom. sing. of stems in *-tr* has, doubtless owing to identity in form of the final vowel with the Vedic dual ending *-ā*, become fixed in the first member: *pitā-putráu* (AV.) 'father and son'; *neṣṭā-potībhyām* (TS. I. 8. 18<sup>1</sup>) 'to the Neṣṭr and the Potr'<sup>6</sup>. They doubtless started from syntactically coordinated nominatives (like *divós-prthivyós* beside *divós prthivyās*, VI. 47<sup>27</sup>)<sup>7</sup>.

263. Dvandvas with a single accent having established themselves, the stem form began to encroach in the first member. The only two examples from RV. I.—IX, are *indra-vāyū* (the transition being facilitated by the more frequent occurrence of the vocative *indrā-vāyū*) and *satyīnṛtē*<sup>8</sup> (VII. 49<sup>3</sup>) 'truth and untruth'. Two additional neuters occurs in book X: *sāsanānaśane* 'what eats (*sa-aśana-*) and does not eat' (*an-aśana-*); and *ṛk-sāmābhyām* 'with hymns and chant'. In the later Samhitās this becomes the prevailing type regularly followed in new formations; *prastotr-pratihartībhyām* (TS. I. 8. 18<sup>1</sup>) 'to the Prastotr and Pratihartṛ'; *krātū-dākṣau* (VS.); *dakṣa-krātū* (TS.), *sūdrāryáu* (VS.) 'a Sūdra and an Ārya'<sup>9</sup>.

264. The stem form having established itself in the first member, the compounding of Dvandvas became freer, and not only neuters but feminines began to be admitted, as *dīkṣā-tapās-os* (VS.) 'consecration and austerity'. Here, too, the final syllable of the compound has the acute; the svarita of the original word is, however, retained in *brahma-rājanyāu* (VS. XXVI. 2; AV. XI. 32<sup>8</sup>) 'a Brahman and a warrior'.

265. Dvandvas with plural ending are on the whole later than those with dual ending. They would first have been used to express the plural sense of the pair in question, thus *śāl āhur dyāvā-prthivīḥ* (VIII. 9<sup>10</sup>) 'they speak of six heaven-and-earths'; *aho-rātrāṇi* = 'pairs of day-and-night'.

<sup>1</sup> This Dvandva always has *a* even in the nom. *indra-vāyū*.

<sup>2</sup> The dual notion is sometimes emphasized by the addition of *ubhāu* 'both', as *ubhā mitrā-váruṇā*; *sūryā-candramasāv ubhā* (AV.).

<sup>3</sup> Like *jeder-manns* for *jedes-manns* in German. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 20, 168 (Anzeiger) regards these Dvandvas as abbreviations by dropping the common ending in the first member.

<sup>4</sup> This accentuation is probably due to the influence of collective compounds which are nearly allied to Dvandvas. *Indrāgnī*, *indrāgnībhyām*, *indrāgnyós* and *agnīndrābhyām*

are examples which may contain the stem form in the first member (263).

<sup>5</sup> WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 153, also quotes *somā-rudráyos* (TS.), *uṣṇihā-kakibhau* (MS.).

<sup>6</sup> On *waṣṭi-varitrī* see WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, 64 (p. 154).

<sup>7</sup> The three divisions of Dvandvas treated above include masculines and feminines only. Neuters of similar type first appear in the Sūtras, as *idhmā-barhiṣṭ* 'fuel and litter'.

<sup>8</sup> This is the earliest example of a neuter Dvandva.

<sup>9</sup> WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 155, gives some further examples from B. portions of the later Samhitās.

A transition to the use of plural Dvandvas, that is, of pairs of groups, is made by *indrā-marutas* 'O Indra and Maruts', where the dual notion is made up of a singular on the one hand and a group on the other. The older type of such plural Dvandvas (which express two coordinated plurals, the first member retaining its accent and the archaic ending -ā, like the -ā of dual Dvandvas) is represented by *āṅgā-pārūṃṣi* 'limbs and joints' occurring in a B. passage of the TS. (II. 5. 6<sup>1</sup>). Examples of the later type with one accent are *ukthā-saṣṭrāṇi* (VS. XIX. 28) 'recitations and praises', *ukthā-madāni* (AV.) 'recitations and rejoicings', and probably *ukthārkā* (VI. 34<sup>1</sup>) 'recitations and hymns'<sup>1</sup>. The latest type of these plural Dvandvas (like that of the duals) has the stem form in the first as well as the acute on the last syllable of the final member. The only examples of this type in the RV. occur in book X: *aho-rātrāni*<sup>2</sup> 'days and nights', *ajāvādyas* 'goats and sheep', *dhana-bhaksṣu* 'in riches and enjoyments'. In the later Saṃhitās this type becomes quite general, forming a single category with the duals; e. g. *deva-manusyās* (AV. VIII. 10<sup>9</sup>), *bhadra-pāpās* (AV.) 'the good and the bad', *priyāpriyāni* (AV.) 'pleasant and unpleasant things'<sup>3</sup>.

a. The expression *amṛta mārtyānām* (I. 269) appears to be an abridgment for *amṛtānām mārtyānām* 'of immortals (and) mortals', amounting almost to a plural Dvandva (= *amṛta-mārtyānām*)<sup>4</sup>.

266. A few Dvandvas appear in the Saṃhitās with a singular ending, these being neuter only. The older type in which a dual or plural has been turned into a singular at the end, only in order to express a collective meaning, is represented in the RV. by *iṣṭā-pūrtām*<sup>5</sup> 'what has been offered or given', originally a pl. n. in both members (\**iṣṭā-pūrtā*) which has become a singular to emphasize its collective character<sup>6</sup>. Both owing to the lack of an early type of neuter Dvandvas and because of the desire to express a collective sense, nearly all the neuter Dvandvas of the later kind are singular. In most instances both members are neuter; e. g. *kyākrta-m* (AV.) 'what has been done and not done', *cittakūtā-m* (AV.) 'thought and intention' (*ākūtā-*), *bhūta-bhavyā-m* (AV.) 'the past and the future', *samīṣṭa-yajñs* (VS.) 'sacrifice and sacrificial formula'; *bhadra-pāpasya* (AV.) 'of good and evil', *añjanābhyañjana-m* (AV.) 'unction and inunction' (*abhyañjana-*), *kaṣipūpabarhaṇā-m* (AV.) 'mat and pillow'.

a. In a few instances the first member is a masculine or feminine: *keśa-smaśrū* (AV.) 'hair and beard', *iṣṭā-ayudhā* (loc. sing.) 'arrows and weapons' (AV.).

267. Adjectives also occur as Dvandvas, but they are of rare occurrence. Three types may be distinguished.

1. Adjectives of colour expressing a mixture: e. g. *nīla-lohitā* 'dark-blue and red' = 'dark red'; *tāmra-dhūmrā* (AV.) 'red and black' = 'dark red'; *aruṇā-bāhru-* (VS.) 'ruddy and yellow', *dhūmrā-rohita-* (VS.) 'grey and red'<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Probably = *ukthā-arkā*, not *uktha-arkā*, the gender of the first member having prevailed over that of the last.

<sup>2</sup> The gender of the first member here prevails over that of the second.

<sup>3</sup> Some other examples from B. passages of the Saṃhitās in WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 157. The oldest example of a Dvandva consisting of three members is *prāṇāpānodānīsu* (TS. VII. 3. 3<sup>1</sup>) 'in the outward, the downward and the upward airs', where the plural results from the addition of three individual things (not three groups).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> See WINDISCH in Festgruss an Böhtlingk, p. 115 ff.

<sup>6</sup> WACKERNAGEL (2<sup>1</sup>, 68) quotes *idhmā-barhis* from the MS., 'fuel and litter', which with its double accent as well as dual ending in the first member represents a still earlier type.

<sup>7</sup> Except in these colour adjectives in the VS., the accentuation of the adjective Dvandvas is the same as that of neuter substantive Dvandvas, that is, the last syllable of the final member has the acute.



2. Adjectives expressing a contrast; e. g. *utkūla-nikūlā* (VS.) 'going uphill and downhill'.

3. Adjectives used with dual or plural substantives to express that **each** is an attribute of one unit of the kind; e. g. *padbhyāṃ dakṣiṇa-savyābhyām* (AV. XII. 1<sup>23</sup>) 'with the right foot and the left'; or with the substantive to be supplied, *saptamāṣṭamābhyām svāhā* (AV.) 'hail to the seventh and the eighth (Āṅgirasas)'; *aghaśaṃsa-duḥśaṃsābhyām* (AV.) 'by those plotting evil and those plotting ill'; *sāhnātirātrdu* (AV.) 'terminating with a day (*sa-ahna-*) and exceeding a day' (*ati-rātrā-*).

268. As regards the order of the members in a Dvandva, the rule seems to be that the more important or the shorter word comes first; thus *dyāvā-kṣāmā*, *dyāvā-bhūmī*, *dyāvā-prthivī*<sup>1</sup> 'heaven and earth'; *sūryā-māsā* and *sūryā-candramāsā* 'sun and moon'; *indrā-vāruṇā* 'Indra and Varuṇa'; *ulūkhala-musālā* (AV.) 'mortar and pestle'. *Indrā-* regularly comes first in the RV. and the later Samhitās in some dozen Dvandvas<sup>2</sup>; e. g. *indrāgnī*; otherwise *agnī-* always precedes; *sōma-* comes after *indrā-* and *agnī-*, but before *pūṣan-* and *rudra-*. The longer word comes first, perhaps, as the more important, in *parjanya-vātā*<sup>3</sup> 'Parjanya and Vāta' and in *turvāśa-yadū* 'Turvaśa and Yadu'. This can hardly be the reason in *sambādha-tandryās* (AV.) 'oppressions and weariness'. The shorter word comes first in *mitrā-vāruṇā*, though Varuṇa is the more important of the two<sup>4</sup>; in *ṛk-sāmābhyām* the shorter word is at the same time the more important.

### 3. Determinative Compounds.

269. Classification.—The large class of determinative compounds in which the first member determines or limits the sense of the last, is best divided into **two main groups**. In the one, the final member is a verbal noun which governs the first member in meaning, and often even in form, as a verb governs its case. In the other, the final member is an ordinary noun (either adjective or substantive), the relation of which to the first member is a purely nominal one.

#### a. Verbal Noun as final member.

270. The final member is often a verbal noun either not occurring as a simple word or at least not belonging to a type used as simple words: either the bare root<sup>5</sup> or a verbal derivative formed with the suffixes *-a*, *-ana*, *-i*, *-in*, *-man*, *-van*. These nouns limited to use as final members are agent nouns; e. g. *haviṛ-dā* 'eating the oblation', *saṃ-īdh-* 'flaming', *jyotiṣ-kī-t-* 'producing light', *abhi-hrī-t-* 'causing injury', *go-ghn-ā-* 'cow-slaying', *ā-kar-ā-* 'scattering'; *amitra-dāmbh-ana-* 'injuring enemies', *tuvi-gr-i-* 'devouring much', *uru-cakr-i-* 'doing large work'; *bhadra-vād-in-* 'uttering an auspicious cry'; *āśu-hē-man-* 'swiftly speeding', *bhūri-dā-van-*<sup>6</sup> 'giving much'.—Occasionally agent-nouns limited to use as final members are formed with other suffixes: *prati-dīv-an-* 'adversary at play', *ut-bhū-an-* 'far-reaching' and *vi-bhū-dn-* 'skilful'; *pra-py-asā-* (AV.) 'swelling', *sva-bhy-asā-* (AV.) 'spontaneously frightened';

<sup>1</sup> This form occurs 79 times in the RV. and *prthivī-dyāvā* only once.

<sup>2</sup> Otherwise only *agnīndrābhyām* (VS.) 'Agni and Indra'. Cp. the list of dual divinities in Vedic Mythology, Grundriss III, I A, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> Once also *vātā-parjanya*.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>i</sup>, p. 168 (middle).

<sup>5</sup> Appearing in its weakest form or, if ending in a short vowel, with determinative *-ā*.

<sup>6</sup> *-mant* and *-vant* occasionally appear as variations for *-man* and *-van*, as *vi-rūk-mant-* 'shining'; *prāṇa-dā-vant-* (AV.) 'life-giving' (cp. WHITNEY on AV. IV. 355); see REUTER, KZ. 31, 560 f.

*duh-śās-u-* 'malignant', *vi-bhind-ñ-* 'splitting', *pra-y'y-u-* 'used for driving', *govind-ñ-* 'seeking cows', *pari-tatn-ñ-* (AV.) 'encompassing', *pūnś-cal-ñ-* (VS.) 'prostitute'; *pūva-sphā-kā-*<sup>1</sup> (AV<sup>1</sup>.) 'abounding in fat', *ni-hā-kā-* 'whirlwind'; *vi-bhañj-an-* 'shattering'; *pra-cet-īna-* 'affording a wide prospect'; *div-l-tmant-* 'going to heaven'; *tuvi-kūrm-l(n)-* 'stirring mightily'; *vāsañ-palpūl-ñ-* (VS.) 'washing clothes'.

a. The meaning of these agent-nouns restricted in use as final members is chiefly active. But in those of them which consist of the bare root (with or without the determinative *-t*) it is often intransitive; e. g. *namo-vādh-* 'growing by adoration'; it is not infrequently passive, as *mano-yij-* 'yoked at will', *su-yij-* 'well-yoked'; *yāma-hñ-* 'called by entreaties', *indra-pā-tama-* 'most eagerly drunk by Indra', *tīva-sit-t-* 'pressed from the fermenting mass', *hṛdaya-vidh-* 'pierced to the heart'<sup>2</sup> (AV.). The passive meaning also appears in one derivative formed with *-a*: *pari-mar-ā-* (TS.) 'died around' = 'around whom people die'. Final members formed with *-a*, *-ana*, (*i*)-*tu* when compounded with *su-* or *dus-* also have a passive (gerundive) meaning expressive of the ease or difficulty with which the verbal action is performed; e. g. *su-kār-a-* 'easy to be done', *su-mān-tu-* 'easily recognisable', *su-ved-anā-* 'easily acquired'; *dur-āp-anā-* 'hard to attain'; *dur-ni-yān-tu-* 'hard to restrain', *dur-dhār-ñ-tu-* 'irresistible', *dū-dābha-* 'hard to deceive'; also an isolated derivative with *-i*, *dur-gābh-i-* 'hard to catch', and one with *-na*, *su-śrī-ña-* 'easily heard' (beside *su-śrī-t-* 'hearing easily').

271. A certain number of verbal nouns restricted to employment as final members which are formed from the simple root (with or without determinative *-t*) or with the suffixes *-a*, *-ana*, *-tha* are nouns of action; e. g. *śrad-dhā-* 'belief', *āśir-dā-* (VS. TS.) 'fulfilment of wishes', *ūpa-stu-t-* 'invocation', *pari-pād-* 'snare', *sañ-nām-* (AV.) 'affection'; *kṣudhā-mār-d-* (AV.) 'death by hunger', *pāpa-vād-d-* (AV.) 'evil cry'; *deva-hū-ana-* 'offence against the gods', *baddhaka-moc-ana-* (AV.) 'release of a prisoner'; *go-pi-thā-* 'drink of milk', *putra-kṛ-ñhā-* 'procreation of sons', *sañ-i-ñhā-* 'conflict'. *kāma-pr-d-* is both a noun of action, 'fulfilment of desires' (AV.) and an agent-noun, 'fulfilling desires' (RV.)<sup>3</sup>.

a. A class of secondary nouns of action is here formed by adding the suffixes *-ya* and *-yā* to agent nouns formed from the simple root (with or without *-t*). These are abstracts (neuter and feminine respectively); e. g. *haviṛ-ād-ya-* 'enjoyment of the oblation'; *pūva-pāy-yi-* and *pūva-pi-ya-* 'precedence in drinking' (*pūva-pā-* 'drinking first'), *nr-pāy-ya-* 'protection of men', *bahu-pāy-ya-* 'protection of many', 'large hall', *deva-yāj-ya-* n. and *-yāj-yā-* f. 'adoration of the gods' (*deva-yāj-* 'adoring the gods', VS.), *nr-sāh-ya-* 'overcoming of men' (*nr-sāh-* 'overcoming men'), *rāja-sū-ya-* (AV.) 'royal consecration' (*rāja-sū-* 'creating a king', VS.), *madhyama-sthēy-ya-* 'standing in the middle' (*madhyama-sthā-* adj., VS.); *su-kṛt-yā-* 'righteousness' (*su-kṛt-* 'righteous').

272. The close verbal connexion of these final members with the roots from which they are derived, shows itself formally. Thus they retain the palatal of the verb where the guttural would otherwise appear<sup>4</sup>. Again, agent nouns of this kind are formed from almost every kind of present stem. The following are examples of such nouns from present stems of: 1. the first class: *cakram-ā-sajā-* 'stopping<sup>5</sup> the wheel'; 2. the sixth class: *ut-tudd-* (AV.) 'instigator' (*tudd-ñ-*), *sañ-girā-* (AV.) 'swallowing' (*sāñ girāmi*). 3. stems with *-cha*: *go-vyacchā-* (VS.) 'cow-tormentor' (from a lost present stem *\*vyaccha-*)

<sup>1</sup> For *pūva-sphākā-*; the Mss. read *pīvasphākā-m* (Pada *pīvañ-phākām*): see WHITNEY on AV. IV. 73.

<sup>2</sup> But 'heart-piercing' (RV.).

<sup>3</sup> Isolated examples of nouns of action formed with other suffixes are *su-papt-ani-* 'good flight', *sañ-śreṣ-ñd-* (AV.) 'conflict'(?).

<sup>4</sup> See WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>i</sup>, 76. Exceptions to this would be *tuvi-kūrm-l(n)-* and *div-ā-karā-* (AV.) 'sun', if these words are derived from *car-* 'fare'.

<sup>5</sup> From *ā sajāmi* 'I attach'.

4. the fourth class or passive with *-ya*: *ākṛṣṭa-pacyá*<sup>1</sup> (AV. VS. TS.) 'ripening in unploughed ground', *a-paśyá* 'not seeing', *ugram-paśyá* (AV.) 'fierce-looking', *mām-paśyá* (AV.) 'looking at me', *adhi-paśya* (AV. Paipp.) 'superintendent', *punar-manyá* 'remembering' (*mānya-te* 'thinks'), *ā-riṣanya* 'not failing' (*riṣanyá-ti*), *bala-vi-jñāyá* 'recognized by his strength', *a-vi-dasyá* 'not ceasing' (*vi dasyanti* 'they cease'), *a-vi-driyá* 'not bursting' (*dr-* 'split'). 5. stems with *-aya*: *vācam-īkṣhayá* 'stirring the voice', *samudram-īkṣhaya* (only voc.) 'stirring the vat' (*īkṣhāya-nti* 'they shake'), *viśvam-ējaya* (only voc.) 'exciting all' (*ējāya-ti* 'sets in motion'), *ati-pārayá* 'putting across'. 6. the fifth (*-nu*) and ninth (*-nā*) classes: *viśvam-īnvá* 'all-urging' (*inv-ti*, *inv-a-ti* 'urges'), *dhiyam-jinvá* 'stirring devotion' and *viśva-jinvā* (voc. du.) 'all-quickening' (*jinv-a-ti* 'stirs'), *ā-daghnd* 'reaching to the mouth'<sup>2</sup> (*dagh-nu-yāt* 'may reach', K.), *dura-dabhná* (AV.) 'eluding doors' = 'not to be kept by bars and bolts' (*dabhnuv-anti* 'they deceive'), *dānu-pīnvá* 'swelling with drops' (*pīnv-ānū* 'swelling'), *sadā-prūd* 'always giving' (*prūd-ti* 'fills', 'bestows'), *a-miná*<sup>3</sup> (beside *ā-minant*) 'undiminishing' (*miná-ti* 'diminishes'), *pra-mṛṇá* 'destroying' (*pra-mṛṇánt* 'crushing', *prá mṛṇa* 'destroy'), *a-sīnvá*<sup>4</sup> (beside *ā-sīnvant*) 'insatiable', *a-suvv-á* 'not pressing Soma' (beside *ā-suvv-ant*). 7. the sixth and seventh classes: *agnim-indhā* 'fire-kindling' (*indh-āte* 'they kindle'), *pra-krntá* (TS. iv. 5. 3<sup>1</sup>) and *vi-krntá* (VS.) 'cutting to pieces' (*krntá-ti* 'cuts'), *bhūmi-ārmhā* (AV.) 'firmly fixed on the ground' (*ārmha-ta* 'make firm'), *nī-limpá* (AV.) a kind of supernatural being (*nī limpāmi* 'I besmear', AV.). 8. the root class: *vrātya-bruvá* (AV.) 'calling himself a Vṛātya' (*bruv-anti* 'they say'). 9. the reduplicating class: *anu-jighrā* (AV.) 'snuffing at' (*jighranti* 'smelling'), *sam-pībá* (AV.) 'swallowing down' (*sām pībāmi*, AV.)<sup>5</sup>.

a. In a few instances verbal nouns which are final members of compounds in the RV. or the later Samhitās subsequently appear as independent words. Thus *jāta-vidyá* 'knowledge of things', *vidyá* (AV. TS.) 'knowledge'<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, verbal nouns derived from roots without suffix, which in the RV. appear both as independent words and as final members of compounds, often survive in the later Samhitās in their compound form only; such are *túr* 'racing', *dā* 'giver', *sū* m. 'begetter', f. 'mother', *sthā* 'standing'. As a rule verbal nouns which occur independently have the same general meaning as when they form the final member of a compound. But those formed without any suffix generally, and those formed with *-a* occasionally, have the sense of agent nouns at the end of compounds, but of action nouns or of designations of things conceived as feminine, when they are used independently. Thus *grābh* f. 'act of seizing', *jīva-gṛbh* adj. 'seizing alive'; *vid-ā* 'with knowledge', *hotrā-vid* adj. 'knowing the oblation', *yūdā* f. 'fight', *pra-yūdā* adj. 'assailing'; *bhar-ā* (AV.) 'act of carrying', *puṣṭim-bharā* 'bringing prosperity'. Sometimes the simple word has the meaning of an agent noun as well as of an action noun; e. g. *dṛś* adj. 'seeing' and f. 'act of seeing'; *bhūj* adj. 'enjoying' and f. 'enjoyment'; *stūbh* adj. 'shouting' and f. 'shout'; but at the end of a compound these three words express the agent only. Similarly *grābh-ā* m. 'seizer' (AV.) and 'grasp', but *grāva-grābh-ā* 'handling the Soma stones'<sup>7</sup>.

273. Independent verbal nouns.—Several kinds of verbal nouns which are also capable of independent use occur as final member of compounds. Among these the only ones of frequent occurrence are those in *-ta* which are adjectives (often used as substantives) and the corresponding abstract

<sup>1</sup> WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 179 (bottom), refutes the view that this *-ya* is identical with that of the gerundive.

<sup>2</sup> *-daghna-* forms the last member of several other compounds in the later Samhitās. See WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 181, note.

<sup>4</sup> From a lost root *\*si-nó-ti* 'satisfies'.

<sup>5</sup> There is also a transition form (leading to the later *-dada-*) in *āyur-dād-am* (AV.)

acc. f. 'life-giving' (beside *āyur-dā*, AV. VS. TS.): *dād-ati* 'they give'.

<sup>6</sup> For examples of verbal nouns which assume an independent character in the later language, see WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, 77 a.

<sup>7</sup> On the origin of these verbal compounds and the relation of the final member to the independent word, see WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, 78 b and note (p. 186 f.).

substantives in *-ti*; e. g. *puro-hita-* adj. 'placed in front', m. 'domestic priest'; *puro-hiti-* f. 'domestic priesthood'.

1. **Agent nouns.** Those which are formed with *-aka* and *-snu* are compounded with prepositions only: *abhi-kṛś-aka-* (VS.) 'one who cries out', *vi-lāy-aka-* (VS.) 'melter'; *abhi-śocayī-snu-* (AV.) 'causing heat', *ni-śat-snu-* 'sitting firmly'. Agent nouns in *-tr* may be compounded with adverbs, as *pura-etf-* 'going before', *pura-lsthātī-* 'standing at the head', and rarely with substantives, as *ni-pātī-* 'protecting men', *man-dhātī-*<sup>1</sup> 'applying (his) mind', 'thoughtful man'. Agent nouns formed with *-u* from secondary present stems are in a few instances compounded with substantives: *gir-vanasy-ū-* 'fond of hymns', *deva-pṛy-ū-* (AV. VS.) 'hating the gods', *rāṣṭra-dīps-ū-* (AV.) 'wishing to injure the country'.

2. **Action nouns.** A few action nouns formed with *-ā* from adjectives in *-u* derived from secondary verbal stems, begin in late passages of the RV. to appear in composition with a substantive: *māṇsa-bhikṣ-ā-* (I. 162<sup>12</sup>) 'request for flesh', *śraddhā-manasy-ā-* 'faithful intent' (X. 113<sup>9</sup>); *sajāta-vanasy-ā-* (TS. II. 6. 67) 'desire to rule over relatives'. Much more common are the abstracts in *-ti* (corresponding to adjectives in *-ta*), which may be compounded with indeclinables or nouns (adjective or substantive)<sup>2</sup>; e. g. *an-nī-* 'no help', *d-śasti-* 'curse', *nir-ṛti-* 'dissolution', *sā-hūti-* 'joint invocation', *su-nī-* 'good aid'; *sōma-pīti-* 'drinking of Soma', *sōma-sūti-* 'pressing of Soma'. Some of these are becoming or have become agent nouns; thus *jarād-aṣṭi-* 'attaining great age' as well as 'attainment of old age'; *vāsu-dhiti-* 'bestowing wealth' as well as 'bestowal of wealth'; but *vāsu-nīti-* (AV.) only 'bringing wealth'. Others, even in the RV., approximate to the type of the non-verbal determinatives, as *āsu-nīti-* 'world of spirits', *ṛjī-nīti-* 'right guidance', *devā-hiti-* 'divine ordinance', *nāmo-vṛkti-* 'cleansing for adoration', *pūrvā-citti-* 'foreboding': these can, however, be understood as abstracts to corresponding compounds in *-ta*<sup>3</sup>.

3. **Gerundives.** The gerundives formed with *-ya* are ordinarily compounded with adverbial prepositions, as *puro-nuvākyā-* (sc. *ḥc-* AV.) '(verse) to be repeated beforehand'. In the later Samhitās a noun here sometimes appears as first member: *nīvi-bhāryā-* (AV.) 'to be worn in a skirt', *prathamā-vāsyā-* (AV.) 'worn formerly'. The Proper Names *kunda-pāyā-*, *puru-māyā-*, *vṛṣi-hāryā-*, if they are formed with the gerundive suffix *-ya*, would be examples from the RV.<sup>4</sup>—Gerundives formed with *-anīya* and *-enya*<sup>5</sup> are compounded with prepositions and *a(n)-* only: *ā-mantranīya-* (AV.) 'to be asked'; *saṃ-carāṇya-* 'suitable for walking on', *a-dviṣenyā-* 'not malevolent'.—Gerundives in *-tva* are not compounded at all except with *a(n)-*.

4. **Participles.** Besides prepositions and *a(n)-*, only indeclinable words occurring in connexion with verbs are found compounded with participles (exclusive of the past passive participle): thus *alalā-bhūvant-* 'murmuring' (waters) and *jaijānā-bhūvant-* 'crackling' (flame), *astam-yānt-* (AV.) 'setting' and *astam-esyānt-* (AV.) 'about to set', *d-punar-dīyamāna-* (AV.) 'not being given back', *āvis-kṛvānt-* 'making visible', *dūr-vidvāms-* 'ill-disposed', *sū-vidvāms-* 'knowing well'.

<sup>1</sup> From *manas-* through *\*manz-dhātī-*.

<sup>2</sup> The verbal force is strongest when the preceding substantive has the sense of an object.

<sup>3</sup> As *devā-hiti-* 'act of ordaining by the gods' beside *devā-hita-* 'ordained by the gods'.

<sup>4</sup> The compounds *amā-vāsyā-* (AV.) sc. *vātr-* 'night of the new moon', *eka-vādyā-*

(AV.) 'uttering a single sound', a kind of spectre, and *vār-kāryā-* (I. 88<sup>4</sup>) are obscure in their formation.

<sup>5</sup> A few gerundives in *-tavya* begin to be compounded with prepositions or particles in the B. portion of the TS. and MS.: *pravastavyām* (TS.) 'one should go on a journey'; *a-bhartavyā-* (MS.) 'not to be borne', *sv-ētavyam* (TS.) 'easy to go'.

a. By far the commonest verbal nouns occurring as final member are the past participles in *-ta*, which are compounded with nouns as well as prepositions and other indeclinables. The meaning is mostly passive. It is, however, sometimes active, but in the RV. almost exclusively when a preposition precedes, as *ūd-ita* 'risen'; when a noun precedes, only in *sārga-takta* 'speeding with a rush' and *sārga-prataкта* 'darting forth with a rush'. In the AV. a noun appears also in *uda-plutī* 'swimming in the water'; occasionally even transitively governing the first member in sense: *kṛtā-dviṣṭa* (AV.) 'hating what has been done' (by another)<sup>1</sup>.

b. The past participle in *-na* is less frequent and occurs in the RV. only compounded with prepositions, *a(n)-* and *su-*; e. g. *pāri-cchinna* 'lopped around'; *ā-bhinna* 'not split'; *sū-pūrṇa* 'quite full'. But it is found a few times in the later Samhitās with a preceding substantive: *agni-nunna* (SV.) 'driven away by fire'; *reṣmā-cchinna* (AV.) 'rent by a storm'; and with active (transitive) sense *gara-giṇṇā* (AV.) 'having swallowed poison'.

5. There are besides some verbal adjectives in *-ra* or (after a vowel) *-tra*, *-la* and *-ma*, the first of which occurs compounded with nouns as well as prepositions: *ā-sk-ra* 'united'<sup>2</sup>, *nī-mṛg-ra* 'attached to', *tanū-śubh-ra* 'shining in body', *hūri-ścaṇḍ-ra* 'shining yellow'; *vi-bhṛ-tra* 'to be borne about in various directions'; *ā-miś-la*, *nī-miś-la*, *sām-miś-la* 'commingling'; *dva-kṣā-ma* (AV.) 'emaciated', *ūc-chuṣ-ma* (TS. I. 6. 2<sup>2</sup>) 'hissing upwards', *nī-śuṣ-ma* (TS. I. 6. 2<sup>2</sup>) 'hissing downwards'.

6. Comparatives and superlatives in *-jyāms* and *-iṣṭha* having originally been verbal adjectives are found in composition with prepositions and *sām-* when they still retain their verbal meaning: *ūd-yamtyāms* 'raising excessively', *pāri-svajyāms* (AV.) 'clasping more firmly', *prāti-cyavyāms* 'pressing closer against', *vi-klediyāms* (AV.) 'moistening more'; *ā-gamiṣṭha* 'coming quickly', *sām-bhaviṣṭha* 'most beneficial'.

### First member in verbal determinatives.

274. a. Prepositions. At the beginning of determinatives prepositions are employed in accordance with their use in verbal forms; e. g. *pra-ñī* and *prā-ñiti* 'furtherance', *pra-ñetī* 'leader', *prā-ñita* 'furthered', *pra-ñentī* 'guiding constantly'. Even in the many instances in which the corresponding verbal combination has not been preserved, it may be assumed to have existed; e. g. in *abhi-pra-mūr* 'crushing' and *abhi-pra-bhaṅgin* 'breaking'. Occasionally, however, the preposition has a meaning which otherwise occurs only before non-verbal nouns; e. g. *ati-yājā* 'sacrificing excessively'<sup>3</sup>. A preposition belonging to the second member is once prefixed to the first in *saṃ-dhanā-jī-t* (AV.) 'accumulating (= *saṃ-jī-t*) 'wealth'.

b. Adverbs. Various kinds of adverbs occur in this position, as *puro-yāvan* 'going before', *akṣpayā-drūh* 'injuring wrongly'; *amutra-bhūya* (AV. VS.) 'state of being there' (i. e. in the other world). The privative *a(n)-* though belonging in sense to the final member always precedes the first; e. g. *ān-agni-dagha* 'not burnt by fire'; *ā-paścād-daghaṇ* 'not remaining behind'; *ā-dūra-sy-t* (AV.) 'not falling into a crack'.

c. Nouns. The first member, when a noun, expresses various relations to the last.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 195; but also WHITNEY on AV. VII. 113<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> From *sac-* 'be associated'.

<sup>3</sup> In TS. II. 5. 4<sup>4</sup> (B.) *ati-yaj-* means 'to pass over in sacrificing'.

It expresses: 1. the **object**, which is the prevailing meaning when the final member is an agent noun or an action noun; e.g. *ab-jī-t-* 'winning waters', *aśva-hayī-* 'urging on steeds', *nr-pātī-* 'protecting men', *vāja-sāti-* 'act of winning booty', *vṛtra-hātya-* n. 'act of slaying Vṛtra'<sup>1</sup>. When the final member is a verbal noun formed from *kr-* 'make', the first member does not necessarily express the product, but may mean the material with which the activity is concerned; thus *hiranya-kārā-* (VS.) is not 'gold-maker' but 'worker in gold', 'goldsmith'.

2. the **agent** when the last member has a passive sense; e.g. *indra-pā-tama-* 'most drunk by Indra', *sōma-śīta-* 'excited by Soma'; occasionally also when the final member is an action noun, as *devā-hiti-* 'ordinance of the gods', *parṇa-sadd-* (AV. VS.) 'fall of leaves', *mitra-tūrya-* (AV.) 'victory of friends'.

3. the **instrument**, the **source**, or the **locality** when the final member is an agent noun or a past passive participle; e.g. *ddri-dugdha-*<sup>2</sup> 'milked with stones', *aritra-pdraṇa-* 'crossing with oars'; *gō-jāta-* 'produced from kine', *tīra-sit-* 'pressed from the fermenting mass'; *uda-plutā-* (AV.) 'swimming in the water', *dhār-jāta-* (AV.) 'born in the day', *puru-bhū-* 'being in many places', *bandhu-kṣi-t-* 'dwelling among relatives', *pśni-ni-preṣita-*<sup>3</sup> 'sent down to earth'.

4. in an **appositionally nominative sense**, that as or like which the action of the final member is performed; e.g. *śāna-kṛ-t-* 'acting as a ruler', *pūrva-pā-* 'drinking first', *vāmā-jāta-* 'born as one dear' = 'dear by nature'; *dhāra-vākā-* 'sounding like streams', *śyeni-jāta-* 'speeding like an eagle'.

5. in the sense of a **predicative nominative** before a past participle, or a **predicative accusative** before an agent noun expressive of 'saying'; e.g. *bhākṣām-kṛta-* (TS.) 'enjoyed', *stōma-taṣṭa-* 'fashioned as a hymn of praise'; *vṛātya-bruvā-* (AV.) 'calling oneself a Vṛātya'.

6. **adverbially** the manner in which an action is done, sometimes by means of a substantive, more often by means of an adjective; e.g. *ṛtv-ij-* 'sacrificing at the proper time', that is, 'regularly', *sārga-takta-* 'speeding with a rush'; *āśu-pitvan-* 'flying swiftly', *dhruva-kṣi-t-* (VS.) 'dwelling securely', *satya-yāj-* 'sacrificing truly'; with a numeral in *dvī-jā-* (AV.) 'twice-born'.

275. Before a verbal noun a nominal **first member** very often appears with a **case-ending**<sup>4</sup>, generally with that which the corresponding verb would govern in a sentence. The accusative is here the commonest case, the locative coming next, while the other cases are rarer. A singular case-ending (the acc. or inst.) may here indicate a plural sense; e.g. *āśvam-iṣṭi-* 'seeking horses', *purāṇ-darā-* 'destroyer of forts', *śīneṣita-* 'driven by dogs' (*śīnā-*). Plural (acc.) endings sometimes occur, but dual endings are never found in these compounds.

The **accusative case-ending** is very common, generally expressing the object of a transitive verb, as *ghanam-jayā-* 'winning booty'. But it also expresses other senses, as that of the cognate accusative; e.g. *śubham-yī-(van)-* 'moving in brilliance'; or of an adverbial accusative, e.g. *ugram-paśyā-*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 198, quotes *loka-jit-am svargām* (AV. IV. 34<sup>8</sup>) as showing that the first member was felt to have an accusative sense = 'winning the heavenly world' (*svargām lokām*); but the Paipp. Ms. has the reading *svargyam*, which WHITNEY regards as better, translating 'world-conquering, heaven-going'.

<sup>2</sup> When the first member is a part of

the body it expresses the sense of 'with reference to', as *bāhū-jūta-* 'quick with the arms'.

<sup>3</sup> The local sense here is that of the accusative of the goal.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. LINDNER, Nominalbildung p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Occasionally the *-m* is inorganic, as in *makṣum-gamā-* and *āsum-gā-* (AV.) 'going swiftly'. In *paṇam-gā-* 'bird', *paṇam-* probably

(AV.) 'looking fiercely'; or of a predicative accusative, e.g. *ayakṣmaṇ-kāraṇa-* (AV.) 'producing health', *śṛtaṃ-kartṛ-* (TS. III. 1. 4<sup>1</sup>) 'making cooked'<sup>1</sup>. The acc. pl. occurs in *kā-cit-karā-* 'doing all manner of things', *pśva-iṣṭi-*<sup>2</sup> 'desiring kine', *vipaś-cit-* 'understanding eloquence', *vipo-dhā-* 'granting eloquence', *huraś-cit-*<sup>3</sup> 'intending evil'<sup>4</sup>.

a. The accusative form is commonest before agent nouns ending in *-a* or *-i* which begin with a single consonant and the first syllable of which is short; that is, the *-m* here appears in a syllable in which rhythmic lengthening would be allowed<sup>5</sup>. This accusative form is the regular rule in the RV. when the stem of the first member ends in *-a*, being found before *-kara-* 'making', *-caya-* 'collecting', *-jaya-* 'conquering', *-tara-* 'overcoming', *-dara-* 'cleaving', *-bhara-* 'bearing', *-ruja-* 'breaking', *-sani-* 'winning', *-saha-* 'overwhelming'; e.g. *abhayaṃ-karā-* 'procuring security'. The only exceptions to this rule in the RV. are *aśva-hayā-* 'urging on steeds', *śukra-dīgha-* 'emitting clear fluid'. In the RV. the ending *-im* also occurs in *puṣṭim-bharā-* 'bringing prosperity' and *harim-bharā-*<sup>6</sup> 'bearing the yellow-coloured (bolt)'; and *-um* inorganically in *makṣum-gamā-* 'going quickly'. In the later Samhitās also occur *iram-maddā-* (VS.) 'rejoicing in the draught', *dūram-gamā-* (VS.) 'going far', *devaṃ-gamā-* (TS.) 'going to the gods', *yudhiṃ-gamā-* (AV.) 'going to battle', *viśvam-bharā-* (AV.) 'all-sustaining', *śakam-bharā-*<sup>7</sup> (AV.) 'bearing ordure'<sup>8</sup>.

b. The accusative form in *-am* is not uncommon before a final member with initial vowel (coalescence of the two vowels being thus avoided); e.g. *cakram-āsajā-* 'obstructing the wheel', *viśvam-invā-* 'all-moving', *āśvam-iṣṭi-* 'desiring horses', *vācam-ūkkhayā-* 'word-moving', *samudram-ūkkhaya-* (only voc.) 'stirring the vat', *viśvam-ējayā-* 'all-exciting'; in *-im*: *agnim-indhā-* 'fire-kindler'; in *-ām*: *tvām-āhuti-* (TS.) 'offering oblations to thee'.

c. The accusative form is common when the final member is formed from a present stem, owing to the close connexion of such verbal nouns with the verb; e.g. *dhiyaṃ-jinā-* 'exciting meditation', *ugram-pāśyā-* (AV.) 'looking fiercely', *mām-pāśyā-* (AV.) 'looking at me'.

d. Apart from the conditions stated above (a, b, c) the accusative case-ending rarely occurs in the first member of verbal determinatives; e.g. *vanam-kāraṇa-*, a particular part of the body; *dhiyaṃ-dhā-* 'devout', *śubham-yā-* (van) 'moving in brilliance'<sup>9</sup>.

a. In the great majority of instances the first member, if it has the accusative case-form, ends in *-am*, mostly from stems in *-a*, but also from monosyllabic consonant stems (*pur-am-* etc.)<sup>10</sup>, and from one stem in *-ī* (*dhiy-am-*). Otherwise there are three or

represents IE. *petn-*; while in *ṣīram-dhi-* 'fertile woman' and *vṛṣan-dhi-* 'bold', the origin of the nasal is doubtful; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 202.

<sup>1</sup> In B. this predicative accusative sometimes comes to have the value of a predicative nominative when compounded with a gerundive or a derivative of *bhū-*, as *śṛtaṃ-kṛtya-* (TS.) 'to be made cooked', *nagnam-bhāvuka-* (TS.) 'becoming naked'.

<sup>2</sup> *pśvās* acc. pl.

<sup>3</sup> Here *huraś-* might be a genitive as *icit-* governs that case as well as the acc.

<sup>4</sup> *puṛo-hā* 'destroying forts' may contain an acc.; also *iṣa-shūt-* 'praise of prosperity', which the Pada analyses as *iṣaḥ-shūt-*.

<sup>5</sup> How much the use of these forms is dependent on rhythm is seen in the alter-

nation of *ṣṛam-cayā-* and *ṣṛa-cit-* 'paying a debt', *khayaṃ-karā-* and *khaya-kṛt-* 'causing the din of battle', *dhanam-jayā-* and *dhanajit-* 'winning booty', *janam-sahā-* 'overcoming beings' and *vṛta-sāhā-* 'conquering crowds'.

<sup>6</sup> Beside *kav-vṛdhā-* 'prospering the wise'.

<sup>7</sup> Here the acc. of an *a*-stem is substituted for *śakām-*.

<sup>8</sup> The compound *narām-dhisa-* (VS.) is of doubtful meaning and irregular accent.

<sup>9</sup> For several other examples occurring in Brāhmaṇa passages of the later Samhitās see WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 207 d, e.

<sup>10</sup> In *hṛd-am-sāni-* 'winning the heart' the neuter *hṛd-* is treated as if it were a masc. or fem.

four in *-im* (*agnim-* etc.), one in *-um* (*makṣum-*), and two pronominal accusatives in *-ām* (*mām-*, *tvām-*). Polysyllabic consonant stems never have the accusative case-ending in the first member<sup>1</sup>.

276. The locative case-ending is in the RV. almost limited to employment before agent-nouns formed from the simple root with or without determinative *-i*: *agre-gā-* 'going before', *agre-gā-* (VS.) 'moving forwards', *agre-nī-* (VS.) 'leader', *agre-pā-* 'drinking first', *agre-pā-* (VS.) 'drinking first', *āṅge-śhā-*<sup>2</sup> (AV.) 'situated in a member of the body', *ṛte-jā-*<sup>3</sup> 'produced at the sacrifice', *hṛcchre-śrī-t-* 'running into danger', *gahvare-śhā-* (VS.) 'being at the bottom', *divi-ksī-t-* 'dwelling in heaven', *divi-yāj-* 'worshipping in heaven', *divi-śrī-t-* (AV.) 'sojourning in heaven', *divi-sād-* (AV.) 'sitting in heaven', *dūre-dīś-* 'visible afar', *doṣaṇi-śrīś-* (AV.) 'leaning on the arm', *rathe-ślūbh-* 'flying along in a car', *rathe-śhā-* 'standing in a car', *vane-rāj-* 'shining in a wood', *vane-sāh-* 'prevailing in woods', *sute-gībh-* 'taking hold of the Soma', *hṛdi-spīś-* 'touching the heart'<sup>4</sup>.

2. The RV. has only two examples of a locative before an agent noun formed with the suffix *-a*: *divi-ksayā-* 'dwelling in heaven', *vahye-śayī-* 'resting in a litter'<sup>5</sup>. There are several others in the later Samhitās: *agre-vadhā-* (VS.) 'killing what is in front', *talpe-śayā-* (AV.) 'resting on a couch', *divi-carā-* (AV.) 'faring in heaven', *divi-śambhā-* (AV.) 'supported on the sky', *dūre-vadhā-* (VS.) 'far-striking', *harā-śayā-*<sup>6</sup> (MS. I. 27) 'resting in gold'. In the AV. also occurs an example of the locative before an agent noun formed with *-in*: *parame-śh-in-* 'standing in the highest (place)'.

3. The locative plural is much rarer than the singular in the first member: *apsu-ksī-t-* 'dwelling in the waters', *apsu-jā-* 'born in the waters', *apsu-jī-t-* 'vanquishing in the waters', *apsu-sād-* 'dwelling in the waters', *apsu-vāh-* (SV.) 'driving in water', *apsu-saṃśīta-* (AV.) 'excited in the waters', *gosu-yūdh-* 'fighting in (= for) kine', *pṛtsu-tīr-* 'conquering in battles', *bhareṣu-jā-* 'produced in fights', *hṛtsu-ās-* 'piercing to the heart'.

a. In these locative compounds the second member is most commonly *-stha-* or *-sthā-* in the RV., while the first member is most usually *agre-*, *dūre-* or *vane-*. The locative in *-e* is the predominant one, even displacing *-i* in *pathe-śhā-* 'standing on the road' beside *pathi-śhā-* (AV.).

277. The instrumental case-ending occurs several times in the first member of verbal determinatives: *ksamā-carā-* (VS.) 'being in the ground', *gīrā-vīdh-* 'rejoicing in song', *dhiyā-jūr-* 'aging in devotion', *yuvā-datta-* 'given by you two', *yuvā-nīta-* 'led by you two', *yusmā-datta-* 'given by you', *yusmā-nīta-* 'led by you', *śīneṣita-* 'driven by dogs' (*śīnā*). When the stem of the first member ends in *-a* there is some doubt whether *-ā* here represents the instrumental ending or lengthening of the vowel<sup>7</sup>; thus *śaphā-rīj-* may mean 'breaking with the hoof' or 'hoof-breaker'; and in *yuvā-yīj-* 'yoked by you two' the vowel may be simply lengthened. In *divā-kard-* (AV.) 'sun' the first member is an old instrumental used adverbially<sup>8</sup>.

a. The examples of the ablative case-ending are rare: *dakṣiṇāt-sād-*

<sup>1</sup> *śakan-* substitutes the acc. of an *a*-stem; above p. 165, note 7.

<sup>2</sup> There are several other locatives compounded with *-śhā-*.

<sup>3</sup> There are several other locatives compounded with *-jā-*.

<sup>4</sup> In *nare-śhā-* (RV<sup>2</sup>), an epithet of the car, the first member may be a locative (*Sāyana*), but it may also be a dative of *nṛ-* (BK., GRASSMANN), 'serving for a man to stand on'.

<sup>5</sup> In *sutē-kara-* 'active in (offering) Soma', the accent shows that the final member has an adjectival, not a verbal sense. In the name *mātari-śvan-* the first member is interpreted in RV. III. 29<sup>11</sup> as a locative; cp. RICHTER, IF. 9, 247, note; MACDONELL, Grundriss III. I A, p. 72 (middle).

<sup>6</sup> In VS. v. 8 *harī-śayā-*; *harā-* here is the locative of *hāri-*.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, 56.

<sup>8</sup> See WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, 213 a, note.



(MS. II. 63) 'sitting in the south'; *divo-jā-* 'produced from heaven', *divo-dīh-* (SV.) 'milking from the sky', *divo-rūc-* 'shining from the sky'.

b. The ending of the genitive would naturally appear only before derivatives from verbs governing the genitive. There seem to be no certain examples: *divā-kṣas-* 'ruling over the sky' (*divās*) however seems probable<sup>1</sup>.

### b. i. Ordinary Adjective as final member.

278. Ordinary adjectives which are not of a verbal character may appear as final member of determinatives much in the same way as past participles in *-ta* and *-na* (273, 4). But adjectives ending in *-u* are almost exclusively compounded with the privative *a(n)-* and prepositions; e. g. *an-āśū-* 'not swift', *an-rju-* 'dishonest', *ā-dāśu-* 'impious', *ā-bhīru-* 'not terrible'; *prāśī-* 'very (*prā-*) swift' (*āśū-*). The only final members otherwise compounded are *-vasu-* 'rich' in *viśvā-vasu-* 'radiant' and other compounds, and *-raghu-* 'swift', in *māde-raghu-* 'quick in exhilaration'.

a. The first member may be a substantive in the relation of a case to the last; e. g. *tanū-subhira-* 'shining in body', *yajñ-dhīra-* 'versed in sacrifice', *vakmarīja-satya-* 'faithful to the ordainers of hymns', *viśvā-sambhū-* 'salutary for all'. The relation is sometimes expressed by the case-ending: the locative in *gāvi-śhīra-* (AV.) 'strong in kine (*gāvi*)' as a name, *māde-raghu-* 'quick in exhilaration', *sutē-kara-* 'active in (offering) Soma', *sumnā-āpi-* 'united in affection (*sumnē*)'; instrumental<sup>2</sup> in *dhiyā-vasu-* 'rich in devotion', *vidmanāpas-* 'working (*apās-*) with wisdom (*vidmānā*)'. The first member may also appositionally express a comparison as representing a type: *śīka-babhru-* (VS.) 'reddish like a parrot'<sup>3</sup>.

b. The first member may be an adjective qualifying the final member in an adverbial sense; thus *aprami-satya* (voc.) 'eternally true', *ūrdhvā-prśni-*<sup>4</sup> (VS.) 'spotted above', *try-āruṣa-* 'reddish in three (parts of the body)', *mahā-nagnī-*<sup>5</sup> (AV.) 'courtezan' ('very naked'), *mahā-mahī-vrata-* 'ruling very mightily', *mahā-vaśūrin-* 'very broad', *viśvā-śandra-* 'all-glittering'<sup>6</sup>.

c. Adverbs and particles often appear as first member; e. g. *an-āśū-* 'not swift', *anyāta-ent-* (VS.) 'variegated on one side (*anyātas*)', *evāra-* 'quite (*evā*) ready (*ira-*)', *duḥ-śēva-* 'unfavourable', *pīnar-nava-* 'renewing itself', *satb-mahānt-* 'equally (*sa-tis*) great', *satb-brhati-* (VS.) 'the equally great' (a metre), *satyām-ugra-* 'truly mighty', *śī-priya-* (AV.) 'very dear'.

d. Several prepositions appear as first member, mostly with their original adverbial meaning; e. g. *āti-kṛṣṇa-*<sup>7</sup> (VS.) 'very dark'; *ā-miśra-tama-* 'mixing very readily'<sup>8</sup>; *upottamā-* (AV.) 'penultimate'; *nī-dhruvi-* ('fixed down') 'per-severing', *nīṣ-kevalya-* (VS.) 'belonging exclusively'; *prāśī-* 'very swift', *pra-*

<sup>1</sup> But it has also been otherwise explained; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 213 c, note; who also quotes *ā-kasya-vid-* 'knowing nothing' from the MS.

<sup>2</sup> The word *jātū-śhīra-* probably contains an old instrumental = 'naturally solid'; in *nābhā-nādiṣṭha-* 'nearest in kin' as a name, the first member though looking like a locative, probably represents an IIr. stem *nabhā-*; cp. RICHTER, IF. 9, 209. The compounds *śrī-śama-*, an epithet of Indra, and *ghāśe-āra-* (VS.) are Bahuvrhis.

<sup>3</sup> A transition to this compound use appears in *māno jāviṣṭham* (RV. VI. 9<sup>5</sup>) 'very swift as thought'.

<sup>4</sup> Here the adjectival stem is used for the adv. *ūrdhvām*.

<sup>5</sup> From this is formed the m. *mahā-nagnā-* (AV.) 'paramour'.

<sup>6</sup> The meaning of *sādhv-aryā-* 'truly faithful'(?), which occurs only once, is doubtful; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 237 (top).

<sup>7</sup> *āti* in the sense of 'very' does not occur in the RV., but in the later Samhitās it is the commonest of the prepositions compounded with adjectives.

<sup>8</sup> 'Very slightly mixed', GELDNER, VS. 3, 181. — *ā-tura-* 'suffering' is obscure in origin.

*śardha-* (voc.) 'bold'; *vī-mahī-* 'very great', *vī-sama-* (VS.) 'uneven', *vī-sadrśa-* 'dissimilar', *vṛ-ñī-* 'variously tinted' (dawn); *sāni-vasu-* 'dwelling together', *sām-priya-* (VS.) 'mutually dear'.

## b. 2. Ordinary Substantive as final member.

279. Determinatives with ordinary non-verbal substantives as their final member<sup>1</sup> are not common in the earliest period of the language. In the first nine books of the RV., except the frequent compounds in *-pati-* and *-patnī-*, there are not many more than three dozen examples<sup>2</sup>; the tenth book has quite two dozen more, and the AV. seven dozen more.

The first member is frequently a substantive also. Its relation to the final member seems to be limited to the genitive sense in the Samhitās. This genitive sense appears when the final member is a word expressive of relationship, or *-pati-* 'husband' or 'lord'; e. g. *rāja-putrā-* 'king's son', *mṛtyu-bāndhu-* 'companion of death', *vīś-pāti-* 'lord of the tribe'. It sometimes expresses the material, as *dru-padā-* 'post of wood', *hiraṇya-rathā-* 'car of gold' or 'car full of gold'. In *deva-kilbiṣā-* 'offence against the gods' we have an example of an objective genitive. There seems to be no instance in the RV. of a Proper Name appearing as the first member of a determinative in the genitive sense<sup>3</sup> except in *indra-senā-* (x. 102<sup>2</sup>) 'Indra's missile'<sup>4</sup>, which compound is itself perhaps a Proper Name<sup>5</sup>. In *camasādhvaryu-* (AV.) 'the priest of the cups', the first member expresses quite a general genitive sense of relation = 'the priest who is concerned with the cups'.

280. As in determinatives with verbal noun as final member, the case-ending may appear in the first member. But it is less common here, and owing to the purely nominal character of the final member, is almost restricted to the genitive. The ending of this case is very common before *-pati-* 'lord' or 'husband': *aṇhas-as-pāti-* (VS.) 'lord of distress', N. of an intercalary month, *gnā-s-pāti-*<sup>6</sup> 'husband of a divine woman', *jā-s-pāti-* 'lord of the family', *bṛh-as-pāti-*<sup>7</sup> and *brāhmaṇ-as-pāti-* 'lord of devotion', *mānas-as-pāti-* 'lord of mental power', *vān-as-pāti-*<sup>8</sup> 'lord of the wood', 'tree', *vāc-ās-pāti-* 'lord of speech', *vāstos-pāti-* 'lord of the dwelling', *śubh-ās-pāti-* 'lord of splendour', *sādas-as-pāti-*<sup>9</sup> 'lord of the sacrificial seat'. According to the analogy of these compounds which end in *-s-pati-*, were also formed from *a-*stems *ṛta-s-pati-* (only voc.) 'lord of pious works' and *rātha-s-pāti-* 'lord of the car'. The word *dām-pati-* may stand for *\*dām-s-pati-*<sup>10</sup> 'lord of the house' (*dām-*, the gen. pl. of which, *dam-ām*, occurs).

<sup>1</sup> Bahuvrīhis with ordinary substantives as final member were common from the beginning; hence combinations which appear as Bahuvrīhis in the older period, are often only found later as Tatpuruṣas, the latter being thus occasionally affected by the formal peculiarities of Bahuvrīhis.

<sup>2</sup> See WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 241 (97 note).

<sup>3</sup> If this compound is a Proper Name, it is the only instance with the stem-form in the first member; but the genitive case-ending appears in the first member of a few determinative Proper Names; see below, 280 a.

<sup>4</sup> 'Indra's missile' (BR.), 'Indra's army' (GRASSMANN).

<sup>5</sup> This is the opinion of GELDNER, VS. 2, 1, and of DELBRÜCK, Vergl. Syntax 3, p. 202.

<sup>6</sup> An anomalous f. *gnā-s-patnī-* was formed

from this word after the etymology had been forgotten, as conversely the m. *sapātina-* 'rival' was formed from *sa-pātī-* 'co-wife'.

<sup>7</sup> \**bṛh-* here is synonymous with *brāhmaṇ-*, *brāhmaṇas-pāti-* being a parallel and explanatory formation. On *bṛhas-pāti-* and cognate compounds see OTTO STRAUSS, *Bṛhaspati im Veda* (Leipzig 1905), p. 14-17.

<sup>8</sup> *van-* 'wood' appears also in the pl. G. *van-ām*, L. *vām-su-*.

<sup>9</sup> It is unnecessary to assume the existence of a stem *sad-* to explain *sādas-pāti-* and *sāt-pati-* since the stem *sadas-* occurs; nor is *rādḥ-* necessary to explain *rādhas-pati-* (only voc.) as *rādhas-* is frequent.

<sup>10</sup> PISCHEL, VS. 2, 93 ff., 307 ff., rejects any connexion between *dāmpati-* and *dām-* 'house'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 249 e, note.

a. These compounds in *-pāti-* are treated by the Pada text in three different ways: 1. *gnāspāti-*, *bhāspāti-*, *vānaspāti-*, *viśpāti-* (and *viśpātni-*) appear as simple words; 2. *gnāh-pātni-*, *jāh-pāti-*, *sāc-pāti-*, *ṛta-pate* (voc.), *rādhas-pate* (voc.), and those with a single accent (except *viśpāti-*) as compounds separated by the Avagraha sign; 3. all other doubly accented compounds (e. g. *brāhmaṇas-pāti-*) as two separate words; even *rādhas-pātis* is written *rāthah | pātih |* as if *rāthah* were a nom. sing.<sup>1</sup>

a. Otherwise the genitive ending appears only two or three times in the RV. in Proper Names: *divo-dāsa-* 'Servant of heaven'(?), *śīnaḥ-śēpa-*<sup>2</sup> 'Dog's tail', and (with gen. pl.) *nārā-śāmsa-* (for *\*nārāṇi-śāmsa-*)<sup>3</sup> 'Praise of men', an epithet of Agni. The VS. has also *rāyas-poṣa-* 'increase of wealth' in *rāyas-poṣa-dāt-* 'bestowing increase of wealth' and *rāyas-poṣa-vāni-* 'procuring increase of wealth'.

b. Other case-endings are very rare in such determinatives. The locative appears in *svapne-duṣvapnyā-* (AV.) 'evil dreaming in sleep'<sup>4</sup>; the instrumental in *vācā-stena-* 'thief by speech', 'one who makes mischief by his words'; the dative in *dasyave-vṛka-* (voc.) 'Wolf to the Dasyu', N. of a man; and possibly *dasyave sāhaḥ* (I. 36<sup>18</sup>) may be meant as a name with double accent.

281. In a few instances the first member is a substantive used appositionally to express sex or composite nature: *puruṣa-mṛgā-* (VS.) 'male antelope'; *ulūka-yātu-* 'owl demon' (= demon in form of an owl), *śuśulūka-yātu-* 'owlet demon'; *puruṣa-vyāghrā-* 'man-tiger', a kind of demon, *vṛṣā-kapī-* 'man-ape'.

282. An adjective may appear as first member determining the sense of the following substantive. This type, which is called **Karmadhāraya** by the Indian grammarians, is uncommon in the Saṃhitās. Among the oldest are *candrā-mās-*<sup>5</sup> '(bright) moon'<sup>6</sup> and *pūrṇā-mās-a-* (TS. III. 4. 4<sup>1</sup>) 'full moon'. Besides these occur *eka-vīrā-* 'unique hero', *ṛṣṇa-śakunī-* (AV.) 'raven'<sup>7</sup>, *nava-jvārā-* 'new pain', *mahā-grāmā-* 'great host', *mahā-dhānā-* 'great booty', *mahā-vīrā-* 'great hero'<sup>8</sup>, *sapta-ṛṣāyas* 'the Seven Seers', N. of a group of ancient sages (beside the separate words *saptā ṛṣayaḥ* and *ṛṣayaḥ saptā* in Books I-IX), *sapta-grdhārāḥ* (AV.) 'the seven vultures'<sup>9</sup>.

a. A variety of Karmadhāraya is that in which the first member expresses a part of the last: *adhara-kaṇṭhā-* (VS.) 'lower part of the neck', *ardha-devā-*<sup>10</sup> 'demi-god', *ardha-māsā-* (AV. VS.) 'half-month', *madhyāhni-dina-* 'midday'; also with change of gender: *agra-jihvā-* (VS.) n. 'tip of the tongue (*jihvā-*)'; with the suffix *-a*: *ardha-rcā-* (AV. VS.) 'hemistich', *pūrvāhṇā-* 'forenoon'<sup>11</sup>.

283. Prepositions frequently occur as first member, all except *prā* in their ordinary adverbial senses. Those which are thus used in the RV.

<sup>1</sup> See WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>i</sup>, p. 241 (97 a α, note).

<sup>2</sup> This name occurs once with tmesis, *śīnaś cīc chēpam* (v. 2<sup>7</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *narām nā śāmsa-* (I. 1739 etc.) and *śāmsa narām* (VI. 242); see WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>i</sup>, p. 248 d, note.

<sup>4</sup> *hrādā-cakṣus* 'mirrored in the lake' is regarded by GELDNER (VS. I, 173) as a Tatpuruṣa = 'eye in the lake'. For one or two doubtful examples of locative pl. see WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>i</sup>, p. 249 (bottom).

<sup>5</sup> That this is a very old combination is shown by the fact that *mās-* 'moon' occurs almost exclusively in compounds (*śrīyā-māsā* and *pūrṇā-mās*, SB.), only two or three times alone (though often in the sense of 'month'), and is therefore obsolescent in the RV.

<sup>6</sup> In the later Saṃhitās *candrā-* comes to

mean 'moon' as an abbreviation of *candrā-mās-*.

<sup>7</sup> With change of meaning from 'black bird'.

<sup>8</sup> In K. appears the dative *viśva-devāya*, the expression *viśve devāḥ* having become a Karmadhāraya.

<sup>9</sup> Translated by WHITNEY (AV. VIII. 91<sup>8</sup>) as a Bahuvrīhi, 'seven-vultured'.

<sup>10</sup> *ardhā-* 'half' is here used in a figurative sense.

<sup>11</sup> *pitā-mahā-* (AV. TS. VS.) and *tatā-mahā-* (AV.) 'grandfather' and *prā-pitāmaha-* (VS. TS.) and *prā-tatāmaha-* (AV<sup>1</sup>) 'great grandfather' (only voc.) are probably not Karmadhārayas, but formed in imitation of *mahā-mahā-* which appeared to be a gradation of *mahānt-*; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>i</sup>, p. 255, note.

are *ádhi* 'over', *ní* 'down', *pári* 'around', *prá* 'forward'<sup>1</sup>, 'front part of'<sup>2</sup>, 'extreme' (of high degree), 'great' (in names of relationship), *práti* 'against', *ví* 'asunder'<sup>3</sup>, *sám* 'together' (also *sa-* in the same sense); and in the later Samhitās, *antár* 'between', *ápa* 'away', *á* 'at hand', *íd* 'up', *ápa* 'beside', *ápari* 'above'. The following are examples in the alphabetical order of the prepositions: *ádhi-pati* (AV. VS.) 'over-lord', *ádhi-patnī* (AV. VS.) 'sovereign lady', *ádhi-bhojana-* 'additional gift', *adhi-rājā-* 'supreme king'; *antar-deśā-* (AV.) 'intermediate region', *antaḥ-pātrā-* (AV.) 'inner (= interior of the) vessel'; *ápa-rūpa-* (AV.)<sup>4</sup> 'absence of form', 'deformity'; *ā-pati-* (VS. MS. I. 27) 'the lord here'; \**ut-sūrya-* 'sunrise' in *otsūryām* (AV.) 'till sunrise' (*ā-utsūryām*); *upa-pati-* (VS.) 'paramour' (lit. 'sub-husband'); *upari-śayanā-* (AV.) 'elevated couch'; *nī-dhāna-* (AV.) 'conclusion', *nī-pakṣati-* (VS.) 'second rib', *nī-pādā-* 'low ground', *ny-dhāna-*<sup>5</sup> (AV.) 'close of day'; *pári-pati-* 'lord (of all) around', *pári-vatsarā-* 'full year'; *pragāthā-* (VS.) 'fore-song', a kind of stanza, *pra-dīś-* 'region' and (AV.) 'intermediate quarter', *pra-dhāna-* 'prize of battle', *prādhvanā-* ('forward course', *ādhvān-*) 'bed of a river', *prārtha-* (AV.) 'preparation', 'implement'; *prá-pada-*<sup>6</sup> 'tip of the foot', *prá-uga-* 'forepart of the shafts (of a chariot)'; *prá-nāpāt-* 'great-grandson', *pra-tatāmaha-* (AV.) and *prá-pitāmaha-* (VS. TS.) 'great-grandfather'; *pra-dīva-* (AV.) 'third (or fifth) heaven', *prá-patha-* 'distant path', *prá-maganda-* 'arch-usurer', *prá-vīra-* 'great hero', *prāyus-* (MS. I. 54) 'long life' (*āyus*); *prati-jand-* (AV.) 'adversary', *prati-dīvan-* 'adversary at play'; *vī-dīś-* (VS.) 'intermediate region', *vī-madhya-* 'middle', *vī-manyu-* 'longing'<sup>8</sup>, *vī-vāc-* 'opposing shout', 'contest', *vy-ódana-* (RV.) 'different food'<sup>9</sup>; *sa-pātñī-* 'co-wife', *saṃ-grāmā-* (AV.) 'assembly', 'encounter', *saṃ-ānikā-* 'battle-array'<sup>10</sup>, *saṃ-bāndhu-* 'akin', *saṃ-vatsarā-*<sup>11</sup> 'full year'.

284. Other indeclinables sometimes occur as first member, but very rarely in the RV. They include a few adverbs and the particles *a(n)-*, *du-*, *su-*, *kim-*, *ku-*: *paścā-dośā-* (VS.) 'late evening', *pūr-agni-* (VS.) 'fire in front'; *a-mitra-* 'enemy', *ā-hotṛ-* (AV.) 'incompetent Hotṛ'; *duc-chinā-* 'calamity'<sup>12</sup>; *śū-brāhmaṇa-* (AV.) 'good Brāhmaṇ', *śū-bheṣaja-* (AV. TS.) 'good remedy', *su-vasanā-*<sup>13</sup> 'fair garment'; *kim-puruṣā-* (VS.) a kind of mythical being, *kūśara-* (RV.), a kind of reed.

#### 4. Bahuvrihi Compounds.

285. The term *Bahuvrihi*, employed by the Indian grammarians to designate this type, is perhaps the most convenient name for these secondary adjective compounds, as it represents their general character both in form and meaning. For the final member is practically always a substantive, and the relation of the first member to the last is mostly attributive

<sup>1</sup> Without perceptibly changing the meaning of the final member.

<sup>2</sup> This and the following meanings do not occur in the combination of *prá* with verbs.

<sup>3</sup> Expressing separation, extension, derivation.

<sup>4</sup> In *apa-kāmā-* 'aversion' the final member is a verbal noun. There seem to be no certain instances of this kind of compound with *āpi*: cp. WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 259 β, note.

<sup>5</sup> In *ny-arthā-* 'destruction' the second member is a verbal noun. On the relation of *ny-ārbuda-* (AV. VS.) and *ny-ārbudī-* (AV.) to *ārbuda-* and *ārbudī-*, see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 260 (top).

<sup>6</sup> Once *prá-pad-* in AV.

<sup>7</sup> Probably for *prá-yuga-*.

<sup>8</sup> From *manyu-* 'zeal'.

<sup>9</sup> This is Sāyaṇa's explanation (*vividhe nne*) of the word in VIII. 52<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> From *ānikā-* 'front'.

<sup>11</sup> *sám* in this compound expresses completeness.

<sup>12</sup> Cp. *śunām* 'with success'. On the Sandhi see p. 31, note 4.

<sup>13</sup> Though *vasana-* has a concrete sense here, the compound may have arisen when the word had a verbal meaning.

(Karmadhāraya), less commonly dependent (Tatpuruṣa), and very rarely coordinative (Dvandva). The best name otherwise is 'possessive'<sup>1</sup>, as this is their meaning in the vast majority of instances. In a few examples, however, the more general sense of 'connected with' (which may usually be expressed more specifically) is required to explain the relation between the substantive and the Bahuvrīhi which agrees with it; thus *dśva-parīṣṭha*- 'borne on horse-back', *devā-psaras*- 'affording enjoyment for the gods', *parjānya-retas*- 'sprung from the seed of Parjanya', *viśvā-kṛṣṭi*- 'dwelling with all peoples', *viśvā-nara*-<sup>2</sup> 'belonging to or existing among all men', *vīrā-pastya*- 'belonging to the abode of a hero', *śatā-śārada*- 'lasting a hundred autumns', *śīra-vīra*- (AV.) 'characterized by heroic men' = 'making men heroic' (amulet).

**286. Attributive Bahuvrīhis.**—The commonest form of Bahuvrīhi is that in which an attributive noun is the first member. It is most frequently an adjective, as *ugrā-bāhu*- 'powerful-armed', *urvy-ātī*-<sup>3</sup> 'giving wide aid', *jīvā-putra*- 'having living sons', *śukrā-varṇa*- 'bright-coloured'<sup>4</sup>. The first member is also often a past passive participle in *-ta* or *-na*, the action expressed by which is usually performed by the person denoted by the substantive with which the Bahuvrīhi agrees; e. g. *prāyata-dakṣiṇa*- 'he by whom the sacrificial fee has been presented', *rātā-havis*- 'who offers an oblation'<sup>5</sup>. The action is, however, not infrequently supposed to be performed by others, always in the case of *hata*- 'slain'; e. g. *hatā-vṛṣṇ*- 'whose husband has been slain', *hatā-mātṛ*- 'whose mother has been slain'. Both senses appear in *rātā-havya*- 'he by whom' and 'to whom offerings have been made'. An outside agent is sometimes expressed by an additional member at the beginning of the compound, as *jīvā-pīta-sarga*- 'whose streams have been drunk by the living'<sup>6</sup>. A present participle occasionally occurs as first member; e. g. *āyād-vasu*- (AV.) and *saṃyād-vasu*- (AV.) 'to whom wealth comes', *bhrājad-rṣṭi*- 'having glittering spears', *rūṣad-vatsa*- 'having a shining calf', *śucīd-ratha*- 'having a brilliant car'<sup>7</sup>; also a perfect-participle in *dadyā-* *ānd-pati*- 'whose felly is visible', *yuyjānā-sapti*- 'whose steeds are yoked'.

a. The first member is further often a substantive used predicatively; e. g. *dśva-parṇa*- 'horse-winged' = 'whose wings are horses' (car); *indra-śatru*-, 'whose foe is Indra'; *tad-īd-artha*-<sup>8</sup> 'having just that as an aim', *drōṇāhāva*-, 'whose pail (*āhāvā*-) is a trough', *śiśnā-deva*- 'whose god is a phallus', *śirodaka*- (AV.) 'whose water is spirit' (*śīrā*-). The final member is here sometimes a comparative or superlative (including *pāra*-) used substantively: *avaras-parā*-<sup>9</sup> (VS.) 'in which the lower is higher' = 'topsy-turvy'<sup>10</sup>, *āsthi-bhūyāms*- (AV.) 'having bone as its chief part' = 'chiefly bone', *indra-jyeṣṭha*- 'having Indra as chief', 'of whom Indra is chief', *yamā-śreṣṭha*- (AV.) 'of whom Yama is best', *sōma-śreṣṭha*- (AV.) 'of which Soma is best'.

<sup>1</sup> For other names see WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 273 (107 a, note).

<sup>2</sup> For several other examples formed with *viśvā*- see WHITNEY 1294 b.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. p. 145, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 1298.

<sup>5</sup> The sense is thus identical with verbal determinatives or verbally governing compounds such as *vājam-bharā*- and *bharād-vāja*- 'bearing booty'. In *vīti-hotra*- 'having an invitation sacrifice' = 'inviting to sacrifice', a stem in *-ū* is used almost like a past participle in *-ta*; cp. *vītā-havya*- as a name.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 1299 a.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 1299 b.

<sup>8</sup> Here a pronoun appears instead of a substantive in the first member.

<sup>9</sup> Here the first member retains the *-s* of the nom. surviving from the use of the two words in syntactical juxtaposition; the first member also is used substantively in this compound.

<sup>10</sup> On *eka-parā*- (said of dice) see now LÜDERS, Das Würfelspiel im alten Indien (Abh. d. K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen 9, 2) p. 64.

A comparison is sometimes implied between the first substantive and the second: *varṣājya* (A.V.) 'whose rain is like butter', *vrkṣā-keśa-* 'tree-haired' = 'whose trees are like hair' = 'wooded' (mountain).

The first member further sometimes expresses the material of which the second consists; e.g. *rajatā-nābhi-* (VS.) 'whose naval is (made of) silver'; *hiraṇya-nemi-* 'whose fellies are (made of) gold'; or something closely connected with and characteristic of it, as *niyāta-ratha-* 'whose car is (drawn by) a team'.

**287. Dependent Bahuvrihis.**—The first member is dependent on the last in the sense of a case-relation, the case-ending being sometimes retained.

a. It has often a genitive sense<sup>1</sup>, as *pāti-kāma-* (A.V.) 'having desire for a husband'; with genitive ending, *rāyās-kāma-* 'having a desire of wealth'. Here the first member often implies a comparison (when it never has the case-ending): *agni-tejas-* (A.V.) 'having the brightness of fire', 'fire-bright', *ṛkṣa-grīva-* (A.V.) 'having the neck of a bear' (demons), *gō-vapus-* 'having the form of a cow', *jñātī-mukha-* (A.V.) 'having the face of (= like) relatives', *māno-javas-* 'having the swiftness of thought' = 'swift as thought', *mayūra-roman-* 'having the plumes of peacocks' (Indra's steeds).

b. In a few instances it has the sense of, and then always the ending of, the instrumental: *ā-giraukas-* 'not to be kept at rest (*śkas-*) by a song (*girā*)', *krātva-magha-* 'constituting a reward (gained) by intelligence', *bhāsā-ktu-* 'recognisable by light'<sup>2</sup>.

c. The locative sense is more frequent, being often accompanied by the case-ending: *āsānu-īṣu-* 'having arrows in his mouth', *divī-yoni-* 'having origin in heaven'; also several formed with *dūre-* 'in the distance', as *dūr-anta-* 'ending in the distance', *dūr-gavyūti-* (A.V.) 'whose sphere is far away'<sup>3</sup>.

There are further examples in which the last member has the locative sense when it is a part of the body and what is expressed by the first member appears in or on it: *asru-mukhī-* (A.V.) 'having tears on her face', 'tear-faced', *kīlālodhī-* (A.V.) 'having sweet drink in her udder', *ghṛtā-prṣṭha-* 'butter-backed', *pātra-hasta-* (A.V.) 'having a hand in which is a vessel', *maṇi-grīvā-* 'having pearls on the neck', *mādhu-jihva-* 'having a tongue on which is honey', *vāja-bāhu-* 'having an arm on which is a bolt'.

**288. Coordinate Bahuvrihis.**—No example is found in the RV. and hardly any in the other Samhitās of the first and last members of Bahuvrihis being coordinated in sense. The VS. has *stōma-prṣṭha-* 'containing Stomas and Prṣṭhas'; also *āhar-divā-* (xxxviii.12) 'daily', which is a kind of Dvandva Bahuvrihi, being formed from the adverb *āhar-divi* 'day by day'. The form *somendṛā-* 'belonging to Soma and Indra', occurs only in B. passages of later Samhitās (TS. MS. K.).

**289. Indeclinables as first member.**—In a number of Bahuvrihis the first member is not a noun, but an indeclinable word, either a preposition or an adverb.

a. **Prepositions** are common as first member of Bahuvrihis, expressing the local position of the final member in relation to the substantive with which the Bahuvrihi agrees. Some sixteen prepositions are thus used, the most frequent being *vī* which occurs as often in the RV. as all the rest put together. They are *āti* 'beyond', *adhi* 'on', *antār* 'within', *āpa* 'away', *abhi*

<sup>1</sup> An accusative in sense and form appears in *tvām-kāma-* 'having a desire for thee'.

<sup>2</sup> The compound *vidmānāpas-* 'working with skill' (*vidmānā*) is probably a determinative formed with the adj. *āpas-* 'working',

not a Bahuvrihi with *āpas-* 'work'; cp. 278 a and 91 B.

<sup>3</sup> On a few doubtful instances of such locative compounds see WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>a</sup>, p. 278 (bottom).

'around' and 'toward', *āva* 'down', 'away', *ā* 'near', *ūd* 'upward', *ūpa* 'near', *nī* 'down', *nīs* 'away', *pāri* 'around', *prā* 'in front', 'very', *prāti* 'against', *vi* 'apart', *sām* 'together'. Of these *ūpa* is used thus in the RV. only, while *antār*, *āva*, *nī* appear in the later Saṃhitās only. The following are examples of compounds thus formed in the alphabetical order of the prepositions: *āty-ūrmi-* 'overflowing', *āti-cchandasa-* (VS.) 'having redundant metres' (verse); *ādhi-nirñij-* 'having a garment on', *ādhy-akṣa-* 'having an eye on', 'overseer'; *antar-dāvā-* (AV.) 'having fire within'; *āpodaka-* 'waterless', *apa-rth-* (AV.) 'unseasonable'; *abhi-vīra-* and *abhi-satvan-* 'having heroes around', *abhi-rūpa-* (AV.) 'beautiful', *abhi-ṣeṇā-* 'directing arrows'; *ava-keśā-* (AV.) 'having hair hanging down', *āva-toka-* (AV. VS.) 'miscarrying'; *ā-deva-* 'having the gods near', 'devoted to the gods', *ā-manasa-* (AV. TS.) 'kindly disposed'; *ūt-saktha-* (VS.) 'having the thighs raised', *ūd-ojas-* 'highly powerful'; *ūpa-manyū-* 'having zeal at hand', 'zealous', *ūpā-vasu-* 'bringing riches near'; *nī-manyu-* (AV.) 'whose anger has subsided', *nī-vakṣas-* (TS. v. 6. 23<sup>1</sup>) 'having a sunken breast', *nī-kūlā-* (VS.) 'going down hill', *nī-kilbiṣā-* 'deliverance from sin' ('that in which sin has subsided'); *nīr-jarāyu-* (AV.) 'having cast its skin', *nīr-māya-* 'powerless', *nīr-hasta-* (AV.) 'handless'; *pari-marā-* (TS. v. 6. 21<sup>1</sup>) 'having death around' = 'round whom people have died', *pari-manyū-* 'very angry'; *prā-īṣṇā-* (VS. TS.) 'having prominent horns', *prā-tvakṣas-* 'very energetic'; *prā-manas-* (AV.) 'very thoughtful'; *prāti-rūpa-* 'having a corresponding form', 'like', *prāti-vartmān-* (AV.) 'having an opposite course', *prāti-veśa-* 'neighbour' ('living opposite'); *vi* = 'apart': *vi-karṇā-* (AV.) 'having ears far apart', *vi-sākha-* (AV.) 'branched', *vy-āṃsa-* 'having the shoulders apart', 'broad-shouldered'; = 'extensive': *vi-manasa-* 'wide-minded', 'sagacious', *vi-hāyas-* 'of extensive power'; = 'divided': *vy-adhvā-* (AV.) 'having a divided course' = 'being midway between zenith and earth'; = 'various': *vy-āilaba-* (AV.) 'making all kinds of noises'; = 'divergent': *vi-pāthi-* 'following wrong paths', *vi-vrata-* 'refractory'; = 'distorted': *vi-grīva-* 'having a twisted neck', *vy-āṅga-* (AV.) 'having distorted limbs'; = 'different': *vi-rūpa-* 'having a different form', *vi-vācas-* (AV.) 'speaking differently'; = 'devoid of', 'less': *vi-māya-* 'devoid of magic', *vy-ēnas-* 'guiltless'; *sām-hanu-* (AV.) 'striking the jaws together'.

b. Adverbs with a local meaning, which are akin to prepositions, also frequently appear as first member of Bahuvrīhis, being generally speaking equivalent in sense to predicative adjectives. Examples of such Bahuvrīhis in the alphabetical order of the adverbs are the following: *adhās* 'below': *adhā-varcas-* (AV.) 'powerful below'; *ānti* 'near': *ānti-mitra-* (VS.) 'having friends at hand', *ānti-sumna-* (AV.) 'having benevolence at hand', *ānty-ūti-* 'having aid at hand'; *avās* 'down': *avā-deva-* 'attracting the gods down'; *ārē* 'afar': *ārē-agma-* 'having evil far-removed', *ārē-śatru-* (AV.) 'whose foes are far away'; *iās* 'hence': *iā-ūti-* 'helping from hence'; *iḥā* 'here': *iḥka-mātr-* 'whose mothers are, the one here, the other there'; *iḥā-kratu-* (AV.) 'whose will is hitherward', *iḥā-citta-* (AV.) 'whose thought is hitherward'; *īdhak* 'apart': *īdhān-mantra-* (AV<sup>1</sup>) 'having a special sacred text'; *kūhayā* 'where?': *kūhayā-kṛti-* (only voc.) 'where active?'; *dakṣiṇā-tās* 'on the right': *dakṣiṇatās-kaparda-* 'having a coil of hair on the right'; *nīcā* 'downward': *nīcā-vayas-* 'whose strength is low'; *purās* 'in front': *puro-rathā-* 'whose car is in front', *puro-vasu-* (TS. III. 2. 5<sup>1</sup>) 'preceded by wealth' (only voc.); *prācā* 'forward': *prācā-īhva-* 'moving the tongue forward', *prācā-manyu-* (only voc.) 'striving forward'.

<sup>1</sup> According to WHITNEY on AV. v. 1<sup>1</sup>; BR., pw. 'lacking speech'; LUDWIG 'of distinguished meditations'.

a. Bahuvrīhis are also formed with a few adverbs of another kind as first member: *itthā-dhī-* 'having such thought', 'devout', *nānā-sūrya-* 'illuminated by various suns', *pīnar-magha-* (AV. TS.) 'repeatedly offering oblations', *puruṣāḍa-pratīka-* 'having various aspects', *sadyā-iti-* 'helping at once'. There are also several formed with *sahā-*, *sumād-*, *smād-* 'together with', as *sahā-gopa-* 'having the cowherds with them', *sahā-puruṣa-* (AV.) 'accompanied by the men', *sumāj-jāni-* 'accompanied by his wife', *sumād-gu-* (AV.) 'accompanied by the cows', *smād-abhīku-* 'provided with reins', *smād-iṣṭa-* 'having an errand', *smād-udhan-* 'provided with an udder'.

c. Certain particles frequently appear as the first member of Bahuvrīhis. These are the privative *a-* or *an-*, *ku-*<sup>3</sup> expressing depreciation, *duṣ-* 'ill', *su-* 'well'; e. g. *a-pād-* 'footless', *a-sapatnā-* 'having no rivals', *an-udakā-* 'having no water', 'waterless'; *kū-yava-* 'causing a bad harvest', *duṣ-pād-* 'ill-footed'; *su-parṇā-* 'having beautiful wings'.

290. Bahuvrīhis are very frequently used as m. (sometimes f.) substantives in the sense of Proper Names, in many instances without the adjectival sense occurring at all; thus *bṛhād-uktha-* m., as the N. of a seer and adj. 'having great praise'; *bṛhād-īva-* m., N. of a seer (*bṛhad-īvā-* f., N. of a goddess) and adj. 'dwelling in high heaven'; but *priyā-medha-* m. ('to whom sacrifice is dear') and *vāmā-deva-* m. ('to whom the gods are dear') only as the names of seers.

a. Bahuvrīhis are further not infrequently used as neuter substantives with an abstract and a collective sense, especially when the first member is the privative particle *a-* or *an-* and *sārva-* 'all'; e. g. *a-śatṛī-* 'free from foes', n. (AV.) 'freedom from foes', *a-sapatnā-* 'having no rivals', n. (AV.) 'peace', *a-sambādhā-* (AV.) n. 'non-confinement', *a-skambhā-* (AV.) n. 'lack of support', *an-apatyā-* 'childless' (AV.), n. 'childlessness', *an-amitrā-* (AV.) 'foeless', n. (AV. VS.) 'freedom from foes'; *sarva-rathā-* 'the whole line of chariots', *sarva-vedasā-* (AV. TS.) 'whole property'; *nī-kilbiṣā-* n. 'deliverance from sin', *pitṛ-bandhū-* (AV.) 'paternal kinship', *mātṛ-bandhū-* (AV.) 'maternal kinship', *rikta-kumbhā-*<sup>4</sup> (AV.) 'empty-handedness', *su-mṛgā-* (AV.) 'good hunting'<sup>5</sup>.

b. A special category of Bahuvrīhis used as substantives are those in which the first member is a numeral from *dvī-* 'two' upwards<sup>6</sup>. They express a collection or aggregate and are singular neuter<sup>7</sup> except those formed with *-ahā-* 'day', which are singular masc.; e. g. *tri-yugā-* n. 'period of three lives', *tri-yojanā-* (AV.) n. 'distance of three Yojanas', *try-udāyā-* n. 'threefold approach to the altar', *daśāṅgulā-* n. 'length of ten fingers', *daśāntarusyā-* n. 'distance of ten stations', *dvi-rājā-* (AV.) n. 'battle of two kings', *pañca-yojanā-* (AV.) n. 'distance of five Yojanas', *ṣaḍ-ahā-* (AV. TS.) m. 'series of six days'. These numeral collectives always end in accented *-ā*<sup>8</sup>.

291. Origin of Bahuvrīhis.—Considering that Bahuvrīhis, which are adjectives, are far commoner than the corresponding determinatives, which are substantives, it cannot be assumed that the former always passed through

<sup>1</sup> The Bahuvrīhi compound *avīr-ṣṭjika-* is of uncertain meaning; see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 287 (middle).

<sup>2</sup> Compounds formed with these three words might also be explained as belonging to the 'governing' class.

<sup>3</sup> Also the cognate *kim-* in *kim-śilā-* (VS. TS.) (land) 'having small stones'.

<sup>4</sup> See WHITNEY's note on AV. XIX. 84.

<sup>5</sup> Accentuation of the final syllable (as in the cognate singular Dvandvas) prevails in these n. Bahuvrīhis; exceptions are *ā-bhaya-*,

n. 'safety' (adj. 'free from danger'), and *vi-hṛdaya-* (AV.) 'lack of courage'.

<sup>6</sup> These are called Dvigu by the Hindu grammarians, and are classed by them as a subdivision of Tatpuruṣas.

<sup>7</sup> A few numeral collectives are determinatives used in the pl. and the original gender: *saptarṣayas* 'the seven seers', *saptagṛdhṛās* 'seven vultures' (AV.); *tri-kadrūka-* pl. 'three soma-vessels' (from *kadrū-* f.).

<sup>8</sup> With the suffix *-ya-* is formed *sahasrāhu-yā-* n. (AV.) 'a thousand days' journey'.



the process of transmutation from the latter. They must in the vast majority of instances have been formed directly and independently in conformity with the type of these secondary adjectives which had come down from the IIr. period<sup>1</sup>. WACKERNAGEL (2<sup>1</sup>, 112) adopts the view that the origin of Bahuvrīhis is not to be explained by transmutation from determinatives, but from the predicative or appositional use of groups of words characterizing a substantive<sup>2</sup>. This use he exemplifies by the following quotations from the RV.: *urīhī kākṣo nā gāṅgyāhī* (vi. 45<sup>3</sup>) 'like the broad shoulder dwelling on the Ganges', that is, for \**urī-kākṣaḥ* 'Broad-shoulder' as a Proper Name; *sā jāyase sāho mahāt* (v. 11<sup>6</sup>) 'thou art born a great power' (= \**mahā-sahāhī* 'one having great power'); *tvācam kṛṣṇām arandhayat* (i. 130<sup>8</sup>) 'he delivered over the black skin' (that is, 'those having a black skin', 'the black-skins'); *drīghāya cid vācāsa ānavāya* (vi. 62<sup>9</sup>) 'to Anava, deceitful speech', that is, 'who utters deceitful speech'<sup>3</sup>; and *narām . . sāmsaḥ* (ii. 34<sup>6</sup>) 'praise of men' as representing an earlier stage than *nārā-sāmsa* 'receiving the praises of men' as a Bahuvrīhi. Appositional Bahuvrīhis, he thinks, similarly arose from explanatory clauses, as *indra-jyēsthā devāḥ* 'the gods having Indra as their mightiest' from *devāḥ indro jyēsthāḥ* 'the gods — Indra their mightiest'. The first step here would have been assimilation in case and number to the main substantive, involving change to a compound (with stem-form and single accent), followed by assimilation in gender. The change to the Bahuvrīhi had already become the rule in the pre-Vedic period.

### 5. Governing Compounds.

292. In a considerable number of compounds the first member governs the last in sense, being either a preposition (prepositional adverb) or a verbal noun. These compounds being adjectives are allied to Bahuvrīhis.

1. In the **prepositional** group the first member is a preposition or adverb capable of governing a case. There are about twenty examples in the RV. In some instances they seem to have arisen from the corresponding syntactical combination, as *dāhi-ratha-* n. 'wagon-load' from *dāhi rāthe* (x. 64<sup>12</sup>) 'on the wagon'. In other instances they seem to have originated from the corresponding adverb; thus the adjective in *pra-dīv-ā ketinā* (v. 60<sup>8</sup>) 'with long-existing light' has been changed from the adverb *pra-dīvas* 'from of old' to agree with a substantive in the instrumental. The ending of the second member has been preserved for the most part only when it was *-a*; otherwise the suffix *-a* or *-ya* is generally added. Like Bahuvrīhis, compounds of this type may become neuter substantives; thus *upānas-ā-* 'being on the wagon', n. (AV.) 'space in a wagon'.

a. All prepositions which govern cases (except *āva*) as well as *prā* (though it never governs a case), besides several adverbs capable of being used with a case, are employed as first member in these compounds<sup>4</sup>. The following are examples of prepositional governing compounds: *ati-mātrā-* (AV.) 'beyond measure', *ati-rātrā-* 'lasting overnight', *āty-aṇhas-* (VS.) 'beyond the reach of distress', *āty-avi-* 'running over the wool'; *ādhi-gart-ya-* 'being on the car-seat', *adhi-gav-ā-* (AV.) 'derived from cows'; *adhas-pad-ā-* 'being

<sup>1</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 88; IF. 18, 63 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On substantives used instead of adjectives cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *drogha-vāc-* 'uttering deceitful speech'.

<sup>4</sup> This type of governing compound is

similar in form to the prepositional Bahuvrīhis; the meaning, however, is quite different, as in the latter the preposition does not govern the following member, but refers adverbially to the substantive with which the Bahuvrīhi agrees.

under the feet', *adho-akṣā-* 'remaining below the axle'; *ānu-path-a-* and *ānu-vartman-* (AV. VS.) 'along the road', *anu-kāmā-* 'according to wish', *ānu-vrata-* 'obedient'; *āntas-path-a-* 'being within the path'; *api-prāṇa-* 'being on (= accompanying) the breath', *api-sarvārā-* 'bordering on night' (*śārvarī-*); *abhi-dyu-* 'directed to heaven', *abhi-rāṣṭra-* 'overcoming dominion'; *ā-jaras-ā-*<sup>1</sup> 'reaching to old age', *ā-pathi-* and *ā-pathī-* 'being on the way', *ā-bhaga-* 'taking part in', 'participator'; *upa-kakṣā-* 'reaching to the shoulder', *upānas-ā-* 'being on a wagon', *ūpa-tṛṇ-ya-* (AV.) 'lurking in the grass', *ūpa-mās-ya-* (AV.) 'occurring every month'; *upāri-budhna-* 'raised above the ground', *upāri-martya-* 'being above men'; *ūrdhvā-nabhas-* (VS.) 'being above the clouds', *ūrdhvā-barhis-* (VS.) 'being above the litter'; *tirū-ahn-ya-* ('being beyond a day' =) 'belonging to the day before yesterday'; *pari-panth-in-*<sup>2</sup> ('lying around the path') 'adversary', *pari-hastā-* (AV.) ('put round the hand') 'hand-amulet'; *parī-mātra-* ('being beyond measure') 'excessive', *parī-ks-a-* (AV.) ('lying beyond the eye') 'invisible'; *puro-gav-ā-* ('going before the cows') 'leader'; *prati-kāmyā-* (AV.) 'being in accordance with desire'; *saṃ-gayā-* 'blessing the household'.

2. In verbal governing compounds the first member is either an agent noun or an action noun governing the last member as an object. The abnormal position of the verbal form before the object in this class is probably to be explained by the first member having originally been an imperative, which usually has this position. These compounds are an old formation, two types going back to the Indo-European period, and one to the Indo-Iranian. They are adjectives, but the final member never adds a compositional suffix except in *śikṣā-nar-ā-* 'helping men'. Three types are to be distinguished.

a. The first member consists of a present stem or the root, which probably represents an imperative<sup>3</sup>; of this type there are few examples: *trasā-dasyu-* m., N. of a man ('terrify the foe'), *radā-vasu-*<sup>4</sup> (only voc.) 'dispensing wealth', *śikṣā-narā-*<sup>4</sup> 'helping men', *sthā-raśman-*<sup>5</sup> 'loosening bridles'<sup>6</sup>.

b. Examples of the second type are more numerous. Here the first member ends in *-āt*, but the participle, being formed from present stems in *-a*, *-ā* or *-aya*, which appears in these compounds, in a few instances does not occur in independent use. This type, which is almost entirely restricted to the RV., is also Iranian. It seems to have taken the place of the older one (a), which owing to its form was apt to be confused with Bahuvrīhis though differing from them in meaning. The form which they assumed was probably aided by the analogy of Bahuvrīhis with a present participle as their first member, like *śucā-d-ratha-* 'having a brilliant car', which are formed from intransitive verbs, while those in the governing compounds are of course transitive. Examples of this type are the following: *ṛdhād-ray-*<sup>7</sup> ('increasing wealth') m., N. of a man, and *ṛdhād-vāra-*<sup>7</sup> 'increasing goods', *ksayād-vīra-*<sup>8</sup> 'ruling men', *codayān-mati-*<sup>9</sup> 'stimulating devotion', *jamād-*<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Occurs only in the dative as an adverb meaning 'up to old age'.

<sup>2</sup> Formed with the suffix *-in* which is not properly attached to compounds; cp. WACKERNAGEL 21, 53 (p. 121 bottom).

<sup>3</sup> See BRUGMANN, IF. 18, 76; DELBRÜCK, Vergleichende Syntax 3, 174; JACOBI, Compositum und Nebensatz (1897), 46—82; WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 315.

<sup>4</sup> Rhythmically lengthened for *radā*, *śikṣā*.

<sup>5</sup> The Pada has *sthāh-raśman-*. The meaning

is doubtful; it may be a simple Bahuvrīhi, 'having firm bridles' (GRASSMANN).

<sup>6</sup> *kṛpā-nīda-* would be another example if it means 'arranging his abode', but the meaning of the first member is doubtful.

<sup>7</sup> *ṛdhāt-* is an aorist participle of *ṛdh-* 'increase'.

<sup>8</sup> From *ksayati* 'rules'.

<sup>9</sup> From *codayati* 'urges'.

<sup>10</sup> *jamād-* a palatalized form from *gam-* 'go'.

*agni-* ('going to Agni'), N. of man, *tarād-dveṣas*<sup>1</sup> 'overcoming foes', *drāvayāt-sakha*<sup>2</sup> 'speeding the comrade', *dhārayāt-kavi-* 'supporting the wise' and *dhārayāt-kṣiti*<sup>3</sup> 'supporting men', *bharād-vāja-* ('carrying off the prize') m., N. of a man, and *ā-bharād-vasu*<sup>4</sup> 'bringing wealth', *manhayāt-rayi*<sup>5</sup> 'lavishing wealth', *mandād-vīra*<sup>6</sup> 'gladdening men', *\*vidād-aśva*<sup>7</sup> 'possessing steeds', *vidād-vasu*<sup>8</sup> 'winning wealth', *śrāvayāt-pati-* 'making his lord famous', and *śrāvayāt-sakhi*<sup>9</sup> 'making his friend famous', *sanād-rayi-* 'bestowing possessions' and *sanād-vāja*<sup>10</sup> 'bestowing booty', *sādād-yoni*<sup>11</sup> 'sitting in one's place', *spṛhayād-varṇa*<sup>12</sup> 'striving after lustre'. Two such governing compounds are once combined in such a way that the final member common to both is dropped in the first: *patayān mandayāt-sakham* (I. 4<sup>7</sup>) 'causing his friend to fly (*patāya*-) and to be glad' (*mandāya*-)<sup>13</sup>.

c. In the third type, which goes back to the Indo-European period<sup>14</sup>, the first member is a noun of action variously accented. There are some half-dozen examples in the RV.: *dāti-vāra* 'giving treasures', *phṣti-gu-* ('rearing kine') m., N. of a man, *ṛtī-āp-*<sup>15</sup> 'causing waters to flow', *vīti-rādhas-* 'enjoying the oblation', *vīti-hotra-* 'enjoying the sacrifice', *vṛṣṭi-dyāv-* 'causing the sky to rain'<sup>16</sup>.

## 6. Syntactical Compounds.

293. There are some irregular formations in which words not in coordinate, attributive, dependent or governing relation are compounded owing to constant juxtaposition in the sentence.

i. The relative word *yāt* (abl.) 'in so far as' is compounded with a superlative in RV. III. 53<sup>17</sup>: *utibhiḥ ... yāc-chreṣṭhābhiḥ*<sup>17</sup> 'with the best possible aids', lit. 'with aids in so far as (they are) the best'. The adverb *yād-rādhyām* (II. 38<sup>8</sup>) 'as quickly as possible', lit. 'in so far as possible', is analogous.

2. The initial words of a text begin to be compounded in the later Samhitās as a designation of that text; thus *ye-yajāmahā-* (VS.) in the nom. pl. m. means the text beginning with the words *yé yājāmahe*<sup>18</sup>.

3. Phrases, almost always consisting of two words, used in connexion with certain actions are compounded; thus *aham-uttarā-*<sup>19</sup> (AV.) 'dispute for precedence', from the phrase used by each disputant *ahām úttaraḥ* 'I (am) higher'; *mama-satyēsu* 'in disputes as to ownership', in which every one says *māma satyām* '(it is) certainly mine'; *mām-pasyā-* (AV.) as the name of a plant used by a woman to secure the love of a man with the words *mām pasya* 'look at me'<sup>20</sup>. Similarly in connexion with persons, as *kvāt-sa-* 'some

<sup>1</sup> From *tāra-ti* 'overcomes'.

<sup>2</sup> From *drāvāya-* causative of *drau-* 'run'.

<sup>3</sup> From *dhārāya-* causative of *dhar-* 'support'.

<sup>4</sup> From *bhāra-ti* 'bears'.

<sup>5</sup> From *manháya-* causative of *manh-* 'be great'.

<sup>6</sup> From *mānda-ti* 'gladdens'. The SV. has the wrong variant *vandād-vīra*.

<sup>7</sup> To be inferred from the patronymic *vidādaśvi-*.

<sup>8</sup> From *vidā-ti* 'finds'.

<sup>9</sup> From *śrāvāya-* causative of *śru-* 'hear'.

<sup>10</sup> From *sāna-ti* or *sanā-ti* 'wins'.

<sup>11</sup> Lengthened for *sādād-* from *sāda-ti* 'sits'.

<sup>12</sup> From *spṛhaya-ti* 'desires'.

<sup>13</sup> On the doubtful examples *arcād-dhūma-*, *kṛtād-vasū-*, *pratād-vasū-*, *bhuvad vasuḥ* (VIII. 1937), *vṛṣad-añji-* (voc.) see WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 319 note.

<sup>14</sup> See WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 320 (bottom).

<sup>15</sup> This is the only example recognized by BR. as belonging to this type; GRASSMANN explains them all as Bahuvrihis.

<sup>16</sup> BRUGMANN, IF. 18, 70 f., explains these compounds as having originated in imperatives, while JACOBI, *Compositum und Nebensatz* p. 64 f., thinks the first member represents an original 3. pers. sing.

<sup>17</sup> In AV. VII. 31<sup>1</sup> *yāvac-chreṣṭhābhis* is a corrupt variant. Compounds formed with *yāvat-* do not otherwise occur till the Sūtras.

<sup>18</sup> In the TS. also occurs *idām-mādhu-* m. as a designation of the text *idām evā sārāghām mādhu*. This kind of compound becomes common in the ancillary literature when particular hymns are referred to.

<sup>19</sup> Used in the locative only.

<sup>20</sup> One or two doubtful examples are discussed by WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 327 (top).

one' from the phrase *kuvīt śa* 'is it he?'. This type is more commonly based on phrases used by people about themselves; thus *dhām-sana*<sup>1</sup> (voc.) 'rapacious', that is, one who says *ahām saneyam* (*dhānāni*) 'may I obtain (wealth)'; *aham-pūrvā* 'eager to be first', that is, one who says *ahām pūrvāḥ* (*syām*) 'I (should be) first'; *kīm-ivā-* (VS.) 'asking garrulously' that is, one who continually says 'what (are) you (doing)?'.

## VI. DECLENSION.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 707—780. — WHITNEY, Grammar 261—526.

**294. General character.**—Declension means the inflexion of nominal stems by means of endings which express the various relations represented by what are called cases. The stems belonging to the sphere of declension are most conveniently divided, owing to difference of meaning, form, and use, into **nouns, pronouns, and numerals**. Pronouns have to be treated separately because they have certain peculiarities of inflexion, besides to some extent lacking the distinction of gender. Numerals again show other peculiarities of form as well as partial lack of gender. Nouns are divided into substantives as names of things and adjectives as names of attributes. But as no definite line of demarcation can be drawn between substantive and adjective in any of the classes of declension in the Vedic language, these two categories are nowhere treated separately in the present work.

### I. Nouns.

LANMAN, Noun-inflection in the Veda, JAOS. vol. x (1880), p. 325—600.

**295.** Owing to considerable divergencies of inflexion, nominal stems are best grouped in the **two main divisions** of **consonant and vowel** declension. Stems ending in semivowels form a transition from the former to the latter. The stems contained in the two main classes have further to be sub-divided, owing to difference of derivation and, in part, consequent variety of inflexion, into **radical and derivative** stems.

a. Like other Aryan tongues, the Vedic language distinguishes in declension the **three genders**, masculine, feminine, and neuter. It also distinguishes **three numbers**, the singular, dual, and plural, the dual being in full and regular use<sup>2</sup>.

b. There are **eight cases**: nominative, vocative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, all in regular and unrestricted use. The same ending, however, is to a limited extent employed to express the sense of two and sometimes of three cases. Thus the eight cases of the dual have among them only three endings; in the plural the single ending *-bhyas* does duty for both dative and ablative; while in the singular the same ending *-as* appears for both ablative and genitive in all but the *a*-declension.

c. The **normal endings** of cases are the following:

**Singular:** nom. m. f. *-s*, n. none; voc. of all genders, none; acc. m. f. *-am*, n. none; inst. *-ā*, dat. *-e*, abl. gen. *-as*, loc. *-i*.

**Dual:** nom. voc. acc. m. f. *-ā*, n. *-ī*, inst. dat. abl. *-bhyām*, gen. loc. *-os*.

**Plural:** nom. voc. acc. m. f. *-as*, neut. *-i*; inst. *-bhis*, dat. abl. *-bhyas*, gen. *-ām*, loc. *-su*.

<sup>1</sup> RV. viii. 61<sup>9</sup>; cp. *ahām sánā* v. 75<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> But while the employment of the dual is generally strict, the plural is often used instead of the dual of natural pairs in

the 'hieratic' parts of the RV.; see BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University Circular for 1906, p. 18 f., OLIPHANT, *ibid.* p. 22—31.

d. A distinction is often made in the stem between **strong** (or full) and **weak** (or reduced) **case-forms**. It appears in its full development only in derivative consonant stems, affecting the suffixes *-añc*<sup>1</sup>; *-an*, *-man*, *-van*; *-ant*, *-mant*, *-vant*; *-tar*; *-yāñs*; *-vāñs*. The strong form of the stem appears in the **masculine** nom. voc.<sup>2</sup> acc. singular and dual, and in the nom. voc. plural; and in the **neuter** nom. voc. acc. plural only. The weak form of the stem appears in the remaining cases. But in the first four and in the last of the above suffixes the weak stem which appears before endings with initial consonant is further weakened before endings with initial vowel.

e. The way in which the **normal** endings are attached to the strong and the weak stem with accompanying shift of accent, may be illustrated by the inflexion of the stem *ad-ánt-* 'eating' in the **masc.**:

**Singular:** N. *ad-án*. V. *ád-an*. A. *ad-ántam*. I. *ad-at-á*. D. *ad-at-é*. Ab. G. *ad-at-ás*. L. *ad-at-í*.

**Dual:** N. A. *ad-ánt-ā*, *-au*. V. *ád-ant-ā*, *-au*. I. D. Ab. *ad-ád-bhyām*. G. L. *ad-at-ós*.

**Plural:** N. *ad-ánt-as*. V. *ád-ant-as*. A. *ad-at-ás*. I. *ad-ád-bhis*. D. Ab. *ad-ád-bhyas*. G. *ad-at-ām*. L. *ad-at-su*.

The neuter differs only in the N. A. V. of all numbers: Sing.: N. A. *ad-át*; V. *ád-at*. Du.: N. A. *ad-at-í*. Pl.: N. A. *ad-ánt-i*.

### A. Consonant Stems.

296. Among these stems there are none ending in gutturals<sup>3</sup> and only two ending in the cerebral *ṣ*. Those which end in the labials *p*, *bh*, *m* are fairly numerous. The majority end in dentals, the only class of consonants in which every sound contained in the group (*t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, *n*) is represented. Of the semivowels, *y* is represented by one stem, *v* by three stems, and *r* by a large number of stems. There are many stems ending in the sibilants *ś*, *ṣ*, *ṣ*, and several in the breathing *h* as representative of both a new and an old palatal.

#### i. Palatal Stems.

297. 1. **Radical stems in -c.** — All uncompounded stems (being of course monosyllabic) are, with very few isolated exceptions, **feminine substantives**. The exceptions are: *tvác-* 'skin', otherwise f., occurs twice in the L. sing. *tvaci* as a m.; *árc-*, in its only occurrence, I. sing. *arc-ā*, is a m. adj. in the sense of 'shining'; and *kriñc-*, 'curlew' (VS.) is a m. substantive.

**Compounds**, as being **adjectives**, are often m.; but excepting those formed with *añc-* the only n. is *ā-pīk* (from *pīc-* 'mix'), used adverbially. Compounds ending in *-añc*<sup>4</sup> regularly distinguish **strong and weak forms**. This distinction elsewhere appears to a limited extent only in compounds ending in the three roots *vyac-* 'extend', *vac-* 'speak', *sac-* 'accompany': the first by nasalization in *uru-vyāñcam*<sup>5</sup> 'far-extending', the other two by lengthening the radical vowel in several compounds.

<sup>1</sup> Though in origin a radical element, *-añc* is practically a suffix; cp. 293.

<sup>2</sup> The voc. sing., however, generally assumes a somewhat shortened form owing to the accent invariably shifting to the initial syllable in this case.

<sup>3</sup> The gutturals as finals of nominal stems having become the new palatals *c*, *j*<sup>2</sup> and *ḥ*<sup>2</sup>

(as distinguished from the old palatals *ṣ* and *ḥ*<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> These compounds formed with the root *añc-* will, owing to the peculiar changes which the stem undergoes, be treated apart from other words ending in radical *c*.

<sup>5</sup> Through the influence of compounds formed with *-añc*, like *praty-āñcam*.

## Inflexion.

The forms actually occurring, if made from *vāc*-f. 'speech', would be the following:

Sing.: N. V. *vāk*. A. *vācam*. I. *vācā*. D. *vācē*. Ab. G. *vācās*. L. *vācī*. — Dual: N. A. V. *vācā* and *vācau*. I. *vāgbhyām* (VS.). — Plur.: N. V. *vācas*. A. *vācas* and *vācās*. I. *vāgbhis*. D. *vāgbhyis* (VS.). Ab. *vāgbhyās* (AV.). G. *vācām*.

a. The forms actually occurring are:

Sing. N. f. *ṛk* (AV.) 'stanza', *tvāk* 'skin', *vāk* 'speech', *śīk* (AV. VS.) 'flame', *srīk* 'ladle'; *ni-mrīk* (AV.) 'sunset', *puruṣa-vāk* (VS. xxiv. 33) 'human-voiced', *puro-rīk* (TS. vii. 3. 13<sup>1</sup>) 'forward light', *saṃ-vāk* (VS. ix. 12) 'argument'. — m. *krīn* (VS. xix. 43) 'curlew'; *anṛta-vāk* (AV.) 'speaking untruth', *upa-pṛk* 'adhering to', *tri-śīk* (VS. xxxviii. 22) 'having triple light', *yatā-sruk* 'extending the ladle', *sūrya-tvak* (AV.) 'having a covering (bright) as the sun', *hiraṇy-tvak* 'coated with gold'.

A. f. *ṛcam*, *tvācam*, *rīcam* (VS. TS.) 'lustre', *vācam*, *śīcam* (AV.), *srīcam* 'hem', *srīcam* (AV.); *ā-sīcam* 'oblation', *vi-mūcam* 'unyoking', *sūrya-tvacam*. — m. *amho-mūcam* 'delivering from distress', *ād-rogha-vācam* 'free from treacherous speech', *kīya-vācam* 'speaking ill', *tanū-rīcam* 'brilliant in person', *dhānarcam* 'shining (*ṛcam*) with booty', *puro-rīcam* 'shining in front', *madhu-pṛcam* 'dispensing sweetness', *mr̥dhṛā-vācam* 'speaking injuriously', *su-rīcam* 'shining brightly', *su-vācam* 'very eloquent', *sūrya-tvacam* (Kh. iv. 63). With strengthened stem: *uru-vyāñcam*; *satya-vācam* 'truth-speaking'; *apatya-sācam* 'accompanied with offspring', *abhi-sācam* 'accompanying', *drona-sācam* 'clinging to the trough', *dhāma-sācam* 'keeping his place', *rāti-sācam* 'bestowing gifts'. — n. (adv.) *ā-pṛk* 'in a mixed manner'.

I. f. *ṛcā*, *tvacā*, *mṛcā* 'injury', *rucā*, *vācā*, *śucā*, *sicā*, *srucā*; *puro-rīcā* (VS. xx. 36) 'forward light', *su-rīcā*. — m. *arcā* 'shining'; *uru-vyācā*, *sūrya-tvacā*.

D. f. *ṛcē* (VS. xiii. 39), *tucl* 'offspring', *tvacē* (AV.), *rucē*, *vācē* (VS. xxii. 23), *śucē* (VS. xxxix. 12); *uru-vyācē* (AV.). — m. *amho-mūcē* (TS. i. 6. 12<sup>3</sup>), *ūdyata-sruce* 'extending the ladle', *yatā-sruce*, *viśva-śīcē* 'all-enlightening'.

Ab. f. *tvacās*, *srucās* (AV. VS.); *ni-mrūcas*.

G. f. *ṛcās*, *tvacās*, *vācās*; *vi-mūcas* (*napāt*, V.). — m. *puro-rūcas* 'shining brightly', *su-rūcas*.

L. f. *tvacī*, *vācī*, *srucī*; *ā-tīcī* 'evening', *ud-ṛcī* 'end', *ni-mrūcī*, *vi-vācī* 'crying aloud'. — m. *tvacī* 'skin' (ix. 69<sup>3</sup>, 101<sup>16</sup>).

V. m. *dkṛtta-ruk* 'possessing unimpaired lustre' (x. 84<sup>4</sup>).

Du. N. A. V. f. *vācau*, *śīcau*; *ghṛta-pṛcā* 'sprinkling fatness', *tanū-rīcā*. — With strengthened stem: *satya-vācā*. — m. *krīñcau* (VS. xxx. 6); *tanū-rīcā*, *yatā-srucā*, *su-vācā*; *saṃ-pṛcau* (VS. ix. 4) 'united'.

I. m. *atī-rīgbhyām* (VS. xxv. 3) 'fetlocks'.

Pl. N. f. *ṛcas*, *pṛcas* 'food', *rūcas*, *vācas*, *śīcas* (AV.), *srīcas*<sup>1</sup>; *ā-pṛcas* 'filling' (viii. 40<sup>9</sup>), *divo-rūcas* 'shining from heaven', *ni-mrūcas* (AV. VS.), *vi-mūcas* (AV.), *V. bhādra-vācas* 'speaking auspiciously'. — m. *dudhrā-vācas* 'speaking confusedly', *yatā-srucas*, *vasu-rūcas* 'bright as the Vasus', *vi-pṛcas* (VS. xix. 11) 'parted', *vi-vācas*, *saṃ-śīcas* (AV.) 'shedding together', *saṃ-pṛcas* (VS. xix. 11), *su-rūcas*, *su-vācas*, *sūktā-vācas* 'uttering good speech', *V. sūrya-tvacas*. — With strengthened stem: *abhi-śācas*, *dyajña-sācas* 'not performing sacrifice', *drogha-vācas* 'speaking maliciously', *V. nṛ-śācas* 'befriending men',

<sup>1</sup> AV. once (xix. 42<sup>2</sup>) with wrong accent *srucās*.

<sup>2</sup> According to BR., infinitive of *ā-pṛc* 'satiating oneself'.

*raṇya-vācas* 'speaking agreeably', *rayi-śācas* 'possessing wealth', *rāti-śācas*, *satya-vācas*, *smād-rāti-śācas* 'attended by liberal men', *hari-śācas* 'occupied with the tawny (Soma)'.

A. f. *rūcas*, *vācas* and (once) *vācās*, *śīcas* (AV.), *sīcas* (AV.), *srūcas* and (once) *srucās* (AV.); *dur-vācas* (AV.) 'having a bad voice', *mydhṛā-vācas*, *su-rūcas*. — m. *an-ścas* 'hymnless', *a-rūcas* 'lustreless', *mydhṛā-vācas*, *vādhri-vācas* 'talking idly', *vi-vācas*.

I. f. *ṛgbhīs*. — D. f. *srugbhyās* (VS. II. 1). — Ab. f. *ṛgbhyās* (AV.) — G. f. *ṛcām*, *tvacām* (AV.); *madhu-ṛcām* (AV.).

298. Stems in *-āñc*. A considerable number of compounds is formed by adding as final member the root *āñc* 'bend', which almost assumes the character of a suffix<sup>1</sup> expressing the meaning of 'ward'; e. g. *prāñc* (= *prā-āñc*) 'for-ward'. Strong and weak forms are regularly distinguished, the nasal which appears in the former being always lost in the latter. If *-āñc* is preceded by a word ending in *i* or *u*, the syllables *ya* and *va* thus produced are further weakened to *ī* and *ū* before vowel endings, and if bearing the accent, shift it to those endings<sup>2</sup>; e. g. Sing. A. m. *pratyāñcam*, N. n. *pratyāk*, G. *praticās*.

In these compounds *-āñc* is added to words ending in 1, 3, with which it coalesces: *adharāñc* 'tending downward' (*ādharā*)-3, *āpāñc* 'backward' (*āpa*), *arvāñc* 'hitherward' (*arvā*), *āvāñc* 'downward' (*āva*), *asmatrāñc* 'turned toward us', *ghṛtāñc* 'filled with ghee' (*ghṛtā*), *devāñc* 'directed toward the gods' (*devā*), *pārāñc* 'turned away' (*pārā*), *prāñc* 'forward' (*prā*), *viśvāñc* 'universal' (*viśva*)-5, *satrāñc* 'going together' (*satrā*)<sup>6</sup>. 2. -i: *akudhryāñc*-7 'going nowhere' (*aku-dhri*-), *asmadryāñc* 'turned towards us' (*asmad-ri*)-7, *īdāñc*-8 'turned upward' (*īdā*), *kadryāñc*-7 (turned towards what' (*kādā*), *tiryāñc* 'going across' (*tiri*)-9, *dadhryāñc* 'sprinkling curds' (*dādhi*-), *devadryāñc*-7 'turned towards the gods' (*devā*-), *nyāñc* 'turned down' (*nī*), *pratyāñc* 'turned towards' (*prāti*), *madryāñc*-7 'turned towards me' (*mad-ri*-), *viśvadryāñc* 'going everywhere' (*viśva-dri*-), *svityāñc* 'whitish' (*svit-i*-), *sadhryāñc*-7 'coming together' (*sa-dhri*- 'the same goal'), *samyāñc* 'going together' (*sam-i*-). 3. -u: *anvāñc* 'going after' (*anu*), *ṛjvāñc* 'moving straight forward' (*ṛjvā*-), *viśvāñc* 'going in all directions' (*viśva*-), *svāñc* 'going well' (*svā*). The two feminines *purāñc*-ī 'abundant' and *urūñc*-ī 'far-reaching' presuppose similar stems (\**purā-āñc* and \**urū-āñc*).

### Inflexion.

299. These stems are inflected in the m. and n. only, as they form a f. in *-ī* from the weak or contracted stem, e. g. *prāñc*-, f. *prāc-ī*; *pratyāñc*-, f. *pratic-ī*. The only cases occurring in the pl. are the N. A. and in the du. the N. A. and L.

The forms actually found, if made from *pratyāñc*-, would be as follows: Sing. N. m. *pratyān*, n. *pratyāk*. A. m. *pratyāñcam*. I. *praticā*. D. *praticī*. Ab. G. *praticās*. L. *praticī*. — Du. N. A. m. *pratyāñcā*, *pratyāñcau* (AV.), n. *praticī*. L. m. *praticās*. — Pl. N. m. *pratyāñcas*. A. m. *praticās* and *praticas* (AV.).

a. The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *adharān* (AV.), *āpān*, *arvān*, *āvān* (TS. III. 2. 5<sup>3</sup>), *īdān* (AV.),

<sup>1</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 407; LINDNER, Nominalbildung, Addenda p. 167, prefers to treat *-āñc* as a suffix.

<sup>2</sup> The accent is similarly shifted to the suffix *-ī* with which the f. of these stems is formed (cp. 86 B 11, p. 87). This rule of accentuation applies to the RV. only, not to the later Samhitās; cp. A. pl. below (p. 182).

<sup>3</sup> With shifted accent.

<sup>4</sup> In this and some other of these compounds only the weak unnasalized form of the stem occurs.

<sup>5</sup> With shift of accent.

<sup>6</sup> The f. *narīc-ī* (AV.), N. of a plant, is doubtless based on a similar stem formed from *nāra* 'man', with shift of accent.

<sup>7</sup> The suffix *-ri* in these compounds perhaps spread from *sadhri-āñc* (the *dh* also to *akudhryāñc*), while the *d* of *deva-dryāñc* and *viśvadryāñc* may be due to the nominal forms *mād*- and *asmād*-.

<sup>8</sup> The weak stem *udī-* being formed as if from \**ūd-i-āñc*.

<sup>9</sup> *tiri-* appearing instead of *tirās* 'across' from which the weak stem *tirāc-* (= *tirās-ac-*) is formed.

*tiryān* (AV.), *dadhyān*<sup>1</sup>, *nyān*, *pārān* (AV.), *pratyān*<sup>2</sup>, *prān*, *viśvañ*, *sadhryān* (AV.), *su-prān*. — n. Nearly all the following forms are used adverbially: *akudhryāk*, *adharāk* (AV.), *āpāk*, *drvāk* and *arvāk* (AV.), *asmadryāk*, *īdāk*, *tiryāk* (AV.), *nyāk*, *pārāk* (AV.), *pratyāk*, *prāk*, *madryāk*, *viśvāk*, *viśvadryāk*, *sadhryāk*, *samyāk*<sup>3</sup>.

A. m. *adharāñcam* (AV.), *anvāñcam* (AV.), *āpāñcam* (AV.), *arvāñcam*, *īdāñcam*, *tiryāñcam* (VS. x. 8), *nyāñcam*, *pārāñcam* (AV.), *pratyāñcam*, *prāñcam*, *madryāñcam*, *viśvāñcam*, *samyāñcam*, *svāñcam*.

I. m. *arvācā*. — n. *devadrīcā*, *satrīcā*; used adverbially with shifted accent: *tiraścā*, *nīcā*, *prācā*<sup>4</sup>.

D. m. *dadhīcē*, *svitīcē*. — Ab. m. *praticds*. — G. m. *dadhīcds*, *viśvācds*<sup>5</sup>. — L. m. *prāci*.

Du. N. A. m. *āpāñcau* (AV.), *arvāñcā* and *arvāñcau* (AV.), *viśvāñcau* (AV.), *sadhryāñcā*, *samyāñcā* and *samyāñcau* (AV. VS.). — n. *praticī*, *samīcī* (VS. I. 31, TS. IV. I. 3<sup>2</sup>). — L. m. *viśūcos*.

Pl. N. m. *adharāñcas* (AV.), *āpāñcas* (AV.), *arvāñcas*<sup>6</sup>, *asmatrāñcas*, *asmadryāñcas*, *īdāñcas*, *rjvāñcas*, *tiryāñcas* (AV.), *pārāñcas*, *pratyāñcas*, *prāñcas*, *viśvāñcas*, *svitīyāñcas*<sup>7</sup>, *sadhryāñcas*, *samyāñcas*, *svāñcas*.

A. m. *adharācas*, *anūcas* and *anīcas* (AV.), *āpācas*, *arvācas*, *drvācas*, *īdācas*, *nīcas* (AV.), *pārācas*, *praticds* and *praticas* (AV.), *prācas*, *viśvācas*, *satrācas*.

300. Radical stem in *-ch*. — Only one stem ending in *ch*, which occurs in a single form as a noun, has been found. This is made from the root *prcch-* 'ask', in the compound N. du. m. *bandhu-prcch-ā* 'asking after kinsmen'. The D. and A. of the same stem also appear as infinitives in the forms *prcchē* 'to ask', *sam-prcche* 'to greet'; *vi-prccham* and *sam-prccham* 'to ask'.

301. Stems in radical *-j-* — These stems are inflected in all three genders alike. The neuter would of course differ in N. A. V. dual and plural, but these forms do not occur. When uncompounded these stems are f. substantives except *yūj-* and *rāj-*, which appear as m. also; *bhrāj-*, which occurs as a m. adj. as well as a f. substantive; *āj-*, which is found once (AV.)<sup>8</sup>, and *vij-* twice as a m. only. Neuter cases occur from *bhāj-*, *yūj-*, *rāj-* and *vij-* as final members of adj. compounds, but no distinctively neuter forms (N. A. V. du. pl.) are met with even here.

The only stem showing traces of the distinction of strong and weak cases is *yūj-*, which has the nasalized form *yūñj-* beside the unaltered stem in the N. A. sing. and du.

In the N. sing. the *j*, when derived from a guttural, appears as *k*, but when it represents an old palatal, it becomes the cerebral *ṣ* except in *ṛtu-ij*<sup>9</sup> 'priest'; but before the *-su* of the L. pl. both alike<sup>10</sup> become *k*.

<sup>1</sup> On the doubling of the *n* before vowels, see LANMAN 456.

<sup>2</sup> *pratyāñk* before *s* in TS. I. 8. 21<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The forms *tvadrīk*, *madrik* and *madryadrīk*, *yuvadrīk*, 'towards thee, — me, — you', are doubtless shortened forms of *-dryāk*, which pronunciation is favoured by the metre in some instances: LANMAN 456 (bottom).

<sup>4</sup> *prīcā* is probably used adverbially in III. 31<sup>5</sup> also. As an adj. the form, being a compound, would be accented *prācā*.

<sup>5</sup> N. of a demon, formed with *-āñc*, from *viśva-*, an extension of *viśu-*, as in *viśva-dryāñc-*.

<sup>6</sup> The weak form *arvācas* seems to be used for *arvāñcas* in VII. 48<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> A transition form, N. m. *svitīcāyas* (x. 46<sup>7</sup>) = *svitīyāñcas*, is made from an *i*-stem *svitīcī-* based on the regular f. *svitīcē*.

<sup>8</sup> In AV. XIX. 50<sup>8</sup>, where the reading *ājam* is somewhat doubtful; see WHITNEY's note.

<sup>9</sup> Which is derived from *yaj-* 'sacrifice': *ṛtu-ij-* 'sacrificing in due season'.

<sup>10</sup> See above 34, I.



## Inflection.

302. Sing. N. 1. with *-k*: m. *yūn*<sup>1</sup> (VS. x. 25) 'associate'; *a-bhūk* 'not having enjoyed', *ardha-bhāk* (AV.) 'sharer', *ṛta-yūk* 'duly harnessed', *ṛtv-lk* 'priest', *ghṛtā-nirṇik* 'having a garment of fat', *candrā-nirṇik* 'having a brilliant garment', *parā-vṛk* 'outcast', *bhī-sāk*<sup>2</sup> 'healing', *śatī-bhīśak* (AV.) 'requiring a hundred physicians', *saṃ-vṛk* 'overpowering', *sa-yūk* 'companion', *hīraṇya-srak* (AV.) 'having a golden garland'. — f. *ūrṣk* (VS. iv. 10) 'vigour', *nir-ṇik*<sup>3</sup> 'bright garment', *hīraṇya-nirṇik*. — n. N. A. *sv-ā-vṛk* 'easily acquired', *su-yūk* 'well-joined' (adv.).

2. with *-t*: m. *bhrāt*<sup>4</sup> 'shining', *rāt* 'king'; *eka-rāt* 'monarch', *jana-rāt* (VS. v. 24) 'lord of men', *vane-rāt* 'shining in a wood', *vi-bhrāt* 'resplendent', *vi-rāt* 'ruling far and wide', *viśva-bhrāt* 'all-illuminating', *satra-rāt* (VS. v. 2) 'king of a Soma sacrifice', *saṃ-rāt* 'universal ruler', *sarva-rāt* (VS. v. 24) 'ruler of all', *sva-rāt* 'self-ruler'. — With anomalous loss of the final of the root and retention of the N. *-s*: *āva-yās*<sup>5</sup> (I. 162<sup>5</sup>), a priest who offers the share of the oblation (*ava-yāj*). — f. *rāt* 'mistress'; *vi-rāt*. — With anomalous loss of the final of the root (*yaj*-) and retention of the N. *-s*: *ava-yās*<sup>6</sup> 'share of the sacrificial oblation' (I. 173<sup>12</sup>).

A. m. *ājām* (AV.) 'driver', *yūjām*, *yūjām*; *ṛtv-ijām*, *jyēṣṭha-rājām* 'sovereign', *tri-bhūjām* (AV.) 'threefold', *deva-yājām* (VS. i. 17) 'sacrificing to the gods', *parā-vijām*, *plīṣkara-srajām* (VS. ii. 33) 'wearing a lotus wreath', *pūrvā-bhājām* 'first sharer', *ṛtanājām* 'rushing (*-ājām*) to battle', *prathama-bhājām* 'receiving the first share', *prātar-yūjām* 'yoking early', *bhī-sājām* (VS. xxviii. 9), *yuvā-yūjām* 'yoked by both of you', *ratha-yūjām* 'yoking to a chariot', *vi-rājām*, *śaphā-rājām* 'destroying with hoofs', *satya-yājām* 'worshipping truly', *saṃ-rājām*, *sa-yūjām*, *su-yājām* 'easily letting loose', *su-yājām* 'worshipping well', *su-yūjām* 'well-yoked', *su-srājām* (AV.) 'wearing a beautiful garland', *sva-rājām*, *sva-vijām* 'appropriating to oneself'. — f. *ūrjām*, *tūjām* 'offspring', *bhūjām* 'enjoyment', *bhrājām* (VS. iv. 17) 'splendour', *srājām* 'garland'; *upaspījām*<sup>8</sup> (x. 88<sup>10</sup>) 'emulation', *nir-ijām*, *pari-vijām* 'aviding', *pra-yūjām* (VS. xi. 66) 'impulse', *mano-yūjām* 'yoked by thought', *vi-rājām*, *sahāsra-nirṇijām* 'having a thousand adornments', *sva-rājām* (AV.).

I. m. *yūjā*; *bhī-sājā* (VS. AV.), *mano-yūjā*, *vaco-yūjā* 'yoked by a mere word', *sa-yūjā* (AV.), *sahāsra-nirṇijā*, *su-yājā* (VS. TS.) 'good sacrifice', *su-yūjā*. — f. *ūrjā*, *tūjā*, *bhrājā* 'lustre'; *nir-ijā*, *mano-yūjā* (AV.), *vi-rājā*. — n. *svātra-bhājā* 'strengthening'.

D. m. *yūjē* (AV.); *mṛtā-bhrajē*<sup>9</sup> (AV.) 'whose virility is dead', *rakṣo-yūjē* 'associated with demons', *vi-rājē* (VS. AV.), *saṃ-rājē*, *sva-rājē*<sup>10</sup>. — f. *ūrjē*, *tūjē*<sup>11</sup>, *bhūjē*; *nir-ijē*. — Ab. m. *yūjās*; *vi-rājas*. — f. *nir-ijās*.

G. m. *saṃ-rājas*, *sva-rājas*. — f. *ūrjās*, *bhrājās*<sup>12</sup> (AV.) 'virility', *yūjās*; *pra-yūjās* 'team', *ratna-bhājās* 'dispensing gifts', *vi-rājas* (AV.) — n. *sva-rājas*.

<sup>1</sup> For *yūn*; cp. VPr. iv. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Probably 'one who conjures', cp. in the later language, *abhi-sajati* 'utters an imprecation'; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 8, bottom; UHLENBECK, Etymologisches Wörterbuch, rejects this etymology in favour of a derivation connected with Av. *-bis* 'healing'.

<sup>3</sup> From *nir-nij* 'wash out'.

<sup>4</sup> There is also the transition form *bhrājās* (IX. 170<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> See LANMAN 463.

<sup>6</sup> See above 66 c β (p. 61).

<sup>7</sup> Strong form (301).

<sup>8</sup> According to Sāyana, used adverbially in the sense of 'emulously'.

<sup>9</sup> *bhrāj*- is probably a reduced form of *bhrāj*-. cp. the later meaning of *ūjās* 'lustre'.

<sup>10</sup> There is also the transfer form *bhrājāya* (VS. viii. 40) 'for the bright one'.

<sup>11</sup> There is also the transfer form *tūjāye* (v. 46<sup>7</sup>) from *tūj*-.

<sup>12</sup> Probably a reduced form of *bhrāj*- 'lustre'. Cp. WHITNEY on AV. vii. 90<sup>2</sup>.

L. m. *āśva-nirṇijī* 'adorned with horses'. — f. *saṃ-sṛjī* 'collision'.

V. m. *ghṛta-nirṇik, sam-rāṭ*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *yūljā*<sup>1</sup>, *yūjā*; *ṛtv-ljā, tanū-tydjā* 'risking one's life', *puru-bhujā* (V.) 'enjoying much', *plṣkara-srajā, prātar-yūjā, brahma-yūjā* 'harnessed by prayer', *bhi-śdjā, mano-yūjā* (VS. AV.), *vaco-yūjā, sam-rājā, sa-yūjā, sākaṃ-yūjā* 'joined together', *su-yūjā*; *anū-vṛjau* (AV.) a part of the body near the ribs, *apna-rājau* 'ruling over wealth' (*apna* = *apnas*), *bhi-śajau* (V.), *saṃ-rājau, sa-yūjau* (AV.), *su-yūjau* (AV.). — f. *āśva-yūjau* (AV.) 'harnessing horses'.

D. m. *bhi-sāgbhyām* (AV.). — G. m. *saṃ-rājos*.

Pl. N. m. *yūjas*; *ā-yūjas* (AV.) 'joining on', *ṛtv-ljas, V. ṛtv-ljas* (AV.), *kṛtī-dhrajās* 'furnished with banners', *giri-bhrājās*<sup>2</sup> 'glittering on the mountains', *ghṛtā-nirṇijas, tanū-tydjās, divi-ydjās* 'worshipping in heaven', *dur-yūjās* 'difficult to be yoked', *niḥ-sṛjās* 'pouring out', *pitu-bhājās* 'enjoying food', *pūrva-bhājās, pṛtanājās* (-ajas), *pra-yūjas* (AV.), *brahma-yūjās, bhi-śjās, mano-yūjās, mitra-yūjās* 'joined in friendship', *ratha-yūjās, varṣā-nirṇijas* 'clothed with rain', *vāma-bhājās* 'partaking of goods', *viśva-sṛjās* (AV.) 'all-creating', *saṃ-rājas, V. saṃ-rājas, su-yūjas, sva-yūjas* 'allies', *sva-rājas, hārīta-srajās* (AV.) 'wearing yellow garlands'. — f. *ūrjas, tūjas, bhūjas*; *abhi-yūjas* 'assailants', *go-bhājās* 'bestowing cows', *nir-ṇijas, pṛkṣā-prayajas* 'in which oblations begin to be offered', *pra-yūjas, vi-rājas* (VS. XVII. 3), *stanā-bhūjas*<sup>3</sup> 'enjoying the udder', *sv-ā-yūjas* 'easy to yoke'.

A. m. *vījas* 'stakes' (at play); *ādhi-nirṇijas* 'covered over', *āśva-yūjas, catur-yūjas* 'yoked as (a team of) four', *śaphā-rūjas, sa-yūjas, su-yūjas*. — f. *tūjas, bhūjas, sṛjās*; *abhi-yūjas*.

I. m. *aruṇa-yūgbhis* 'furnished with ruddy (rays)', *ṛta-yūgbhis, vi-yūgbhis*<sup>4</sup> (AV.), *su-yūgbhis, sva-yūgbhis*.

D. f. *pra-yūgbhyas* (VS. xxx. 8) 'impulses'. — Ab. m. *bhi-sāgbhyas* (AV.) — G. m. *ṛtv-ljām, bhi-śdjām*. — f. *ūrjām, bhujām; nīr-majām*<sup>5</sup>. — L. f. *sṛakṣū; pra-yāksu* (AV.) 'offerings'<sup>6</sup>.

303. Stems in derivative *-j*. — There are seven m. and f. adjectives or substantives formed with the suffixes *-aj* and *-ij*: *ā-svapnaj* 'sleepless', *trṣṇāj* 'thirsty', *dhr̥śāj* 'bold', *sanāj* 'old'; *uś-lj* 'desiring', *bhur-lj* f. 'arm', *van-lj* m. 'trader'. There is also the n. *āsrj*<sup>7</sup> 'blood', which is of obscure etymology, but the *-j* of which is probably a reduced suffix. The forms occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *uśik, vanik*. — n. *āsrk*. — A. m. *uśijam, trṣṇājam, vanijam* (AV.). — I. *uśijā* (VS. xv. 6) 'ghee'. — D. m. *trṣṇāje, vanlje*. — G. m. *uśijas*.

Du. N. f. *sanājā*. — G. f. *bhurījos*. — L. f. *bhurījos*.

Pl. N. m. *uśijas, trṣṇājas, ā-trṣṇajas, dhr̥śājas, ā-svapnajas*. — f. *uśijas*. — A. m. *uśijas*. — I. m. *uśigbhis*. — D. m. *uśigbhyas*. — G. *uśijām*.

## 2. Cerebral Stems.

304. There is only one doubtful derivative stem in *-t*, *raghāt*, which occurs in the single form *raghājas* (AV. VIII. 7<sup>24</sup>), possibly a mistake for *raghāvas*<sup>8</sup> 'swift'.

<sup>1</sup> Strong form (301).

<sup>2</sup> Occurring once (x. 68<sup>1</sup>), *bhrāj*- being a reduced form of *bhrāj*-; cp. D. m. *mṛtā-bhrāje*, G. f. *bhrājās* (AV.); cp. p. 183, notes 9 and 12.

<sup>3</sup> The Pada text reads *stana-bhūjas*.

<sup>4</sup> See WHITNEY's note on AV. VII. 4<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> A word of doubtful derivation and meaning, occurring only once (VIII. 4<sup>20</sup>).

<sup>6</sup> The corresponding form is *pra-yāksu* in TS. iv. 1. 8<sup>1</sup> and VS. xxvii. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 559, 560.

<sup>8</sup> See LANMAN 466, and WHITNEY, note on AV. VIII. 7<sup>24</sup>.

There are besides only two radical stems ending in *-d*, *īd*<sup>1</sup> 'praise', and *īd*<sup>2</sup> 'refreshment'. Of the former occurs only the sing. I. *īdā*; of the latter only the sing. I. *īdā* and the G. *īdās*<sup>3</sup>.

### 3. Dental Stems.

305. Stems ending in all the dental mutes as well as the nasal are of frequent occurrence except those in *-th*. There are radical stems ending in each of the dentals, but no derivative stems in *-th* or *-dh*. The distinction of strong and weak appears with slight exceptions only in the derivative stems in *-ant* and *-an*.

306. Stems in radical *-t*. — The only four monosyllabic stems occurring are feminine substantives: *dylt* 'splendour', *nyt* 'dancing', *pīt* 'battle', *vīt*<sup>4</sup> 'hostile array'. There are also two reduplicated stems, which are primarily adjectives: *cikīt* 'knowing' (*√cit*) and *didyīt* 'shining'. The rest are compounds, used mostly in the masculine or feminine. Neuter cases occur from only four of them: *aksi-pāt* 'falling into the eye', *ān-apā-vrt* 'not turning away', *tri-vīt* 'three-fold', *saṃ-yāt*<sup>5</sup> 'continuous'.

#### Inflexion.

The forms occurring would, if made from *tri-vīt*, be as follows:

Sing. N. m. f. *tri-vīt* (also n.). — A. m. f. *tri-vītam*. — I. m. f. *tri-vītā* (also n.). — D. m. f. *tri-vīte*. — Ab. G. m. f. *tri-vītas*. — L. n. *tri-vīti* (AV.).

Du. N. A. m. f. *tri-vītā*, *tri-vītau*. — L. f. *tri-vītos*.

Pl. N. A. m. f. *tri-vītas*. — I. n. *tri-vīdbhis* (AV.). — G. m. f. *tri-vītām*. — L. f. *tri-vītsu*. — V. m. f. *tri-vītas*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *anā-vrt* 'not returning', *ābandhu-kṛt*<sup>6</sup> (AV.) 'not cutting off kin', *eka-vīt* (AV.) 'one-fold', 'simple', *cikīt* 'knowing', *tri-vīt* (VS. x. 10) 'triple', *pra-vīt* (VS. xv. 9), *manas-cīt* 'thinking in the mind', *mūla-kṛt* (AV.) 'cutting roots', *vīpaś-cīt* 'inspired', *vi-vīt* (VS. xv. 9), *viśū-vīt* 'rolling in various directions', *sa-vīt* (VS. xv. 9), *su-vīt* 'turning well'. — f. *cīt* (VS. iv. 19) 'thought', *apa-cīt* (AV.) a noxious insect, *didyīt* 'shining', *vi-dyūt* 'flashing'. — n. *eka-vīt* (AV.), *tri-vīt*: as adv. *aksi-pāt* 'a little' and *ānāpā-vrt* 'unremittingly'.

A. m. *a-cītam* 'unthinking', *eka-vītam* (AV.), *ghṛta-ścītam* 'sprinkling ghee', *tri-vītam*, *dus-cītam* (AV.) 'thinking evil', *madhu-ścītam* 'distilling sweetness', *vīpaś-cītam*, *viśū-vītam*, *su-vītam*, *huraś-cītam* 'plotting deceit'. — f. *dylītam*, *vītam*; *ā-vītam* 'turning home', *ghṛta-ścītam*, *vi-cītam* 'loosening', *vi-dylītam*, *vīpaś-cītam*, *saṃ-yātām*, *saṃ-vītam* (AV.) 'approach', *saṃ-cītam* 'union'.

I. m. *tri-vītā*, *vīpaś-cītā* (VS. iv. 32), *su-vīā*. — f. *dyutā*, *vītā*; *ā-cītā* 'attention', *ghṛta-ścītā*, *tri-vītā*, *pra-cītā* 'with concealment' (adv.), *vi-dylītā*. — n. *saṃ-yātā*, *tri-vītā* (AV.).

D. m. *a-cīte*, *tri-vīte* (VS. xv. 9), *pra-vīte* (VS. xv. 9), *vīpaś-cīte*, *vi-vīte* (VS. xv. 9), *sa-vīte* (VS. xv. 9), *su-dylīte*. — f. *vi-dylīte*.

Ab. m. *tri-vītas* (VS. xiii. 54), *vi-dylītas*<sup>7</sup>. — f. *didyītas*.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. above 17, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Derived from *is* 'refreshment' which is of very frequent occurrence; cp. above p. 35, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> This form is regarded by GRASSMANN in one passage (VII. 47<sup>1</sup>) as an A. pl.: cp. LANMAN 466.

<sup>4</sup> *vīt* occurs once in the dual as a fem. adjective.

<sup>5</sup> From *yāt* 'unite'.

<sup>6</sup> From *kṛt* 'cut'; but it may be 'not relative-making' (*kṛt*); see WHITNEY's note on AV. IV. 19<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> The Ab. *didyūt* (TS. I. 8. 14<sup>1</sup>) and *vidyūt* (VS. XX. 2) are probably irregular formations due to parallelism; cp. LANMAN 468.

G. m. *tri-vṛtas*, *vipaś-citas*, *sa-citas* 'wise', *su-dyṛtas* 'shining beautifully'. — f. *vi-dyṛtas*. — L. n. *tri-vṛtti* (AV.).

Du. N. A. V. m. *vipaś-citā* (V.), *iṣu-kṛtā*<sup>1</sup> (I. 184<sup>3</sup>). — f. *vṛtau*; *ā-vṛtā*, *madhu-ścītā*, *vi-cṛtau* (AV.). — L. f. *vi-cṛtos* (AV.).

Pl. N. m. *ā-vṛtas*, *ṛṣṭi-vidyutas* 'glittering with spears', *eka-vṛtas* (AV.), *ghṛta-ścītas*, *duś-cītas* (AV.), *vi-dyṛtas*, *vipaś-citas*, *saṃ-yātas*, *sūrya-śvītas* 'bright as the sun', *svā-vidyutas* 'self-lightning', *hrādunt-vṛtas* 'bringing hail'. — V. *ṛṣṭi-vidyutas*, *vi-dyutas*. — N. f. *apa-citas* (AV.), *ā-vṛtas* (AV.), *upā-vṛtas* (VS. AV.) 'return', *ghṛta-ścītas*, *ghṛta-ścīlitas* (VS. xvii. 3), *madhu-ścītas*, *madhu-ścīlitas* (VS. xvii. 3), *vi-dyṛtas*, *saṃ-yātas*. — V. *āpa-citas* (AV.).

A. m. *a-citas*, *a-dyṛtas* 'lacking brightness', *ghṛta-ścītas*, *vipaś-citas*, *huraś-citas*. — f. *nṛtas* (AV.), *vṛtas*; *tri-vṛtas* (AV.), *dakṣiṇā-vṛtas*, *dīdyṛtas*, *puru-vṛtas* (AV.) 'moving in various ways', *madhu-ścītas*, *vi-dyṛtas*, *viṣṇu-vṛtas* (AV.), *saṃ-yātas*, *saṃ-vṛtas* (AV.).

I. n. *tri-vṛddhis* (AV.). — G. m. *vipaś-citām*. — f. *apa-citām* (AV.), *vi-dyṛtām* (AV.). — L. f. *pṛtsi*<sup>2</sup>.

307. Stems in determinative *-t*. — Derivative nominal stems are formed from nearly thirty roots ending in the short vowels *i*, *u* and *r* by means of the suffix *-t*<sup>3</sup>. The roots adding it are *i-* 'go', *kṛ-* 'make', *kṣi-* 'dwell', *gu-* 'sound', *ci-* 'pile', 'note', *cyu-* 'move', *ji-* 'conquer', *dhṛ-* 'hold', *dhṛv-* 'injure', *pi-* 'swell', *pru-* 'flow', *bhṛ-* 'bear', *mi-* 'fix', *yu-* 'join' and 'separate', *ri-* 'flow', *vṛ-* 'cover', *sri-* 'resort', *śru-* 'hear', *su-* 'press', *sy-* 'flow', *stu-* 'praise', *sṛj-* 'win', *sru-* 'flow', *hu-* 'sacrifice', *hṛ-* 'take', *hṛv-* or *hru-* 'be crooked'. Two other roots, *gam-* 'go', and *han-* 'strike', are modified so as to end in short *a* (representing the sonant nasal) before adding the suffix: *-gāt* and *hāt*.

These stems are mostly m. and f. Neuter cases are very rare, occurring from five or six stems only. The inflexion is exactly the same as that of the stems in radical *-t*.

#### Inflection.

308. Sing. N. m. with *-kṛt*: *anukāma-kṛt* 'acting according to desire', *abhīṣṭi-kṛt* 'giving help', *āji-kṛt* 'instituting a contest', *īśāna-kṛt* 'acting as a lord', *ṛṣi-kṛt* 'making into a seer', *khaja-kṛt* 'causing the din of battle', *iyotis-kṛt* 'causing light', *tanū-kṛt* 'preserving life', *pathi-kṛt* 'path-making', *puru-kṛt* 'doing much', *pūrva-kṛt* (VS. xx. 36) 'active from of old', *bhadra-kṛt* 'bestowing blessings', *uloka-kṛt* 'procuring free space', *vayas-kṛt* 'creating youthful vigour', *varivo-kṛt* 'bestowing freedom', *viṣeṣa-kṛt* 'procuring victory', *su-kṛt* 'acting well', *steya-kṛt* 'committing theft', *syona-kṛt* 'causing comfort', *sviṣṭa-kṛt* (VS. ii. 9) 'offering right sacrifice'; with *-jīt*: *apsu-jīt* 'conquering in the waters', *ab-jīt* 'winning waters', *abhimāti-jīt* (VS. xxvii. 3) 'conquering foes', *aśva-jīt* 'winning horses', *ṛta-jīt* (VS. xvii. 83) 'winner of right', *go-jīt* 'winning kine', *dhana-jīt* 'winning booty', *raṇya-jīt* 'winning in battle', *ratha-jīt* 'winning chariots', *viśva-jīt* 'all-conquering', *samsrṣṭa-jīt* 'conquering combatants', *satya-jīt* (VS. xvii. 83) 'winner of truth', *satrā-jīt* 'wholly victorious', *samarya-jīt* 'winning battles', *sahasra-jīt* 'conquering a thousand', *sena-jīt* (VS. xv. 19) 'conquering armies', *sva-jīt* 'winning heaven', *hiranya-jīt* 'winning gold'; with other roots: *acyuta-kṣīt* (VS. v. 13) 'dwelling immovably'; *acyuta-cylīt* 'shaking what is firm'; *ā-dāra-sṛt* (AV.) 'not falling into a crack'; *ā-kṣīt* 'dwelling'; *ṛna-clt* 'avenging guilt', *ṛta-clt* 'observing sacred order';

<sup>1</sup> *iṣu-kṛtēva* here may, however, be a D. sing. for *iṣukṛtē va*; see LANMAN 468.

<sup>2</sup> With double ending once (I. 1294) *ṛṛtsi-si*.

<sup>3</sup> This suffix *-t* partakes of the character of a root determinative, as roots in *-i-u-r* are hardly ever used without it as nominal stems.

*kilbiṣa-sṛīt* 'removing sin'; *ksatra-bhīt* (VS. xxvii. 7) 'holder of sway'; *carṣaṇt-dhīt* 'preserving men'; *dirgha-śrīt* 'heard afar', *deva-śrīt* (VS. xxxvii. 18) 'heard by the gods'; *dhana-sṛīt* 'winning booty'; *dhruva-kṣīt* (VS. v. 13) 'dwelling firmly'; *pari-hrīt* 'overthrowing'; *pūta-bhīt* (VS. xviii. 21) a kind of soma vessel; *bhāra-bhīt* 'bearing a load'; *mada-cyūt* 'reeling with excitement'; *madhu-śīt* 'emitting sweetness'; *yakṣa-bhīt* 'supporting pursuers' (?), *vajra-bhīt* 'wielding a thunderbolt'; *vāja-sīt* 'running for a prize'; *sapatna-kṣīt* (VS. i. 29) 'destroying rivals'; *suparna-clt* (VS. xxvii. 45) 'heaped up like the bird Suparna'; *soma-śīt* 'pressing Soma'; *sra-sīt* 'going one's own way'; *havana-śrīt* 'hearing invocations'. — f. *upa-bhīt* (VS. ii. 6) 'sacrificial ladle'; *upa-mīt* 'prop'; *ṛta-clt*; *pari-srīt* (VS. xix. 15) 'fermented liquor'; *praśasta-kīt* 'bestowing praise'. — N. A. n. *viśva-jīt*; *dirgha-śrīt*, *nava-gāt* (AV. TS.) 'first-bearing', *purītāt* (VS. xxxix. 9) 'pericardium'; as adverbs: *upa-śīt* 'invoked', *dyu-gāt* 'going to heaven', *sa-kīt* ('one-making') 'once'.

A. m. *adhi-kṣitam* 'ruler', *adhvara-kṣitam* (VS. i. 24) 'performing sacrifice', *arṇo-vṛtam* 'enclosing the waters', *uktha-bhṛtam* 'offering verses', *uda-prītām* 'swimming in water', *ṛṇa-cyūtām* 'inciting to (fulfil) obligations', *carṣaṇt-dhṛtam*, *tīra-śītām* 'pressing pungent (juice)', *trṣu-cyūtām* 'moving greedily', *dirgha-śrītām*, *duṣ-kṣtam* 'acting wickedly', *doṣo-yūtām* 'removing hostility', *dhana-jitam* (VS. xi. 8), *dhana-sṛitam*, *nadī-vṛtam* 'stream-obstructing', *pari-srītām* 'flowing around', *prātar-jitam* 'conquering early', *mada-cyūtām*, *mithā-kṣtam* 'fallen into trouble', *vayas-kṣtam* (VS. iii. 18), *vāja-jitam* (VS. ii. 7) 'winning spoil', *śravo-jitam* 'winning renown', *saṃ-jitam* 'conqueror', *satya-dhṛtam* 'perverting truth', *satrā-jitam* (VS. xi. 8), *sahas-kṣtam* (VS. iii. 18) 'bestowing strength', *sāma-bhṛtam* 'bringing chants', *su-kṣtam*, *sva-jitam*, *sviṣṭa-kṣtam* (VS. xxi. 47), *havana-śrītām*, *haviṣ-kṣtam* 'preparing the oblation'. — f. *araṇ-kṣtam* 'making ready', *upa-prītām* 'flowing near', *deva-śrītām*, *ni-yūtām* 'team', *pari-srītām*.

I. m. *abhi-jitā* (VS. xv. 7) 'victorious', *upari-prītā* (VS. vii. 3) 'falling from above', *carṣaṇt-dhītā*, *brahma-kṣtā* 'offering prayers', *soma-śītā*. — f. *ni-yūtā*, *pari-srītā* (VS. xix. 83), *pari-hṛtā*<sup>2</sup> (viii. 47<sup>6</sup>) 'deceiving'.

D. m. *araṇ-kṣte*, *duṣ-kṣte*, *dharma-kṣte* 'establishing order', *brahma-kṣte*, *su-kṣte*; *ab-jite*, *aśva-jite*, *urvarā-jite* 'winning fertile fields', *go-jite*, *dhana-jite*, *nr-jite* 'conquering men', *viśva-jite*, *satrā-jite*, *sva-jite*; *giri-kṣite* 'dwelling in mountains', *parvata-cyūte* 'shaking mountains', *soma-bhṛte* (VS. v. 1) 'bringing Soma'.

Ab. m. *pari-srūtas* (VS. xix. 75) 'foaming', *brahma-kṣtas*, *sarva-hṛtas* 'offered completely'. — f. *abhi-hrūtas* 'injurious'.

G. m. *carṣaṇt-dhṛtas*, *vāja-jitas* (VS. ix. 13), *vīrya-kṣtas* (VS. x. 25) 'doing mighty deeds', *saṃ-jitas*, *su-kṣtas*, *haviṣ-kṣtas*. — f. *iṣa-stūtas*<sup>3</sup>, *deva-stūtas* 'praising the gods', *pari-srūtas* (AV.).

L. m. *mada-cyūti*, *go-jīti*, *vasu-jīti* (AV.) 'winning goods', *saṃ-dhanā-jīti*<sup>4</sup> (AV.) 'winning booty together'.

V. m. *acyuta-cyut*, *uru-kṛt* 'making wide', *ṛta-clt*, *khaja-kṛt*, *puru-kṛt*, *raṇa-kṛt* 'causing joy', *vandana-śrūt* 'listening to praise', *vāja-jit* (VS. ii. 7); *sahasra-jit*, *haviṣ-kṛt* (VS. i. 15). — f. *upa-bhṛt* (AV.), *rāṣṭra-bhṛt* (AV.) 'bearing sway'.

<sup>1</sup> The second part of the word may be derived from *tan-* 'stretch' like *-ga-t-* from *gam-* 'go'.

<sup>2</sup> With anomalous accent; but the form may be L. of *pari-hṛtā*, the normal accent of which would be *pari-hṛtā*; see LANMAN 502 (bottom).

<sup>3</sup> *iṣa-* = *iṣ-* 'refreshment', BR.; but the Pada text reads *iṣaḥ-stūtas*, and GRASSMANN regards *iṣa* = *iṣaḥ* (before *st-*) as G. of *iṣ-*.

<sup>4</sup> Instead of *\*dhana-saṃ-jīti*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *go-jitā*, *divi-ksitā* 'dwelling in the sky', *pari-ksitā* 'dwelling around', *mada-cyitā*, *su-śritā* 'hearing well', *havana-śritā*, V. *pāthi-kytā* (AV.); *d-duṣ-kytau*, *kṛṣṇa-pritau* 'moving in darkness', *sa-kytau* (AV.) 'acting at once', *sa-ksitau* 'dwelling together', *su-kytau* (AV.), *bhadra-kytau* (AV.), *su-śritau* (AV.). — f. *ugra-jitau* (AV.) 'fierce-conquering' (name of an Apsaras). — G. f. *su-kytos*, *pari-ksitos*.

Pl. N. V. m. *citās* (VS. I. 18) 'heaping up', *hrūtas* 'stumbling-blocks'; with *-kṛt*: *araṇi-kytas*, *īśāna-kytas*, *karma-kytas* (VS. III. 47) 'skilful in work', *dudhra-kytas* 'boisterous', *duṣ-kytas*, *dhānya-kytas*<sup>1</sup> 'preparing grain', *brahma-kytas*, *yajña-niṣ-kytas* 'preparing the sacrifice', *vayas-kytas*, *su-kytas*, *haviṣ-kytas*; with *-cyūt*: *dhanva-cyitas* 'shaking the ground', *dhruva-cyitas* 'shaking the immovable', *parvata-cyitas*, *mada-cyitas*; with *-ksit*: *apsu-ksitas* 'dwelling in the waters', *upa-ksitas* 'dwelling near', *vraja-ksitas* (VS. X. 4) 'resting in their station', *sa-ksitas*; with other roots: *adhva-gātas* (AV.) 'travellers', *arthātas*<sup>2</sup> (VS. X. 3) 'swift', *uda-prūtas*, *ūrdhva-citas* (VS. I. 18) 'piling up', *kṛcchre-śritas* 'undergoing danger', *grāma-jitas* 'conquering troops', *carṣaṇ-dhītas*, *jana-bhītas* (VS. X. 4) 'supporting people', *divi-śritas* (AV.) 'going to heaven', *deva-śritas* (VS. VI. 30), *dveṣo-yītas*, *ni-gūtas* 'enemies', *pari-citas* (VS. XII. 46) 'piling up around', *pītu-bhītas* 'bringing food', *pūrva-citas* (VS. XXVII. 4) 'piling up first', *mano-dhītas* 'intelligent', V. *vāja-jitas* (VS. IX. 9), *vi-citas* (VS. IV. 24) 'sifting', *viśva-bhītas* (VS. X. 4) 'all-nourishing', *satya-śritas* 'hearing the truth', *satrā-jitas*, *su-kytas* (VS. XXXIII. 16), *su-śritas*, *soma-sūtas*, *sva-sūtas*, *havana-śritas*. — f. *mitas* 'posts', *stūtas* 'praises'; *uda-prūtas*, *ni-yūtas*, *pari-śritas*, *pītu-bhītas*, *saṃ-hītas* 'layers', *sa-śritas* 'streaming'. — N. A. n. *dirgha-śrūt* 'far-renowned' appears to be used as a n. pl. in agreement with *vratā* (VIII. 25<sup>17</sup>)<sup>3</sup>.

A. m. *hrūtas* and *hrutis*<sup>4</sup> (AV.); *a-pītas* 'not swelling', *go-jītas*, *jyotiṣ-kytas*, *duṣ-kytas*, *ni-gūtas*, *mada-cyitas*, *su-kytas*. — f. *ritas* 'flowing'; *ūpa-stūtas* 'invocations', *dirgha-śrūtas*, *ni-yūtas*, *bali-hītas* 'paying tribute', *varuṇa-dhrūtas* 'deceiving Varuṇa', *vi-sūtas* 'flowing asunder', *sa-śritas*.

I. m. *soma-sūdbhis*. — f. *antarikṣa-prūdbhis* 'floating over the atmosphere', *ni-yūdbhis*.

D. m. *iṣu-kṛdbhyas* (VS. XVI. 46) 'arrow-makers', *dhanuṣ-kṛdbhyas* (VS. XVI. 46) 'bow-makers', *pathi-kṛdbhyas*, *bandhu-ksīdbhyas* 'dwelling among kinsmen'. — Ab. n. *tanu-kṛdbhyas*.

G. m. *agni-hotra-hūtām* (AV.) 'offering the oblation to Agni', *iṣu-bhītām* (AV.) 'archers', *mantra-kytām* 'composers of hymns', *su-kytām*. — f. *abhi-hrūtām*, *upa-citām* (VS. XII. 97) a kind of disease, *upa-mītām* (AV.), *ni-yūtām*, *pari-mītām* (AV.) 'rafters', *prati-mītām* (AV.) 'props', *ratha-jītām* (AV.).

L. m. *su-kytsu*.

### Derivative Stems in *-vat*, *-tāt*, *-it*, *-ut* and secondary *-t*.

309. The following stems are formed with the suffix (1) *-vat*<sup>5</sup>: *arvā-vāt* f. 'proximity', *ā-vāt* (AV.) f. 'proximity', *ud-vāt* f. 'height', *ni-vāt* f. 'depth', *parā-vāt* f. 'distance', *pra-vāt* f. 'height', *saṃ-vāt* f. 'region'; (2) *-tāt*<sup>6</sup>: *uparā-tāt* f. 'vicinity', *devā-tāt* f. 'divine service', *vrkā-tāt* f. 'wolfishness', *satyā-tāt* f. 'reality', *sarvā-tāt* f. 'totality'; (3) *-it*: *taḍ-it* f. 'contiguous', *div-it*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *dhānya-kytas* in the Pada text.

<sup>2</sup> That is, 'going (*i-t*) to the goal' (*ārtha*).

<sup>3</sup> See LANMAN 503 (bottom), and 474 on the N. A. pl. n.

<sup>4</sup> With irregular accent.

<sup>5</sup> See above, secondary nominal derivation, 233.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. above 215 a.

<sup>7</sup> In this word the suffix *-it* probably consists of the root *i-* 'go' with the primary (determinative) *-t* (307).

'going to the sky', *yos-ít* f. 'young woman', *roh-ít* f. 'red mare', *sar-ít* f. 'stream', *har-ít* f. 'fallow'; (4) *-ut*: *mar-út* m. 'storm-god'; (5) with secondary *-t*: the two neuters *yáky-t*<sup>1</sup> (AV.) 'liver', *śáky-t*<sup>2</sup> 'excrement', and perhaps the etymologically obscure m. *nápāt*<sup>3</sup> 'descendant', all three of which are supplemented in the weak cases by the stems *yakán*-, *śakán*- and *nápyr*- respectively. The inflexion of this group of *-t* stems is the same as that of the radical *-t* stems.

#### Inflection.

310. Sing. N. m. *tañt*, *tánū-nápāt* 'son of himself', *nápāt*, *prá-nápāt* 'great-grandson'. — f. *parāvdt*, *pravdt*, *rohít*, *sarít* (VS. XXXIV. 11). — n. *yákyt* (VS. AV.), *śákyt*.

A. m. *tánū-nápātam*, *nápātam*. — f. *arvāvdtam*, *parāvdtam*, *pravdtam*, *yoñtam*, *rohítam* (AV.), *sañvdtam* (AV.).

I. m. *divítā*. — f. *udvdtā*, *devdtātā*<sup>4</sup>, *nivdtā*, *pravdtā*, *satydtātā*<sup>4</sup>, *sarvdtātā*<sup>4</sup>, *harítā*.

D. f. *devdtāte*. There is also the transfer form *avírat-e* (from *a-víra-tā* 'lack of sons').

Ab. f. *arvāvdtas*, *udvdtas*<sup>5</sup>, *nivdtas*<sup>5</sup>, *parāvdtas*, *pravdtas*, *sañvdtas*. — G. f. *pravdtas*.

L. f. *arvāvdti*, *uparátāti*, *devdtāti*, *parāvdti*, *vykdtāti*.

V. m. *tanū-nápāt*, *nápāt*<sup>6</sup>.

Du. N. A. V. m. *nápātā*. — f. *harítā*. — G. f. *harítos*.

Pl. N. m. *nápātas*, *marítas*, *harítas*. — f. *āvdtas* (AV.), *udvdtas*, *tañtas*, *parāvdtas* (AV.), *pravdtas*, *yoñtas* (AV.), *sarítas*, *harítas*.

A. m. *marítas*. — f. *udvdtas*, *nivdtas*, *parāvdtas*, *pravdtas*, *yoñtas* (AV.), *rohítas*, *sañvdtas*, *sarítas*, *harítas*.

I. m. *marídbhis*. — f. *pravádbhis*. — D. m. *marídbhyas*.

Ab. m. *marídbhyas*. — G. m. *marítām*. — f. *pravdtām*.

L. m. *marítsu*. — f. *udvítsu*, *nivítsu*, *pravítsu*.

V. m. *indrā-marutas* 'O Indra and the Maruts', *nápātas*, *marutas*.

#### Participial Stems in *-at* and *-ant*.

311. Participles in *-at* are almost limited to the present active form of stems made with reduplication, viz. those of the third class (457) and of intensives (545). The old reduplicated participle (from *gā*- 'go') *jāgat*- 'going', 'living', is used chiefly as a n. substantive meaning 'the animate world'. The analogy of these participles is followed by a few others formed from unreduplicated stems: *dās-at*- 'worshipping', *śās-at*- 'instructing'<sup>7</sup>; also *dákṣat*- and *dhákṣat*-, the aor. participle of *dah*- 'burn'. A few others, again, originally participles, having come to be used as substantives, have shifted the accent to the suffix: *vah-át*-<sup>8</sup> 'stream', *veh-át*-<sup>9</sup> (AV. VS.) f. 'barren cow', *vāgh-át*-<sup>10</sup> m. 'sacrificer', *śrav-át*-<sup>11</sup> f. 'stream'; like the regular participle *sāśc-at*- (from *sac*- 'accompany'), which as a substantive becomes *sāśc-át*- m. 'pursuer'. In

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Lat. *jecur*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 559.

<sup>3</sup> The suffix may here have been a primary *-t* added to the root *pā*-. cp. LEU-MANN's etymology (1888), Festgruss an Böhtlingk 77 f.; BRUGMANN 2, p. 366.

<sup>4</sup> These forms might be locatives of *devdtāti*-, *sañvdtāti*-, *sarvdtāti*-.

<sup>5</sup> These forms might be A. pl.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps *marut* in *evayā-marut*.

<sup>7</sup> LANMAN 505, would place *dās-at* 'injuring' here, but there is no evidence, as only a weak case, *dāsatas* G. sing., occurs.

<sup>8</sup> But *vāh-ant* 'carrying'.

<sup>9</sup> The derivation of this word is obscure.

<sup>10</sup> In one or two passages *vāghát*- still retains its participial sense.

<sup>11</sup> But *śrāv-ant* 'flowing'.

this class masculines are frequent, but only about half a dozen neuter forms occur, and the feminines are limited to three substantives<sup>1</sup> and the adjective *a-sāscāt* 'unequalled'<sup>2</sup>. The inflexion is like that of the radical *-t* stems, the accent never shifting to the endings.

### Inflection.

312. Sing. N. m. 1. reduplicating class<sup>3</sup>: *cikyāt*, *jāhat*, *jūhvāt*, *dādat*, *dādhat*, *bāpsāt* (√*bhas*-), *bibhyāt*, *bibhrāt*. — 2. intensives: *kānikradāt* and *kānikrat* (√*kṛ*- 'do') and (ā-) *cānikrat* (AV.), *ghānighnat* and *jānghlanat* (√*han*-), *cāniścādāt* (√*ścand*-), *cārkeṣāt*, *cākasāt* (√*kās*-), *cēkitāt* (√*cit*-), *iārbhurāt*, *jāgrāt*, *tāvītāt*, *dārdrāt*, *dēdisāt*, *dīdyāt*, *dāvidyutāt*, *dādhuvat*, *dāvidhvat*, *nānadāt*, *nānnamat*, *pānīphaṇāt*, *bhāribhāt*, *mārmrjāt*, *mārmrśāt*, *mēmyāt*, *rārajāt*, *rērihāt*, *rōruvat*, *vārīrjāt*, *vāvādāt*, *vēvidāt*, *vēviṣāt*, *śūsucāt*, *sāniṣyadāt* (√*syand*-), *sēsidhāt*. — 3. non-reduplicating verbs: *vāghāt*, *śāsāt*; aor. *dākṣāt* and *dhākṣāt*. — N. A. n. 1. *jāgat*, *dāvidyutāt*, *pīpīśāt*, *yōyuvāt* (AV.). — N. f. *vehāt* (AV. VS.).

A. m. 1. *ā-sāscātām* (I. 1129), *dādātām*, *bibhrātām*. — 2. *kānikratām* (AV.), *ghānighmatām*, *dīdyatām*, *nānadātām*, *pānīpnatām*, *rōruvatām* (AV.). — f. *a-sāscātām* (II. 323); *vehātām* (AV.).

I. m. *dādātā*, *śūsucatā*. — f. *a-sāscātā*. — n. *jāgatā* (AV.).

D. m. 1. *jūyosate*, *jūhvate*, *dādhte*, *bibhrate*, *sāscate*. — 2. *ghānighmate*. — 3. *vāghāte*. — n. 1. *jāgate* (AV.).

Ab. m. 2. *kānikradatas*.

G. m. 1. *jīgatas*, *dādatas*, *dādhatas*, *bāpsatas*. — 2. *jānghnatas*, *tāritratas*, *dādhatas*, *vēviṣatas*. — 3. *vāghātas*, *śāsatas*, *dhākṣatas* (aor.). — n. 1. *jāgatas*. — 2. *ā-vārurjatatas* (AV.), *vāvadatatas*. — L. n. *jāgatī*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *a-sāscātā*, *bāpsatā*, *bibhratā*; *tāritratā*; *śāsatā*; *dādhatā*, *bibhratā*. — f. *a-sāscātā*. — G. m. *pīpratōs*.

Pl. N. m. 1. *jūhvatas*, *tīratas*, *dādatas*, *dādhatas*, *pīpratōs*, *bāpsatas*, *bibhratas*, *śīsratas*<sup>4</sup>. — 2. *kānikratas*, *jāgratas*, *jūhvatōs*, *dāvidhvatōs*, *dādhyatas*, *dādhatas*, *nōnuvatōs*, *mārmrjatas*, *śūsucatas*. — 3. *dāsatas*, *vāghātas*. — f. *a-sāscātās*, *vahātās*, *sravatās*.

A. m. 1. *jāḁṣatas* (√*ghas*-). — 2. *jāgratas* (AV.), *dādhatas* (AV.), *śāsvasatas*, *śūsucatas* (AV.). — f. *sāscātās*; *sravatās*.

I. m. 2. *nānadadbhis*, *pīpruthadbhis*, *vāvadadbhis*, *śāsvasadbhis*. — 3. *vāghadbhis*. — G. m. *jāgatām*, *bibhyatām* (AV.); *vāghātām*. — f. *sravatām*.

V. m. *jagatas*, *vāghatas*.

313. Participles in *-ant* are formed from all present stems (except those of the reduplicating class and of intensives and the few others that follow their analogy), from all future stems, and from aorist stems. Their analogy is followed by *rhānt*- 'weak', *pīśant*- 'spotted', *brhānt*- 'great', *rīśant*- 'brilliant', which have lost their participial function; also by *dānt*-<sup>5</sup> m. 'tooth'. The adjective *mahānt*- 'great', having lost its original participial meaning deviates from the participial declension in lengthening the vowel of the suffix in the strong forms. In the inflexion of this group the distinction between

<sup>1</sup> The f. of the regular participles is formed by the suffix *-ī*.

<sup>2</sup> But *ā-sāscant-ī* from *sāscāt*.

<sup>3</sup> See below, Verb, 461.

<sup>4</sup> There occurs once an anomalous N. pl. with *-ant* from a reduplicated stem: *vāvṛdh-āntas*. See below, Perfect, 492, note on *vāvṛdhvāṇs*.

<sup>5</sup> This word is probably an old pres. participle of *ad*- 'eat', with prehistoric loss of the initial *a* like *s-ant*- 'being' from *as*- 'be' (25, 1). The RV. has one transfer form, N. *dāntas* (starting from the A. *dānt-am*); the AV. has others, *dāntās* and *dāntais*.



strong and weak forms is regularly made, *-ant* appearing in the former only and being reduced to *-at* in the latter, which shift the accent, if resting on the suffix, to the ending. These participles are declined in the m. and n. only, as they form a special f. stem in *-r̥¹*. The m. and n. forms are the same, except of course in the N. A.; the former are very frequent, the latter rare.

### Inflexion.

314. The forms occurring, if made from *bhāvat-* 'being', would be as follows:

Sing. N. m. *bhāvan*². — n. *bhāvat*. — A. m. *bhāvantaṃ*. — I. m. n. *bhāvataḥ*. — D. *bhāvate*. — Ab. m. n. *bhāvatas*. — G. m. n. *bhāvatas*. — L. *bhāvati*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *bhāvantaḥ* and *bhāvantau*. — n. *bhāvati*. — D. *bhāvadbhyām*. — G. m. n. *bhāvatas*.

Pl. N. m. *bhāvantas*. — n. *bhāvanti*. — A. m. *bhāvatas*. — I. *bhāvadbhis*. — D. m. *bhāvadbhyas*. — Ab. m. *bhāvadbhyas*. — G. m. n. *bhāvataṃ*. — L. m. n. *bhāvatsu*.

Forms actually occurring are the following. It is unnecessary to enumerate all the m. N. and A. forms, as in the RV. alone 228 forms of the N. sing., 121 of the A. sing., and 166 of the N. pl.³ occur.

Sing. N. m. Examples are: *ārcan*, *sīdan*; *ghnān*, *yān*, *sān*; *pāśyan*; *icchān*, *kr̥vān*, *sunvān*; *bhañjān*; *jānān*; *jādyān*; *yīyutsān*; *karisyān*. Also *dān*, 'tooth'⁴; *mahān*⁵. — n. *anāt*, *āsataḥ*, *iṣṇāt*, *ējat*, *ēsat*⁷, *kulāyāyat*, *cārat*, *citāyat*, *trpāt*, *dhr̥ṣāt*, *pātāt*, *patāyat*, *mināt*, *yāt*, *raghuyāt*, *vārdhat*, *sāṃsat*, *śikṣat*, *svāyat*, *sāt*, *sunvāt*; adj. *br̥hāt*, *mahāt*, *rūṣat*; aor. *sāksat* (*√sah-*); fut. *bhaviṣyāt* (AV.). As adv. with shift of accent: *dravāt* 'swiftly' (*dru-* 'run'), *drahyāt* 'firmly' (irregular formation from *dr̥h-* 'be firm').

A. m. Examples are: *cārantam*; *yāntam*, *usāntam*, *sāntam*; *yudhyantam*; *vidhāntam*; *kr̥vāntam*; *pr̥ñcāntam*; *gr̥ṇāntam*; *dītsantam*; *dāntam*; *br̥hāntam*, *mahāntam*.

I. m. *ā-ghnatā*, *dvatā*, *ā-sunvatā*, *cāratā*, *jānatā*, *tujatā*, *pūṣyatā*, *bhindatā*, *vanuṣyatā*; *datā*, *śyāvā-datā* (AV.) 'dark-toothed', *br̥hatā*, *mahatā*, *rūṣatā*. — n. *ā-dr̥pyatā*, *ā-sredhatā*, *ā-hedatā*, *āsataḥ*⁸, *usatā*, *gavyatā*, *tvāyatā*, *dhr̥ṣatā* (adv.), *śucatā*, *śravasyatā*, *samaryatā*, *sumnāyatā*; *br̥hatā*, *mahatā*, *rūṣatā*.

D. m. 1. from stems accented on the suffix: *avasyatē*, *asvāyatē*, *iṣayatē*, *iṣudhyatē*, *iṣūyatē*, *usatē*, *r̥jūyatē*, *r̥tāyatē*, *kr̥vatē*, *gavyatē*, *gr̥natē*, *juratē*, *jānatē*, *tvāyatē*, *devayatē*, *divṣatē*, *dhiyāyatē*, *dhūnvatē*, *pr̥natē*, *pr̥chatē*, *brahmanyatē*, *mahayatē*, *mānavasyatē*, *yajñāyatē*, *yatē*, *vanvatē*, *vidhatē*, *śr̥ṇvatē*, *śravasyatē*, *sakhiyatē*, *sātē*, *siñcatē*, *sunvatē*, *stuvatē*; *r̥hatē*, *br̥hatē*, *mahatē*; fut. *aviṣyati*. — n. *śucatē*, *sanāyatē*.

2. from stems accented on the radical or the penultimate syllable: *ā-ghnate*, *ā-codāte*⁹, *ā-minate*, *ārcate*, *ār̥hate*, *īyakṣate*, *cārate*, *cl̥tate*, *tārate*,

¹ On the difference in the form of this f. stem see 201, 377, 455, 461, etc.

² On the Sandhi of such nominatives see LANMAN 506.

³ Lists of the participle stems will be found below under each of the conjugational classes, under the secondary conjugations, and under the future.

⁴ Occurring also in similar compounds *a-dān* 'toothless', etc.; *ubhayā-dam* (AV. V. 19²) must be emended to *-dann*.

⁵ *mahān* in II. 24¹¹, IV. 23¹, IX. 1097 is

regarded by BENFEY as N. sing. m. (Göttinger Nachrichten 1878, p. 190).

⁶ For *ā-sat* (VII. 104¹²); the Pada reads *āsata*.

⁷ The Pada reads *ā-īsat* (X. 89¹⁴).

⁸ Once (IV. 5¹⁴) with lengthened initial for *ā-sat-ā* 'not being', also once *āsatas* (VII. 104⁸); the Pp. has *āsataḥ* and *āsataḥ*. See GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch, under *ā-sat*.

⁹ Wrong accentuation (in v. 44²) for *ā-codate*; see LANMAN 508 (top).

*tīṣyate, dāsate, pācate, pīpīṣate, pīṣyate, yājate, yīdhyaṭe, rājate, riṣate, vādāte, śīṃsate, śārdhate, śiṣāsate, hāryate; a-dāte*<sup>1</sup> 'toothless'.

**Ab. i. m.** *kṛpātās, pṛṇātās, vanuṣyātās; bṛhātās.* — **n.** *bṛhātās, mahātās.* — **2. m.** *ā-bhuñjatas, ā-vadatas, jighāṃsatas, riṣatas.* — **n.** *ā-satas.*

**G. m. i.** *arātīyatās, undatās, uṣatās, rghāyatās, ṛtīyatās, kṛṇvatās, kṣīyatās, gṛṇatās, tujatās, turatās, turanyatās, tvāyatās, durhaṇīyatās, dviṣatās, dhṛṣatās, pītīyatās, pṛṇatās, brahmanyatās, minatās, miṣatās, yatās, rudhatās, vapuṣyatās, vidhatās, śucatās, satās, saparyatās, sunvatās, stuvatās, huvatās; bṛhātās, mahātās; fut. karīṣyatās.*

**2.** *ā-ghnatas, ā-jāryatas, ā-bhuñjatas, ārcatas, ā-sunvatas, inakṣatas, cārcatas, cēhātas, jāyatas, jārātas, jighāṃsatas, jīgyāsatas, jīvatas, tīrvatas, tīṣyatas, didāsatas, drāvatas, dhāmatas, dhṛdījatas, pīyatas, bhīṣatas, yīdhyaṭas, rīrīkṣatas, rībhatas, vāyatas, vārdhātas, vēnatas, śārdhātas, śūcatas, śiṣāsatas, śīdātas, hāṛṣatas; rīṣatas.*

**n. i.** *kṛpayātās, pṛṇatās*<sup>2</sup>, *miṣatās, yātās, satās; bṛhātās, mahātās.* — **2.** *āsatas*<sup>3</sup>, *cārcatas, bhāvatas, vēnatas, śiṣāsatas; rīṣatas.*

**L. m. i.** *yati, sunvati; mahati.* — **2.** *trīyati, ubhayā-dati (AV.).* — **n. i.** *mahati.* — **2.** *ā-sati.*

**Du. N. A. V. a)** forms in *-ā*. **i.** accented on the suffix: *āśnāntā, irajāyāntā, uśāntā, gṃāntā*<sup>4</sup>, *gāryāntā, dasasyāntā, diśāntā, duhāntā, pāntā, pundāntā, pṛñcāntā, bhujāntā, mīdāntā, miśāntā, yāntā, yāntā, vanvāntā, vasnāyāntā, vājāyāntā, tyāntā, vṛdhāntā, śṇvāntā, sāntā, saparyāntā, sumnāyāntā; bṛhāntā, bṛhantā (V.), mahāntā.* — **2.** accented on the penultimate or antepenultimate: *ā-mardhantā, ā-yatāntā, ārhantā, iśyāntā, kṣyāntā, cārantā, codāyāntā, janāyāntā, jārāntā, drāvāntā, dhāmāntā, pārāyāntā, pīpāntā, mādāntā, vādāntā, vādāntā, vāpāntā, vāhantā, vājāyāntā, vēnāntā, sādāntā, sāpāntā, sāhantā, sādāntā, hāyāntā.*

**b)** forms in *-au*. **i.** *āśnāntau, tirāntau, yāntau, vṛdhāntau, sāntau; mahāntau.* — **2.** *iśyāntau, kṛdāntau, kṣyāntau, mādāntau (AV.), yājāntau, rājāntau.*

**N. A. n.** *yati; bṛhati.* — **D. m.** *mṛdayādbhyām; mahādbhyām.* — **G. m.** *jārātas.* — **n.** *saṃ-yatās (AV.)* 'going together'.

**Pl. N. m.** From the very numerous forms occurring the following may be quoted: *mādanātas; ghnāntas, yāntas, sāntas; pāśyāntas; icchāntas; bhīdāntas; kṛṇvāntas; gṛṇāntas; devayāntas, vājāyāntas; dīpsāntas*<sup>5</sup>; **aor.** *krāntas*<sup>6</sup>, *bhīdāntas*<sup>7</sup>; *pīṣatas (VS. XXIV. 11), mahāntas*<sup>8</sup>. — **V.** *uśāntas; mahāntas.* — **N. A. n.** *sānti*<sup>9</sup>; *bṛhānti (AV. VIII. 9<sup>3</sup>), mahānti.*

**A. m. i.** *uṣatās, rghāyatās, gṛṇatās, taruṣyatās, tvāyatās, pṛṇatās, pṛṇanyatās, bhandanīyatās, manīyatās, yatās, rudatās, vanuṣyatās, vājāyatās, vidhatās, śṇvātās, śṛavasyatās, śrudhīyatās, sakhīyatās, satās, sasatās, stuvatās; bṛhātās, mahātās; datās.*

**2.** *ā-pṛṇatas, ā-prayucchatas, ārcatas, kṣyāyatas, dhāvatas, dhṛdījatas, pātatas, rāyatas, riṣatas, rūruṣṣatas (Vruh-), vīdātas, vṛdhātas, śārdhātas, śiṣṛṣṣatas; śyāvā-datas (AV.).*

<sup>1</sup> On the accent see 90 B c. The dative of *ad-ānt-* 'eating', would be *ad-at-ē*.

<sup>2</sup> That is, *pra-anatās*.

<sup>3</sup> For *āsatas* according to the Pada text.  
<sup>4</sup> Aor. participle of *gam-* 'go'. In one passage (I. 122<sup>11</sup>) the Pada reads *gṃāntā*; the sense seems to require the pl. *gṃāntas*. See LANMAN 509.

<sup>5</sup> Desiderative of *dabh-* 'injure'; cp. LANMAN 508 (gen. masc.).

<sup>6</sup> *gṃāntas* should perhaps be read for *gṃāntā* in I. 122<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> On the anomalous N. pl. perf. participle, *vavṛdhāntas*, see above p. 190, note 4.

<sup>8</sup> *ubhayā-datas* in x. 90<sup>10</sup> is perhaps a metrical shortening for *-dantas*; cp. LANMAN 509 (bottom). The AV. has the transfer form *dāntās*; cp. p. 190, note 5.

<sup>9</sup> The Pada text reads *sānti*; see RPr. IX. 25.

**I. m.** *á-nimiṣadbhis, á-prayucchadbhis, á-sredhadbhis, uśádbhis, citṭyadbhis, tujáyadbhis, devayádbhis, dhārvadbhis, patáyadbhis, r̥bhadbhis, vādadbhis, vājáyadbhis, vr̥jadbhis, śucádbhis, śucáyadbhis, śubháyadbhis, śúcadbhis; bṛhádadbhis, mahádadbhis, r̥śadbhis; dadbhis*<sup>1</sup>. — **n.** *śucáyadbhis, standáyadbhis; bṛhádadbhis, mahádadbhis, r̥śadbhis.*

**D. m.** *uśádbhyas, kṣudhýadbhyas, gr̥ṇádbhyas, tvāyádbhyas, páśyadbhyas, prāyádbhyas, vādadbhyas, váhadbhyas, sunvádabhyas; bṛhádabhyas, mahádabhyas; dadbhyas* (AV.). — **Ab. m.** *parā-yádbhyas.*

**G. m. 1.** *adhvaríyatām, uśatām, r̥jūyatām, gr̥ṇatām, ghnatām, juratām, devayatām, dviśatām, yatām, yātām, vanuśyatām, vājayatām, śatrūyatām, śṛṇvatām, śravasyatām, sahhīyatām, satām, sasatām, sunvatām, stuvatām, sthātām*<sup>2</sup>, *bṛhatām, mahatām; datām* (AV.). — **2.** *á-sunvatām, árvatām, jáyatām, n̥tyatām, pátatām, vlvāsātām, śárdhatām.* — **n.** *rathirāyātām*<sup>3</sup>.

**L. m.** *gr̥ṇátsu, devayátsu, patáyatsu, mahátsu.* — **n.** *jāryatsu.*

### Stems in *-mant* and *-vant*.

315. As these two suffixes have the same sense, that of 'possessing', and are inflected exactly alike, the stems formed with them are best treated together in declension. These stems are used in the m. and n. only<sup>4</sup>, as they form a separate f. by adding *-ī* to the weak stem. They are inflected like the participles in *-ant* except that they lengthen the vowel of the suffix in the N. sing. m. and never shift the accent from the suffix to the ending in the weak cases. Strong and weak forms are as strictly distinguished as in the *-ant* stems<sup>5</sup>. The regular vocative of these stems ends in *-mas* and *-vas* in the RV., but the AV. has neither<sup>6</sup> in any independent passage, and the VS. has only *bhagavas* and *patnīvas*. The RV. has also three vocatives in *-van*, and the AV. adds five others; but no voc. in *-man* occurs.

Three stems in *-vant* and one in *-mant* have case-forms supplementing the inflexion of stems in *-an* and forming transitions from the latter declension to the former. Thus from *maghávant* 'bountiful' alone are formed the pl. I.: *maghávadbhis*, D. *maghávadbhyas*, L. *maghávatsu*; also the N. sing. *maghávān* beside the usual *maghávā* from *maghāvan*-; from *sāhāvānt* the N. *sāhāvān* beside *sāhāvā*; from *yúvant* 'young', the A. n. *yúvat* beside the N. m. *yúvā*; from *varimānt* the I. m. sing. *varimātā* beside forms from *varimān* 'width'.

### Inflexion.

316. Sing. N. m. 1. from stems in *-vant*: *akṣaṇvān*<sup>8</sup>, *agnivān*, *āṅgirasvān*, *ānnavān*, *á-pavitravān*, *ānavān*, *ārvān*, *āśīrvān*, *lāḍvān*, *iśāvān*, *īghāvān*, *etāvān*, *kakṣīvān*, *kṣapāvān* and *kṣápāvān*, *gh̥r̥ṇvān*, *jānīvān*, *tāpasvān*, *taryāvān*, *tāvasvān*, *tāvīṣvān*, *tāvān*, *tuvirāvān*<sup>9</sup>, *tvāvān*, *damśánāvān*, *ā́kṣiṇā-*

<sup>1</sup> The AV. (XI. 337) has the transfer form *dāntais*.

<sup>2</sup> From the aor. stem *sthāt* 'standing'.

<sup>3</sup> With irregular accent on the suffix instead of the ending, from *rathirā-yāt*.

<sup>4</sup> In two or three instances the m. form seems to be used for the f., as *haviṣmatā* (I. 128<sup>2</sup>) and *vāthavate* (I. 122<sup>11</sup>); see LANMAN 515 (bottom).

<sup>5</sup> There seem, however, to be two or three instances of a weak form used instead of a strong: *kṣumāti* (IV. 21<sup>8</sup>), A. pl. n.,

*krátumatā* (X. 59<sup>1</sup>), N. du. m., *indrāvatas* (IV. 27<sup>1</sup>), N. pl.; see LANMAN 516.

<sup>6</sup> In AV. XIX. 34<sup>8</sup> the Mss. read *bhagavas* which is emended to *samābhavas* in the printed text.

<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, *ārvant* 'steed', has two forms representing a transition to the *-an* declension: N. *ārvā*, A. *ārvānam*.

<sup>8</sup> On the Sandhi of these forms, see LANMAN 517.

<sup>9</sup> Probably for *\*tuvi-ráva-vān*.

*vān*<sup>1</sup>, *dātṛavān*, *dānavān*, *dāsuvān*, *durhāṇāvān*, *devāvān*, *devātvān*, *dyumnāvān*, *nāmasvān*, *niyūtvān*, *nīlavān*, *pāyasvān*, *pavitṛavān*, *pāvitrāvān*, *pastyāvān*, *pūramdhivān*, *pūṣavān*, *prajāvān*, *prāyasvān*, *pravātvān*, *prahāvān*, *bhāgavān*, *maghāvān*, *matāvān*, *matsarāvān*, *mānasvān*, *maritvān*, *māhasvān*, *māyāvān*, *māhināvān*, *mehināvān*, *yāśasvān*, *yātumāvān*, *rābhasvān*, *rāsavān*, *revān*, *vājāvān*, *vājīnāvān*, *vivāsvān*, *vivāsvān*, *vṛṣavān*, *vṛṣṇāvān*, *śāctvān*, *śarādāvān*, *śāsuvān*, *śīpravān*, *śīprītvān*, *śīmtvān*, *sākhivān*, *sabhāvān*, *sārasvān*, *sāhasvān*, *sahāvān* and *sāhāvān*, *sutāvān*, *sūnṛtāvān*, *stavān*<sup>2</sup>, *svadhāvān*, *svādhitvān*, *svārāvān*, *hāritvān*, *hitāvān*, *hemyāvān*.

2. From stems in -mant: *abdimān*, *dvimān*, *aśānimān*, *iṣumān*, *udanimān*, *r̥bhumān*, *kakūdmān*, *krātumān*, *garūtmān*, *gōmān*, *tvīṣmān*, *tvāṣṭrmān*, *tvīṣmān*, *dyumān*, *dhṛājīmān*, *nadanumān*, *paraśumān*, *paśumān*, *pitumān*, *barhiṣmān*, *mādhumān*, *vāsumān*, *virūkmān*, *vṛṣṭimān*, *śārumān*, *śociṣmān*, *suṣumān*, *haviṣmān*, *hīrīmān*.

N. A. n. 1. *apāsthāvat*, *āmavat*, *arcivāt*, *āsvavat*, *āsvāvat*, *ātmanvāt*, *āvṛtvāt*, *īrāvāt*, *fghāvat*, *etāvāt*, *kṣātāvāt*, *gopāvāt*, *grābhanavat*, *ghṛtāvāt*, *candrāvāt*, *tāvāt*, *tokāvāt*, *tvāvāt*, *dākṣiṇāvāt*, *dyumnāvāt*, *dhānāvāt*, *dhvasmanvāt*, *nāmasvāt*, *nīlavāt*, *nṛvāt*, *padvāt*, *pāyasvāt*, *pastyāvāt*, *pṛṣadvāt*, *prajāvāt*, *barhāṇāvāt*, *yāvāt*, *yīvāt*<sup>3</sup>, *rāthavāt*, *rāsavāt*, *revāt*, *vayīnavāt*, *vayīnāvāt*, *vājāvāt*, *viptkvāt*, *vivāsvāt*, *viṣvāt*, *vīrāvāt*, *śatāvāt*, *śaphāvāt*, *śāsuvāt*<sup>4</sup>, *sahāsvavāt*, *sāhasvāt*, *sīnavāt*, *svārāvāt*, *hiraṇyavāt*.

2. *abhiṣimāt*, *r̥bhumāt*, *ketumāt*, *krātumat*, *kṣumāt*, *gōmat*, *jyōtiṣmat*, *tvīṣmat*, *dasmāt*, *dānumat*, *dyumāt*, *nīdhimāt*, *paśumat*, *pitumāt*, *puṣṭimāt*, *mādhumat*, *manyumat*, *yāvamat*, *rayimāt*, *vāsumat*, *svastimāt*.

A. m. 1. *apīdhānavantam*, *apūpāvāntam*, *ārvāntam*, *āsvāvantam*, *asthanvāntam*, *ātmanvāntam*, *indrāsvāntam*<sup>5</sup>, *ūrjāsvāntam*, *ūrjāvāntam*, *etāvāntam*, *ēnasvāntam*, *ōjasvāntam*, *ōmanvāntam*, *omyāvāntam*, *kakṣāvāntam*, *ghṛtāvāntam*, *dāsāvāntam*, *devāvāntam*, *dhānāvāntam*, *dhīvāntam*, *nṛvāntam*, *padvāntam*, *pārasvāntam*, *prajāvāntam*, *bhāsvāntam*, *maritvāntam*, *māhiṣvāntam*, *rātnavāntam*, *revāntam*, *vapāvāntam*, *vayāvāntam*, *vājāvāntam*, *vārāvāntam*, *vīvasvāntam*, *vīrāvāntam*, *vṛṣānvāntam*, *śatāvāntam*, *śāsāvāntam*, *sacanāvāntam*, *sārasvāntam*, *hāritvāntam*, *hāstāvāntam*, *hiraṇyāvāntam*.

2. *r̥bhumāntam*, *kāṇvamāntam*, *ketumāntam*, *kṣumāntam*, *gōmāntam*, *jyōtiṣmāntam*, *tvīṣmāntam*, *dyumāntam*, *nīdhimāntam*, *pitumāntam*, *bāndhumāntam*, *bhānumāntam*, *mādhumāntam*, *vāsumāntam*, *vāṣṭmāntam*, *vṛṣṭimāntam*, *śruṣṭimāntam*, *haviṣmāntam*, *hōṭṛmāntam*.

I. 1. m. *ārvatā*, *āsvāvatā*, *udanvātā*, *fkvatā*, *kakṣivatā*, *niyūtvatā*, *nṛvātā*, *maritvatā*, *yāśasvatā*, *revātā*, *viśvādevyāvātā*, *viṣvātā*, *subhrāvātā*, *sāhasvatā*. — n. *etāvātā*, *candrāvātā*, *prajāvātā*, *barhāṇāvātā*, *vivāsvātā*, *sūnṛtāvātā*, *hāritvatā*, *śāsvatā*.

2. m. *gōmatā*, *jyōtiṣmatā*, *divltmatā*, *dyumātā*, *bhrṣṭimātā*, *varimātā*<sup>6</sup>, *vāsumatā*, *virūkmātā*, *haviṣmatā*. — n. *divltmatā*, *virūkmātā*, *haviṣmatā*; as adv. *śāsvatā*<sup>7</sup>.

D. i. m. *ārvate*, *āsvāvate*, *kakṣivate*, *dākṣiṇāvate* 'adroit' and 'bestowing gifts', *datvāte*, *dāsvate*, *niyūtvate*<sup>8</sup>, *pūṣavāte*, *maritvate*, *māvate*, *yuvāvate*, *rāthavate*<sup>9</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Representing two words: 1. 'dexterous' (*dākṣiṇa* 'right hand'); 2. 'possessing sacrificial gifts' (*dākṣiṇā*).

<sup>2</sup> To be read *sīvān* 'thundering', from *Ystan*; see GRASSMANN, s. v.

<sup>3</sup> Transfer form from the -an stem *yuvān*.

<sup>4</sup> Also the *Āmreḍita* compound *śāsvacchāvāt*.

<sup>5</sup> With the N. -s anomalously retained.

<sup>6</sup> Transfer form from the -an stem *varimān*.

<sup>7</sup> See LANMAN 518 (bottom).

<sup>8</sup> Erroneously unaccented (I. 135<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>9</sup> The f. *rāthavatyai* should perhaps be read for *rāthavate* in I. 122<sup>1</sup>, as the latter form agrees with a f. substantive, and the former is favoured by the metre; cp. LANMAN 519.

*vivāsvate* and *vīvasvate*, *śācīvate*, *śāsīvate*, *sāhasvate*, *sūnyātvate*, *svārvate*, *hārvate*. — n. *padvāte*, *revāte*, *sāsvate*.

2. m. *gōmate*, *cākṣuṣmate*, *tvīṣimate*, *divītmate*, *dyumāte*, *barhiṣmate*, *haviṣmate*.

Ab. i. m. *tvāvatas*, *vivāsvatas*, *vṣṣnyāvatas*.

G. i. m. *drvatas*, *āsvāvatas*, *kakṣivatas*, *jāvatas*, *tvāvatas*, *dadhanvātas*<sup>1</sup>, *dāsvatas*, *devdvātas*, *dhīvatas*<sup>2</sup>, *niyūtvatas*, *nrvātas*, *prajāvatas*, *marūtivas*, *māvatas*, *mehānvātas*, *yāsasvatas*, *revātas*, *vāyasvatas*, *vājāvatas*, *vivāsvatas* and *vīvasvatas*, *vīrvātas*, *śācīvatas*, *śāsīvatas*, *sārasvatas*, *sāhasvatas*, *sūtīrvatas*, *sūrāvatas*, *svadhāvatas*, *hīṣivatas*. — n. *etvātas*, *yāvatas*, *viṣtvātas*, *śāsvatas*.

2. m. *kṣumātas*, *gōmatas*, *dyumātas*, *haviṣmatas*. — n. *gōmatas*.

L. i. m. *ārvati*, *dāksināvati* 'bestowing gifts', *nrvāti*, *pastyāvati*, *yāsasvati*, *vānanvati*, *vivāsvati* and *vīvasvati*, *śaryāāvati*. — n. *āsvāvati*, *śīmivati*, *svārvati*. — 2. m. *gōmati*.

V. m. i. The normal form in *-vas*<sup>3</sup> occurs in sixteen examples: *ṛṣṭvas*, *gnāvas*<sup>4</sup>, *taviṣṭvas*, *niyutvas*, *patnīvas* (VS.), *bhagavas* (VS. TS.), *marutvas*, *rayivas*, *vajrivās*, *ūtravas*, *śaktīvas*, *śactvas*, *sarasvas*, *sahasvas*, *svadhīvas*, *harivas*. — Of the later V. ending in *-van*, the RV. has three examples: *arvan*, *śatāvan*<sup>5</sup>, *śavasāvan*. In the AV. the following five additional forms occur: *marutvan*<sup>6</sup>, *vājīnīvan*, *vṣṣnyāvan*, *svadhāvan*, *harivan*<sup>6</sup>. The MS. has *patnīvan*<sup>7</sup>. — 2. There are six examples of the form in *-mas*: *tuviṣmas*, *dyumas*, *bhānumas*, *mantumas*, *suciṣmas*, *haviṣmas*. — No vocative form in *-man* occurs.

Du. N. A. V. m. i. with *-ā*: *āṅgirasvantā*, *ānasvantā*, *ārvantā*, *īndravantā*, *kāśāvantā*, *kēśāvantā*, *dhārmavāntā*, *nāmasvantā*, *niyūtvāntā*, *pavitravāntā*, *marūtivāntā*, *mitrāvārūnavāntā*, *vājāvantā*, *viṣṇuvāntā*, *vyācasvantā*, *śāśvantā*<sup>8</sup>, *sāptivāntā*; with *-au*: *aṣhītvāntau*, *yāvāntau* (AV.), *rōmanvāntau*, *sāhasvāntau* (AV.), V. *svadhāvāntau* (AV.). — 2. *arcimāntā*, *ṛbhumāntā*, *krātumāntā*<sup>9</sup>, *vadhīmāntā*.

Ab. i. m. *aṣhītvādbhyām*. — G. i. m. *vājīnīvatos*, *śīmīvatos*, *sārasvatīvatos*.

Plur. N. V. m. i. *akṣarvāntas*, *ānasvāntas*, *āmavāntas*, *ārvāntas*, *āsvāvāntas*, *āśīrvāntas*, *īdārvāntas*, *īndravāntas*, *īndrāvāntas* (TS. IV. 7. 14<sup>10</sup>), *īrjasvāntas*, *ēnasvāntas*, *kakṣivāntas*, *kārṇavāntas*, *ghṛtāvāntas*, *caśālāvāntas*, *dāksināvāntas* 'bestowing gifts', *dāmanvāntas*, *dhīvasvāntas* (VS. XVI. 63), *drāviṇasvāntas*, *dhīrvāntas*, *nāmasvāntas*, *niyūtvāntas*, *nrvāntas*, *pātnīvāntas*, *padvāntas*, *pāyasvāntas* (VS. XXI. 42), *pavitravāntas*, *pājasvāntas*, *puṣṭāvāntas*, *pūsarvāntas*, *prajāvāntas*, *prāyasvāntas*, *pravātvāntas*, *bhāgavāntas*, *marūtīvāntas*, *māhasvāntas* (VS. XXI. 42), *yājñāvāntas*, *vacanāvāntas*, *vāyasvāntas* (VS. III. 18), *vārmanvāntas*, *vīrvāntas*, *vṛcīvāntas*, *śāktīvāntas*, *śāśvāntas*, *śīmīvāntas*, *sāptīvāntas*, *sūtīvāntas*, *sṛkāvāntas* (TS. IV. 5. 11<sup>2</sup>), *svadhāvāntas* (V.), *svārvāntas*, *himāvāntas*, *hīṣīvāntas*.

2. *āñjīmāntas*, *āyusmāntas* (TS.), *īsumāntas*, *ṛṣṭīmāntas*, *kṣumāntas*, *jyōtīsmāntas*, *tvāṣṭīmāntas* (VS. XXVII. 20), *tvīṣīmāntas*, *dyumāntas*, *mādhumāntas*,

<sup>1</sup> 'containing curds'; cp. LANMAN 513.

<sup>2</sup> Also the Amreḍita compound *dhīvato-dhīvatas*.

<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere ten vocatives in *-vas* and *-mas* occur: five from perfect participle stems in *-vāms*: *khiāvas*, *cikīvas*, *tivīvas*, *dīdivas*, *mūghvas*; four from stems ending in *-van*: *ṛvāvas*, *vayāvāvas*, *prātariivāvas*, *mātarivāvas*; and *pūmas* from *pīmāms*. There are also two in *-yas* from comparative stems in *-yāms*: *ojīyas* and *jyāyas*.

<sup>4</sup> In II. 15 *gnāvas* should probably be read *gnāvas* as a vocative.

<sup>5</sup> The Pada text reads *śata-van*; cp. RPR. IX. 10.

<sup>6</sup> These two forms occurring in passages taken from the RV. are substituted for *marutvas* and *harivas* of the RV.

<sup>7</sup> That is, *patnīvān*.

<sup>8</sup> The mysterious form *śātāpantā* (X. 106<sup>5</sup>) should perhaps be corrected to *śātāvantā* = *śata-vantā*?

<sup>9</sup> The weak form *krātumantā* seems to be used for *krātumantā* in X. 59<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> The weak form *īndrāvāntas* seems to be used for *īndrāvāntas* in IV. 27<sup>4</sup>.

*nādhīśmantas, yāvamantas, rayimantas, vadhūmantas, vāśmantas, śīśumantas, sthivimantas, harṣumantas, haviśmantas.*

N. A. n. 1. *ghṛtāvānti*. — 2. *paśumānti*. The Padapāṭha reads *-anti*<sup>1</sup> in these forms, and the lengthening of the vowel seems to be metrical<sup>2</sup>. — The weak form *kṣumāti* (used with *yūthā*) seems to be used for *kṣumānti* in IV. 2<sup>18</sup>.

A. m. 1. *ārvatas, indrāvatas, ṛtvīāvatas, kṛṣṇāvatas, jānīvatas, tāpasvatas, tṛṣyāvatas, tvāvatas, nṛvatas, pātnīvatas, párasvatas* (VS. XXIV. 28) 'wild asses', *paśyāvatas, pośyāvatas, prajāvatas, bhaṅgurāvatas, yāsasvatas, yātumāvatas, rābhasvatas, rayīvatas, revātas, vānanvatas, vṛcāvatas, śaryañāvatas, śāsavatas, śimīvatas, sutāvatas, sūnyāvatas, hiraṇyavatas, hēśasvatas*. — 2. *rtumātas* (VS. XIX. 61), *gōmatas, jyōtiśmatas, dyumātas*<sup>3</sup>, *prāṣṭimatas, mādhumatas, vadhūmatas, virīkmatas, sūnumātas, svastimātas*.

I. i. m. *ārvadbhis, dākṣiṇāvadbhis, pātnīvadbhis, maghāvadbhis*<sup>4</sup>, *rābhasvadbhis, revādbhis, vājavadbhis, śāsavadbhis, śimīvadbhis, sūtāsomavadbhis*. — n. *ghṛtīvadbhis*. — 2. m. *ṛṣṭimādbhis, kṛīḍumādbhis, gōmadbhis, barhiṣmadbhis, bhānumādbhis, vidyūnmadbhis, haviṣmadbhis*. — n. *mādhumadbhis*.

D. i. m. *dīvasvadbhyas* (VS. IX. 35), *bhāgavadbhyas* (AV.), *maghāvadbhyas*<sup>4</sup>, *mījavadbhyas* (AV.), *sōmavadbhyas* (AV.). — 2. m. *asimādbhyas* (VS. XVI. 21), *iśumadbhyas* (VS. XVI. 22), *māṭrmādbhyas* (AV.), *yātumādbhyas*. — n. *vibhumādbhyas*.

G. m. 1. *ārvatām, dākṣiṇāvātām, datvātām* (AV.), *bhaṅgurāvātām, yātumāvātām, śāsavatām, śimīvatām, sūtāvātām, himāvatām* (AV.). — 2. *gōmatām* (AV.).

L. m. 1. *āmavatsu, ārvatsu, maghāvatsu*<sup>4</sup>, *yusmāvatsu*. — 2. *dyumātsu*.

### Stems in radical -th.

317. There are only three stems in *-th*: *kāprth*<sup>5</sup> n. 'penis', *path*<sup>6</sup> m. 'path', with its compound *su-pāth* 'fair path', and *abhi-śnāth* adj. 'piercing'. Among them these three furnish examples of all the cases in the singular, but there are no dual forms, and in the plural only the A. and G. occur.

Sing. N. *kāpr̥t̥*; A. *kāpr̥t̥*<sup>7</sup>; I. *pathā*<sup>8</sup>, *supāthā*; D. *pathé* (VS.); Ab. *pathās, abhi-śnāthas*; G. *pathās*<sup>9</sup>; L. *pathī*. — Pl. A. *pathās*<sup>10</sup>; G. *pathām*<sup>11</sup>.

### Stems in radical -d.

318. About a hundred stems ending in *d* are made in the form of compounds (only seven being simple stems) from the twenty roots *ad* 'eat', *kṣad* 'divide', *chad* 'cover' and 'please', *pad* 'go', *mad* 'be exhilarated', *sad* 'sit', *syad* 'move on', *chid* 'cut off', *nid* 'revile', *bhid* 'cleave', *vid* 'know', *vid* 'find', *ud* 'wet', *nud* 'push', *mud* 'rejoice', *rud* 'weep', *sud* 'enjoy', *sūd*

<sup>1</sup> As also in the only N. pl. n. of the present part. in *-ant, sánti* (314). The SV. also has the short *ā*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. LANMAN 521.

<sup>3</sup> In VI. 17<sup>14</sup> the Padapāṭha reads *dyumāta ināra* as *dyumātāh*; GRASSMANN explains it as a D. *dyumāte* agreeing with *rāyē*. On the other hand *dyumāntā[h]* in AV. XVIII. 15<sup>7</sup> should probably be emended to *dyumātāh*; cp. WHITNEY's note, and LANMAN 521<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Forms transferred from the *-van* declension.

<sup>5</sup> The derivation of this word is uncertain: the *-th* is radical if the word is derived from *prath* 'extend' (see GRASSMANN, s. v.);

but it is suffixal if the word is connected with Lat. *caper* (cp. UHLENBECK, Etymologisches Wörterbuch, s. v.). With this possible exception there are no derivative stems in *-th*.

<sup>6</sup> This stem supplements *pānthā*- and *pathi*-.

<sup>7</sup> *kāpr̥thā-m* occurs once as a transfer form.

<sup>8</sup> Once (I. 1299) nasalized before a vowel *pathām a*.

<sup>9</sup> Once (II. 24) with the radical vowel lengthened, *pāthās*.

<sup>10</sup> Accented as a weak form.

<sup>11</sup> The transfer form *pathinām* also occurs in TS. IV. 2. 55.

'put in order'; *trā-* 'pierce', *mṛd-* 'crush'<sup>1</sup>. Of these roots only seven occur as monosyllabic substantives: *nīd-* 'contempt', *bhīd-* 'destroyer', *vid-* 'knowledge', *īd-* 'wave', *mīd-* 'joy', *mṛd-* 'clay', being f., and *pād-* 'foot', m. There is also the monosyllabic n. *hīd-* 'heart'<sup>2</sup>.

Strong and weak forms are not distinguished except in *pād-*; and the inflexion is the same in all genders except, of course, the N. A. n. du. and pl.

a. The following peculiarities or irregularities of this declension are to be noted. 1. The weak reduplicated present stem *dād-* of *dā-* 'give', is once treated as a root in the form *āyur-dād-am* (AV.) 'giving long life'. — 2. The vowel of *mād-* is lengthened in *sadha-mād-* 'drinking companion', and *soma-mād-* 'intoxicated with Soma', of both of which, however, only strong cases occur. The vowel of *pād-* is lengthened not only in the strong cases, but occasionally in others also: *devipāt*, N. sing. n., beside *devipāṭ*, D. *devipāde* 3, L. pl. *devipātsu*, while the N. pl. m. is once *devipādas* (AV.). — 3. The euphonic combination is irregular in the I. pl. of *pād-* which is *padbhīś*<sup>4</sup> beside the Ab. du. *pad-bhyām*. — 4. The stem *hīd-* is found in weak cases only<sup>5</sup>. Its place is taken in the N. A. sing. pl. by *hīd-aya-*, which is also used in other cases (*hīdayāt*, *hīdaye*, *hīdayeṣu*), though in the RV. almost entirely in late passages. — 5. There are a few transitions to the *a*-declension in the inflexion of these stems. Starting from the strong A. *pād-am* are formed the N. sing. *pāda-s* and the N. pl. *pādās*, both in late passages of the RV. 6. Similarly, starting from the A. *sadha-mād-am* are formed the locatives *sadha-māde* and *sadha-mādeṣu*. Beside *nūd-ās*, the ordinary Ab. of *nīd-*, the form *nīdāyās* occurs once.

### Inflection.

319. The inflexion of these stems is identical with that of the radical -t stems. The forms actually occurring, if made from *pād-* 'foot', and -*vid-* m. f. n. 'finding', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *pāt*, -*vit*. — A. *pādam*, -*vidam*. — n. -*vit*. — I. *padā*, -*vidā*. — D. *padē*, -*vide*. — Ab. *padās*, -*vidas*. — G. *padīs*, -*vidas*. — L. *padī*, -*vidī*. — V. (*sārva*)-*vit*.

Du. N. A. V. *pādā*, m. f. -*vidā*. — I. *padbhyām*. — Ab. *padbhyām*. — G. *padōs*. — L. *padōs*.

Pl. N. *pādas*, m. f. -*vidas*. — A. *padās*, m. f. -*vidas*. — I. *padbhīś* (AV.), -*vidbhīś*. — D. -*vidbhyas*. — G. *padām*, -*vidām*. — L. *padīs*, -*vidīs*.

a. The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. 1. with lengthened vowel: *pād-* with its compounds and *sadha-mād-*: *pāt* (AV.); *a-pāt*, *eka-pāt*, *eka-siti-pāt* (VS. xxix. 58) 'having one white foot', *cātus-pāt*, *tri-pāt*, *dvi-pāt* and *dvi-pāt* (AV.), *viśvatas-pāt*, *siti-pāt* (AV.), *sārva-pāt* (AV.), *sahāsra-pāt*; *sadha-māt* (rv. 21<sup>1</sup>) and the abnormal *sadha-mās*<sup>7</sup> (VII. 187).

2. with unchanged vowel, being compounds ending in various roots: from *ad-*: *agdhāt* (TS. III. 3, 8<sup>2</sup>), *karambhāt*, *kravyāt*, *viśvāt*, *haryāt*; from *chad-*: *prathama-ccāt*<sup>8</sup>; from *pad-*: *anu-pāt* (VS. xv. 8) 'coming to pass'; from *chid-*: *ukha-ccāt*; from *bhid-*: *adri-bhāt*, *ud-bhāt*, *gotra-bhāt*, *pūr-bhāt*; from *vid-*: *d-kṣetra-vit*, *aśva-vit*, *kratu-vit*, *kṣetra-vit*, *gātu-vit*, *go-vit*, *draviṇo-vit*,

<sup>1</sup> Compounds formed with -*vid* and -*sad* are the commonest.

<sup>2</sup> The strong form of this word, *hīd-*, appears in composition with *du-* and *su-*. Another word for 'heart', *trād-* (Lat. *cord-*) n. occurs only in the A. sing. with the verbs *kṛ-* and *dhā-*.

<sup>3</sup> The lengthening here is, however, metrical.

<sup>4</sup> Owing to the confusing influence of the I. pl. *padbhīś* from *pās-* 'look'.

<sup>5</sup> Its high grade form *-hīd* occurs in the N. sing. m.

<sup>6</sup> Probably also the A. sing. m. *pādā-ādam*; see LANCIAN 471<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> See above 55.

<sup>8</sup> 'appearing first', 'typical' (x. 81<sup>1</sup>); according to Śāyana from *chad-* 'cover' = 'covering first'.

*nabho-vīt, nātha-vīt (AV.), paśu-vīt (AV.), purāṇa-vīt (AV.), prajā-vīt (AV.), rayi-vīt, vaco-vīt, vāyunā-vīt, varivo-vīt, vasu-vīt, viśva-vīt, vīra-vīt (AV.), śrūta-vīt, sarva-vīt (AV.), svar-vīt, hiranya-vīt; from sad-: adma-sāt, antarikṣa-sāt, upastha-sāt, ṛta-sāt, turanya-sāt, dakṣiṇa-sāt (VS. XXXVIII. 10), durona-sāt, divanya-sāt, prāgharma-sāt, vara-sāt, vyoma-sāt, su-saṃ-sāt; camū-sāt, dru-sāt, nṛ-sāt, vedi-sāt, śuci-sāt. Also su-hārt<sup>1</sup> (AV. II. 7<sup>5</sup>) 'friendly'.*

f. 1. *a-pāt.* — 2. *ā-cchāt* (VS. XV. 5), *pra-cchāt* (VS. XV. 5) 'covering'; *sū-yavasāt* (-ad); *saṃ-vīt; saṃ-sāt, su-ā-sāt* (AV.)<sup>2</sup>.

N. A. n. 1. -*pad-* appears with both unaltered and lengthened vowel: *dvi-pāt, cātus-pāt* and *tri-pāt, dvi-pāt, cātus-pāt*.

2. *hīt* (TS. IV. 4. 7<sup>2</sup>); *prakala-vīt* 'knowing very little'; *raghu-syāt* 'moving quickly' (*√syad-*).

A. m. 1. *pādām; a-pādām, tri-pādām<sup>3</sup>, dvi-pādām* (VS. XIII. 47), *śiti-pādām* (AV.), *sahāsra-pādām; sadha-mādām; dur-hārdām* (AV.). — 2. from *ad-: kravyādām, viśvādām; from pad-: dvi-pādām* (VS. XXVIII. 32) a metre; from *chid-: pra-cchidām* (VS. XXX. 16) 'cutting to pieces'; from *bhid-: ud-bhidām, gotra-bhidām, pūr-bhidām; from vid-: ahar-vīdam, kṛatu-vīdam, kṣetra-vīdam, gātu-vīdam, go-vīdam, varivo-vīdam, vasu-vīdam, viśva-vīdam, saci-vīdam, svar-vīdam, hotrā-vīdam; from sad-: garta-sādam, su-saṃ-sādam; apsu-sādam, dru-sādam, dhūr-sādam, barhi-sādam<sup>4</sup>, vanar-sādam; from -syad-: raghu-syādam, havana-syādam. — f. 2. nidām<sup>5</sup>, mīdam* (VS. XI. 55; TS. IV. 1. 5<sup>2</sup>); *āyur-dādam* (AV.)<sup>6</sup>, *upa-sādam, go-vīdam* (AV.), *ni-vīdam, pari-pādām* 'snare', *pari-sādam* (AV.), *pitṛ-sādam, barhi-sādam<sup>4</sup>, vaco-vīdam, viśva-vīdam, saṃ-vīdam, saṃ-sādam, sa-mādam* 'battle' ('raging together').

I. m. *padā<sup>7</sup>; dpa-dus-padā, cātus-padā, dvi-pādā; kṣetra-vīdā, varivo-vīdā, svar-vīdā, su-sādā* (AV.). — f. *udā, mudā, vidā; upa-vīdā, ni-vīdā, ni-sādā, pra-mūdā* (VS. XXXIX. 9), *pra-vīdā, saṃ-sādā, svar-vīdā. — n. hṛdā; cātus-padā* (AV.), *dus-pādā, dvi-pādā*. With adverbial shift of accent: *sarva-hṛdā*.

D. m. *a-pāde, kuhacid-vīde, kravyāde, cātus-pade, tad-vīde* (AV.), *vedi-sāde, sadanā-sāde, sarva-vīde* (AV.), *svar-vīde. — f. nidē, mudē; pitṛ-sāde, pra-māde* (VS. XXX. 8), *pra-mīde* (VS. XXX. 10), *saṃ-pāde* (VS. XV. 8). — n. *hṛdē; cātus-pade, dvi-pāde<sup>8</sup>*.

Ab. m. *padās* (AV.); *dvi-pādas. — f. nidās<sup>9</sup>; uttānā-padas, saṃ-vīdas* (AV.). — n. *hṛdās; śāt-padas* (AV.).

G. m. *eka-padas* (AV.), *dur-hārdas* (AV.), *nṛ-sādas, yavādas* (-adas), *raghu-syādas* (AV.), *svar-vīdas. — f. pra-mīdas, saṃ-sādas* (AV.). — n. *hṛdās; cātus-padas, dvi-pādas*.

L. m. *padī; svar-vīdī. — f. ni-sādi, saṃ-sādi. — n. hṛdī<sup>10</sup>*.

V. m. *viśva-vīt, sārva-vīt* (AV.).

Du. N. A. V. m. 1. *pādā; pādau. — 2. V. ahar-vīdā, kavi-cchādā* 'delight-

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the preferable reading (*suhārti tēna*); the Pada has *su-hāh*. Otherwise the N. appears as *su-hār* in MS. IV. 2<sup>5</sup> (p. 26, l. 19) in *suhār nah*; see LANMAN's note in WHITNEY's AV. Translation on XIX. 45<sup>2</sup>, and Grammar 150 b.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps also *niśāt* in AV. XX. 132<sup>6</sup> 7, where the edition has *vanisād*.

<sup>3</sup> *pāñca-pāda-m* (I. 164<sup>12</sup>) is probably a transfer to the *a*-declension; see LANMAN 471<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> For *barhiṣ-sādam*; see above 62.

<sup>5</sup> In the *Āmreḍita* compound *nidam-nidam*.

<sup>6</sup> From a secondary root *dad-* formed from the present stem of *dā-* 'give'.

<sup>7</sup> BR. take *sādā* in AV. IV. 47 as I. of *sād-* 'position', but owing to the accent it must be taken as an adv. 'always', see WHITNEY's note on the passage.

<sup>8</sup> Beside *dvi-pāde* occurring eleven times, *dvi-pāde* occurs once (I. 121<sup>3</sup>), when the lengthening is metrical.

<sup>9</sup> The transfer form *nidāyās* occurs once.

<sup>10</sup> On the possibility of *hṛdī* representing an A. sing. n. in two or three passages, see LANMAN 473<sup>4</sup>.



ing in sages', *kratu-vidā*, *vasu-vidā*, *viśva-vidā*, *svar-vidā*<sup>1</sup>; *ātma-sādau*. — f. *ud-bhīdā*, *barhi-śāddā*<sup>2</sup>; *śrānta-sādau* (AV.).

I. m. *padbhyām* (AV.). — Ab. m. *padbhyām*. — G. m. *padīs* (AV.)<sup>3</sup>. — L. m. *padīs*. — f. *prā-pados* (AV.).

Pl. N. V. m. 1. a-*pādas*, *cātus-pādas*, *dvi-pādas*<sup>4</sup>, *śiti-pādas*<sup>5</sup>; *sadha-mādas*, *soma-mādas*; *su-hārdas* (AV.). — 2. *ūrjādas*, *puru-śādas*, *madhu-ādas*, *yavasādas*, *somādas*, *havir-ādas*; *ā-tīdas*<sup>6</sup>, V. *pra-tīdas*; *deva-nīdas*; *ud-bhīdas*; *abhīmōda-mīdas* (AV.), *svādū-sam-mudas* (AV.); *anna-vidas* (AV.), *ahar-vidas*, V. *gātu-vidas* (AV.), *nī-vidas* (AV.), *nī-vidas* (AV.), *nīthā-vidas*, *brahma-vidas* (AV.), *yajur-vidas* (AV.), *vaco-vidas*, *varivo-vidas*, *vasu-vidas*, *viśva-vidas* (AV.), *svar-vidas*, *hotrā-vidas*; *adma-sādas*, *antarikṣa-sādas* (AV.), *apsu-śādas* (TS. I. 4. 10<sup>7</sup>), *upa-sādas* (AV.), *paścāt-sādas* (VS. IX. 36), *purah-sādas*, *śarma-sādas*, *sabhā-sādas* (AV.), *svādu-sam-sādas*; *camū-śādas*, *divi-śādas* (AV.), *dhūr-śādas*, *barhi-śādas*, V. *barhi-śādas*, *vanar-śādas*, *vedi-śādas* (VS. II. 29); *raghu-śyādas*. — f. 1. *dur-hārdas* (AV.); *nīdas*, *mīdas*; *agha-rīdas* (AV.), *āmīdas* (-ādas), *upa-sādas* (AV.), *nīś-pādas*, *pra-mīdas*, *viśva-su-vidas*, *saṃ-sādas*, *suhutādas* (-ādas), *svar-vidas*.

A. m.<sup>7</sup> *padīs*; *dur-hārdas* (AV.), *su-hārdas* (AV.); *apsu-śādas* (AV.), *kravyādas*, *cātus-pādas* (AV.), *tvā-nīdas*, *deva-nīdas*, *dvi-pādas* (AV.), *pari-śādas*, *pastya-sādas*, *bāhu-śādas*, *sattra-sādas* (AV.). — f. *nīdās*, *bhīdas*; *nī-vidas*, *pra-mīdas*, *vasu-vidas*, *vi-nīdas*, *sa-mādas*, *sa-syādas*, *harva-sūdas*.

I. m. *padbhis* (AV. TS. VS.), *padbhis* in RV. and VS.<sup>8</sup>; *gharma-sādbhis*, *śatā-padbhis*. — n. *hrdbhis*.

D. m. *antarikṣa-sādbhyas* (AV.), *dakṣiṇā-sādbhyas* (VS. IX. 35), *divi-śādbhyas* (AV. TS.), *paścāt-sādbhyas* (VS. IX. 35), *prthivi-śādbhyas* (AV.).

G. m. *su-hārdām* (AV.); *adma-sādām*, *cātuspadām* (VS. TS. AV.), *dvi-pādām*, *barhi-sādām* (VS. XXIV. 18), *śvā-pādām* (AV.), *su-śādām* (AV.). — f. *upa-sādām* (VS. XIX. 14) a kind of ceremony, *pari-pādām*, *śrānta-sādām* (AV.), *sa-mādām*.

L. m. *patsū*. — f. *sa-mātsu*. — n. *hrtsū*.

### Stems in derivative -d.

320. There are some six stems formed with suffixal -d, seemingly all feminines<sup>9</sup>, which with one exception (*śarād-*) are of rare occurrence. They are *dr̥śād-* and *dh̥r̥śād-* (RV<sup>1</sup>) 'nether millstone', *bhasād-* 'hind quarters', with its compound *su-bhasād-* 'having beautiful buttocks', *vandād-*<sup>10</sup> (RV<sup>1</sup>) 'longing', *śarād-* 'autumn'; *kakīd-*<sup>11</sup> 'summit', with its compound *tri-kakīd-* (AV.) 'three-peaked', *kākīd-* 'palate'. The inflexion is like that of radical -t stems. The forms occurring are the following:

Sing. N. f. *kakīūt*, *kākīūt*, *dh̥r̥śāt*, *bhasāt*, *śarāt*. — m. *tri-kakīūt* (VS. AV.).

<sup>1</sup> In AV. XVIII. 2<sup>14</sup> occurs the ungrammatical form *pathi-śādī* an imitation of *pathi-rāksē* of RV. X. 14<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The form *rapsīdā*, occurring once, is of uncertain meaning and origin.

<sup>3</sup> This form is used with an ablative sense in AV. I. 18<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> AV. X. 2<sup>6</sup> has *dvi-pādas*.

<sup>5</sup> The transfer form *pādas* occurs once in the RV. (I. 163<sup>9</sup>).

<sup>6</sup> Used as ablative infinitive.

<sup>7</sup> There are no N. A. V. forms in the n. pl. Cp. LANMAN 474.

<sup>8</sup> Four times in RV. and once in VS.

(XXIII. 13) owing to confusion with *padbhis*, I. pl. of *pās-* 'look'.

<sup>9</sup> Except the adj. *tri-kakīd-* (AV.), *śiti-kakīd-* (TS.) 'white-humped' and possibly *vandād-*.

<sup>10</sup> This stem occurs only once (II. 4<sup>5</sup>) in the form *vanādas*, N. pl. m. 'Verlangen' (from *van-* 'desire') according to BR.; G. sing. m. of *van-dā-* 'wood-consuming' according to GRASSMANN.

<sup>11</sup> The origin of this -d is obscure. On the relation of this word to *kakībh-* see LANMAN 471<sup>4</sup>.

A. f. *kāḥdam*, *dr̥śdam*, *bhasdam* (AV.), *śaradam*. — m. *tri-kāḥdam* (AV.).  
 I. f. *dr̥śdā*, *śarādā* (TS. IV. 4. 12<sup>3</sup>). — D. f. *śarāde*. — Ab. f. *kāḥdas*.  
 — L. f. *kāḥdi* (AV.), *śarādi*. — Pl. N. f. *vanddas*, *śaraddas*. — A. f. *śaraddas*.  
 — I. f. *śarādbhis*. — G. f. *śarādām* (AV.). — L. f. *śarātsu* (AV.).

### Stems in radical -dh.

321. Stems ending in -dh are all radical, simple or compound. There are some fifty derived, with only two or three exceptions, from the following sixteen roots: *bādh-* 'oppress', *sādh-* 'succeed'; *idh-* 'kindle', *vidh-* 'pierce' (= *vyadh-*), *sidh-* 'succeed', *sridh-* 'blunder' (?); *kṣudh-* 'be hungry', *budh-* 'waken', *yudh-* 'fight', *rudh-* 'grow' and 'obstruct'; *ṛdh-* 'thrive', *mṛdh-* 'neglect', *vṛdh-* 'grow', *spṛdh-* 'contend'.

In this declension there occurs no stem distinguishing strong and weak cases. Masculines and feminines are inflected exactly alike. No distinctively neuter forms (N. A. du. pl.) occur, and only four case-forms (G. L. sing.) are found as neuters. There are two monosyllabic m. nouns: *vṛdh-* 'strengthening' and (perhaps) *bādh-*<sup>1</sup>; besides seven f. substantives: *nādh-*<sup>2</sup> 'bond'; *sr̥idh-* 'foe'; *kṣidh-* 'hunger', *yidh-* 'fight'; *mṛdh-* 'conflict', *vṛdh-* 'prosperity', *spṛdh-* 'battle'. Neuter cases occur in the sing. (I. G.) of compounds of -*vidh*, -*yudh*, and -*vṛdh*.

a. Three or four stems are of doubtful origin: *agnidh-* is probably to be explained as *agni-dh-* 'priest who prepares (*dhā-* 'put') the fire', rather than as a shortened form of *agnidh-* 'fire-kindler' (from *idh-* 'kindle') which does not occur in the RV.<sup>3</sup>; *iṣidh-* 'offering' (RV.) is perhaps a shortened form of *niṣ-ṣidh-* 'offering'<sup>4</sup>; *pr̥kṣidh-* (RV.) is obscure in meaning and origin; *śuridh-* f. 'invigorating draught' is perhaps derived from *śṛdh-* 'be defiant' with Svarabhakti<sup>5</sup>.

### Inflection.

322. Sing. N. m. *agnit*, *anu-rūt* (VS.) and *anū-rūt* 'loving'; *uṣar-bhūt* 'waking (*budh-*) at morn', *yavītyit*<sup>6</sup> 'eager to fight', *śvā-vīt* (AV. VS.) 'porcupine' ('dog-piercer', *√vidh-*), *saṁ-it* 'flaming'. — f. *kṣīt* (AV.); *pra-vīt* 'growth', *vī-rūt* 'plant' (AV.), *saṁ-it*<sup>7</sup> 'fuel'.

A. m. *vṛdham*, and its compounds: *annā-vṛdham* 'prospering by food', *āhuti-vṛdham* 'delighting in sacrifices', *girā-vṛdham* 'delighting in praise', *tugryā-vṛdham* 'favouring the Tugryas', *namo-vṛdham* 'honoured by adoration', *payo-vṛdham* 'full of sap', *parvatā-vṛdham* 'delighting in pressing stones', *madhu-vṛdham* 'abounding in sweetness', *yajña-vṛdham* (AV.) 'abounding in sacrifice', *vayo-vṛdham* 'increasing strength', *sadyo-vṛdham* 'rejoicing every day', *saho-vṛdham* 'increasing strength', *su-vṛdham* 'joyous'; *agnidham*, *anu-rūdham* (VS. xxx. 9), *a-sridham* 'not failing', *uṣar-bīdham*, *goṣu-yūdham*<sup>8</sup> 'fighting for kine', *marmā-vidham* (AV.) 'piercing the vitals', *yajña-sādhām* 'performing sacrifice', *hṛdaya-vidham* (AV.) 'wounding the heart'. — f. *kṣūdham*, *yūdham*, *srīdham*; *a-srīdham*, *uṣar-bīdham*, *niṣ-ṣidham*, *vīrūdham*, *saṁ-rūdham* (AV.) 'check' (in gambling)<sup>9</sup>, *saṁ-idham*.

I. m. *su-vṛdhā*. — f. *kṣudhā* (AV.), *yudhā*, *vṛdhā*; *saṁ-idhā*, *su-bīdhā* (AV.) 'good awakening', *su-vṛdhā* (AV.), *su-saṁ-idhā* 'good fuel'. — n. *payo-vṛdhā*, *yavītyūdha*, *sākaṁ-vṛdhā* 'growing together'.

<sup>1</sup> In *bādhās* A. pl. in VI. 11<sup>1</sup> (GRASSMANN); BR. do not acknowledge a m. use of *bādh-*, and in VIII. 45<sup>10</sup>, IX. 109<sup>6</sup> they would join the word with the preceding *pāri*.

<sup>2</sup> In *nādbhyas* (x. 60<sup>6</sup>) if derived from *nādh-* = *nāh-* 'bind' (BR. s. v. *nāh-*); but it is more probably = \**nābd-bhyas* from *nap-*, weak stem of *nāpāt-*, as also indicated by the accent.

<sup>3</sup> See above p. 18, note 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. *iṣ-kr̥ti-* for *niṣ-kr̥ti-*.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. above 21.

<sup>6</sup> From the intensive stem of *yudh-* 'fight'.

<sup>7</sup> In the *Āmṛṇḍita samit-samit*.

<sup>8</sup> With the L. pl. *goṣu* instead of the stem *go-*.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. VII. 50<sup>5</sup>.

D. m. *uṣar-bīdhē*, *ṛtā-vṛdhē* 'fostering truth', *puru-niṣṣidhē* 'repelling many (foes)', *mahi-vṛdhē* 'greatly rejoicing', *vi-mṛdhē* (VS. VIII. 44) 'dispeller of foes', *saṃ-fdhē* (AV.) 'welfare', *sa-vṛdhē* (VS. XVI. 30) 'growing'. — f. *kṣudhē*, *yudhē* (AV.)<sup>1</sup>, *vṛdhē*, *saṃ-ldhē*.

Ab. f. *kṣudhās*, *yudhās*, *sridhās*.

G. m. *goṣu-yūdhas*, *vi-mṛdhās*<sup>2</sup> 'foe', *sumatr-vṛdhas* (VS. XXII. 12) 'delighting in prayer'. — f. *kṣudhās*. — n. *hṛdayā-vīdhas*.

L. f. *mṛdhi*, *yudhi*, *spṛdhi*; *pra-būdhi* 'awaking'.

Du. N. A. V. m. *a-sridhā*, *ṛtā-vṛdhā*, V. *ṛtā-vṛdhā*, *namo-vṛdhā*, *puro-yīdhā* 'fighting in front'; *ṛtā-vṛdhau*. — f. *ṛdū-vṛdhā* 'increasing sweetness', *ghṛtā-vṛdhā* 'rejoicing in fatness', *payo-vṛdhā*, *vayo-vṛdhā*, *sākaṃ-vṛdhā*; *saṃ-ldhau* (AV.).

Pl. N. V. m. *ṛtā-vṛdhas*, V. *ṛtā-vṛdhas*, *tugryā-vṛdhas*, *payo-vṛdhas*, *parvatā-vṛdhas*, *vayo-vṛdhas*, *suge-vṛdhas* 'rejoicing in good progress', *su-vṛdhas*; *a-sridhas*, *āyur-yūdhas* (VS. XVI. 60) 'struggling for life', *uṣar-būdhas*, *goṣu-yūdhas*, *jñu-būdhas* 'bending the knees', *pra-yūdhas* 'assailing', *vṛṣā-yūdhas* 'combating men', *śurīdhas*, *soma-pari-būdhas* 'despising Soma'. — f. *kṣīdhas* (AV.), *mṛdhas*, *spṛdhas*, *sridhas* (VS. XXVII. 6) 'foes'; *amitrā-yūdhas* 'fighting with enemies', *a-sridhas*, *iṣīdhas*, *ṛtā-vṛdhas*, *niṣ-śīdhas*, *pari-būdhas* 'oppressors', *pari-spṛdhas* 'rivals', *vī-rīdhas*, V. *vī-rudhas*, *śurīdhas*, *saṃ-ldhas*.

A. m. *bādhas*; *ṛtā-vṛdhas*, *tamo-vṛdhas* 'rejoicing in darkness', *rayi-vṛdhas* 'enjoying wealth', *uṣar-būdhas*, *śurīdhas*. — f. *mṛdhas*, *yūdhas*, *spṛdhas*, *sridhas*<sup>3</sup>; *vī-rīdhas*, *śurīdhas*, *saṃ-ldhas*, *saṃ-fdhas*, *sa-vṛdhas* 'increasing together'<sup>4</sup>.

I. f. *saṃ-ldbhis*, *vī-rīdbhis* (AV.). — D. f. *nād-bhyas*<sup>5</sup>. — Ab. f. *vī-rīdbhyas* (AV.).

G. m. *vṛdhām*; *ṛtā-vṛdhām*, *pra-bīdhām* 'watchful'. — f. *yudhām*<sup>6</sup> (AV.), *spṛdhām*; *niṣ-śīdhām*, *vī-rīdhām*, *vī-rudhām*<sup>7</sup> (AV.).

L. f. *yūtsū*, *vī-rūtsu*.

### Stems in radical -n.

323. The radical stems ending in -n are formed from half a dozen roots: from *tan-* 'stretch', *ran-* 'rejoice', *van-* 'be pleasant', are formed monosyllabic substantives meaning 'succession', 'joy', 'wood', respectively; from *śvan-* 'sound' is formed the adj. *śvan-*<sup>8</sup> 'sounding' and the compound *tuvi-śvān-* 'roaring aloud'; from *śan-* 'gain', the compound *go-śān-* 'winning cows'. From these six nouns very few case-forms occur. But from *han-* 'strike' no fewer than 35 compounds are made in the RV., and all the singular cases as well as several of the du. and pl. cases are formed. All the stems formed from these six roots<sup>9</sup> are m. except *tān-*, which is f.<sup>10</sup>, and only a single n. case-form occurs from a compound of *han-* (*dasyu-ghnī*). The distinction between strong and weak forms is made in -han- only. Here in the weak cases *a* as

<sup>1</sup> The infinitive *yudhāye* is a transition to the *i*-declension, there being no stem *yudhi*.

<sup>2</sup> With irregular accent; cp. LANMAN 477 (top).

<sup>3</sup> Fifteen times accented *sridhas*, once (IX. 718) *sridhās*.

<sup>4</sup> In VIII. 454<sup>9</sup>, IX. 1056 *pari-būdhas* should perhaps be *nād* instead of *pāri bādhas*.

<sup>5</sup> If from *nāh-*, according to BR. (cp. *akṣā-nāhas* (A. p. f.); according to WEBER, IS. 13, 109, from *nap-*. It is probably from *nap-* = *nāpāt*. See above 321, note on *nādh-*.

<sup>6</sup> In the V. *yudhām pāte*.

<sup>7</sup> In the V. *vīrudhām pāte*.

<sup>8</sup> The accent of the monosyllabic stems is irregular in remaining on the radical syllable except *tanā* (beside *tānā*) and *vanām*: cp. LANMAN 479<sup>4</sup> and above 94, 1 a.

<sup>9</sup> Other roots in -n used as nominal stems have gone over to the *a*- or *ā*-declension; thus *jan-* becomes *-ja-* or *-jā-*.

<sup>10</sup> -han- forms a separate fem. stem in -ī from its weak form: *-ghn-ī-*.

representing the sonant nasal appears for *an* before consonants, while before vowels the root, by syncope of its vowel, assumes the form of *-ghn-*. The N. sing. n. of *-han* is *-ham*, a transition to the *a*-declension<sup>1</sup> (for *-ha*, which does not occur).

### Inflexion.

324. All forms are represented in this declension except Ab. sing., the weak cases of the du., and the D. Ab. pl. The forms made from *-han-* are: Sing. N. *-hā*<sup>2</sup>, A. *-hānam*, I. *-ghnā*, D. *-ghné*, G. *-ghnās*, L. *-ghnī*, V. *-han*. — Du. N. A. *-hānā*, *-hānau* (VS. TS.), V. *-hanā*. — Pl. N. *-hānas*, A. *-ghnās*, I. *-hābhis*. The G. would be *-ghnām* and the L. *-hāsu* according to the analogy of other stems in this declension. The forms of radical *n*-stems which occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. *aghaśaṃsa-hā* 'slaying the wicked', *adṛṣṭa-hā* 'slaying unseen (vermin)', *abhimāti-hā* 'destroying adversaries', *amitra-hā* 'killing enemies', *amīva-hā* 'destroying pains', *aruśa-hā* 'striking the dark (cloud)', *ā-vīra-hā* 'not slaying men', *asasti-hā* 'averting curses', *asura-hā* 'demon-slaying', *ahi-hā* 'killing the serpent', *kṛṣṭi-hā* 'subduing nations', *go-hā* 'killing cattle', *dasyu-hā* 'destroying the Dasyus', *durpāma-hā* (AV.) 'destroying the ill-named', *nṛ-hā* 'killing men', *puro-hā* 'destroying strongholds'<sup>3</sup>, *pṛśni-hā* (AV.) 'slaying the speckled (snake)', *mano-hā* (AV.) 'mind-destroying', *muṣṭi-hā* 'striking with the fist', *yātu-hā* (AV.) 'destroying witchcraft', *rakṣo-hā* 'destroying demons', *vasar-hā* 'destroying at dawn', *vṛtra-hā* 'Vṛtra-slaying', *śarya-hā* 'killing with arrows', *satrā-hā* 'destroying entirely', *sapatna-hā* 'slaying rivals', *sapta-hā* 'slaying seven'. — n. Only two transition forms occur: *vṛtra-hā-m* and *satrā-hā-m*<sup>4</sup>.

A. m. *ā-pra-haṇam*<sup>5</sup> 'not hurting', *abhimāti-hānam*, *ahi-hānam*, *tamo-hānam* 'dispelling darkness', *dasyu-hānam*, *rakṣo-hānam*<sup>5</sup>, *valaga-hānam* 'destroying secret spells' (VS. v. 23), *mano-hānam* (AV.), *vīra-hānam*<sup>5</sup> (VS. xxx. 5) 'homicide', *vṛtra-hānam*<sup>5</sup>, *satrā-hānam*<sup>5</sup>, *sapatna-hānam* (AV.).

I. m. *vṛtra-ghnā*<sup>6</sup>. — n. *dasyu-ghnā*. — f. *tanā* (once) and *tānā*<sup>7</sup> (19 times).

D. m. *rāne*<sup>7</sup>; *abhimāti-ghné* (VS. vi. 32), *asura-ghné*<sup>6</sup>, *ahi-ghné*, *nṛ-ghné*<sup>6</sup>, *makha-ghné* (TS. iii. 2. 4. <sup>1-2</sup>), 'slayer of Makha', *vṛtra-ghné*<sup>6</sup>. — f. *tāne*<sup>7</sup>.

G. m. *go-ṣaṇas* (in the V. *goṣaṇo napāt*); *asura-ghnās*<sup>6</sup>, *vṛtra-ghnās*<sup>6</sup>.

L. m. *svānī*<sup>8</sup> (ix. 669), *twī-ṣvānī*; *bhrūṇa-ghnī* (AV.) 'killer of an embryo'. Without an ending: *rān*<sup>9</sup>.

V. m. *amitra-han*, *ahi-han*, *vṛtra-han*.

Du. N. A. V. *tamo-hānā*, *rakṣo-hānā*<sup>5</sup>, *vṛtra-hānā*, V. *vṛtra-hānā*<sup>5</sup>. With *-au*: *rakṣo-hānau* (VS. v. 25), *valaga-hānau* (VS. v. 25; TS. i. 3. 2<sup>2</sup>).

Pl. N. V. m. V. *twī-ṣvaṇas*; *a-bhog-ghānas*<sup>10</sup> 'striking the niggardly one', *punar-hānas*<sup>5</sup> 'destroying in return', *yajña-hānas* (TS.) 'destroying sacrifice', *satru-hānas*<sup>5</sup> 'slaying enemies'.

A. m. *sāta-ghnās* (AV.) 'gain-destroying'. With strong form: *rakṣo-hānas*<sup>5</sup> and *valaga-hānas* (VS. v. 25; TS. i. 3. 2<sup>2</sup>).

I. m. *vṛtra-hābhis*. — G. m. *vanām*. — L. m. *rāṃsu*<sup>7</sup>, *vāṃsu*<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The forms made from *-ghna-*, viz. *-ghnās*, *-ghnām*, *-ghnāya*, *-ghnāya*, *-ghne*, are probably to be explained as transition forms starting from the weak stem *-ghn-*.

<sup>2</sup> Formed like the N. of derivative *-an* stems (327).

<sup>3</sup> That is, *purā*, A. pl. of *pūr-*, the 'case termination being retained.

<sup>4</sup> The normal forms would be *\*vṛtra-hā* and *\*satrā-hā*.

<sup>5</sup> See above 47, A b 2 (p. 39).

<sup>6</sup> See above p. 38, note 4.

<sup>7</sup> Against the rule of accentuation in monosyllabic stems (94).

<sup>8</sup> This form may, however, be the 3. sing. passive aor. See below 501, note on *sādi*.

<sup>9</sup> With loss of the loc. ending as in the *-an* declension (325).

<sup>10</sup> *-ghānas* for *-hānas*, see above 80, 81.

Derivative stems in *-an*, *-man*, *-van*.

325. This declension embraces a large number of words, the stems in *-van* being by far the commonest, those in *-an* the least frequent. It is almost limited to masculines and neuters; but some forms of adjective stems serve as feminines, and there is one specifically f. stem, *yūś-an* 'woman'.<sup>1</sup>

The distinction of strong and weak forms is regularly made. In the strong cases the *a* of the suffix is usually lengthened, e. g. *ādhvān-am*; but in half a dozen *-an* and *-man* stems it remains unchanged; e. g. *arya-mān-am*. In the weak cases the *a* is often syncopated before vowel endings, though never when *-man* and *-van* are preceded by a consonant<sup>2</sup>, e. g. I. sing. *grī-vān-ā*<sup>3</sup> from *grī-van*, 'pressing stone'<sup>4</sup>, while before consonant endings the final *n* disappears<sup>5</sup>, e. g. *rāja-bhis*. In the RV. the syncopation never takes place in the N. A. du. n., nor with one exception (*śata-dhvān-i*) in the L. sing.

As in all other stems ending in *-n*, the nasal is dropped in the N. sing.; e. g. m. *ādhvā*, n. *karma*. But there are two peculiarities of inflexion which, being common to these three groups, do not appear elsewhere in the consonant declension. Both the L. sing. and the N. A. pl. n. are formed in two ways. The ending of the L. sing. is in the RV. dropped more often than not, e. g. *mūrdhān-i* and *mūrdhān*, the choice often depending on the metre<sup>6</sup>. The N. A. pl. n. is formed with *-āni* from 18 stems and with *-a* from 19 stems<sup>7</sup> in the RV.; seven of the latter appear with *-ā* in the Saṃhitā text, but with *-a* like the rest in the Pada text. The evidence of the Avesta indicates that there were in the Indo-Iranian period two forms, *nāmān* and *nāmāni*, the former losing its *-n* as usual when final after a long vowel. On this ground the *-ā* form of the Saṃhitā, though the less frequent, would appear to be the older<sup>8</sup>.

There are here many supplementary stems and numerous transitions to the *a*-declension.

1. Stems in *-an*.

326. These stems, which are both m. and n., are not numerous. They include some which at first sight have the appearance of belonging to one of the other two groups: *yūś-v-an*<sup>9</sup> 'youth', *śv-ān* 'dog', *ṛjīśv-an*<sup>10</sup> N. of a man, *mātariśv-an*<sup>10</sup> N. of a demi-god, *vi-bhū-an*<sup>11</sup> 'far-reaching'; *pāri-jm-an*<sup>12</sup> 'going round'. The n. *śīrś-ān* is an extended stem from *śīras* 'head' = *śīr(a)s-ān*.

a. Besides the N. pl. *yūśan-as* 'women', six or seven forms of this declension appear to be feminine as agreeing with f. substantives: *vīśā* 'raining' (*kāśā*, *vāk*), *vīśanam* (*tvācam*), *vīśanā* (*dyāvā-prthivī*), *pāri-jmānas* 'going round' (*vidyūtas*), *rapśād-udhabhis* 'having distended udders' (*dhenūbhis*)<sup>13</sup>, *vāja-karmabhis* (SV. TS.) and *vāja-bharmabhis* (VIII. 1930) 'bringing rewards' (*utibhis*).

<sup>1</sup> The stems in *-van* regularly form their f. in *-vāri*, e. g. *pī-van*, *pī-vāri*; those in *-an* and *-man* by adding *-ī* to the syncopated stem at the end of compounds; e. g. *soma-rājñ-ī*, *pāñca-nīmu-ī* (AV.).

<sup>2</sup> This exception does not apply when *-an* is preceded by two consonants, e. g. *sakth-nā*.

<sup>3</sup> But also G. sing. *vīśan-as* (AV.). The syncopation nearly always takes place in *-an* stems and in nearly half of the *-man* and *-van* stems.

<sup>4</sup> When the accent is on the suffix it is thrown on the ending in these syncopated forms, e. g. *mahnā* from *māh-ān*.

<sup>5</sup> That is, *a* here represents an original sonant nasal, see p. 17, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> 48 locatives (occurring 127 times) have the *i*, 45 (occurring 203 times) drop it. See LANMAN 535.

<sup>7</sup> But those in *-āni* occur nearly twice as often.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 483 and LANMAN 538.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. the comparative *yav-tyān* and the Avestan *yvan*.

<sup>10</sup> *-śvan* in both these compounds is probably derived from *śū* 'grow'.

<sup>11</sup> From *bhū* 'be'.

<sup>12</sup> From *gam* 'go'.

<sup>13</sup> The f. of *-an* stems at the end of compounds is formed with *-ī* in *āchidra-udhni-ī* 'having a faultless udder', *sam-rājñ-ī*.

b. In the strong forms the stems *r̥bhu-ksán-* 'chief of the R̥bhus', *pūśán-*, and the f. *yūśan-*, retain the short *a*, while *uksán-* 'ox' and *v̥śsan-* 'bull' fluctuate between *ā* and *ā̄*. The words *śván-* and *yūśan-* form their weak stems before vowels with Samprasāraṇa, *śvān-*, *yūn-*; the latter is once used in the N. du. m. form *yūnā* instead of *yūvānā*. In the weak cases syncope always takes place<sup>1</sup> except in the forms *uksānas* and *v̥śśanas*.

c. A number of *-an* stems have supplementary forms from other stems: *aksán-* from *aksi-*; *asthán-* from *asthi-*; *āhan-* from *āhas-* and *āhar-*; *āsán-* from *āsyā-*, *ās-*, and *āsā-*; *udán-* from *úd-* and *uda-ká-*; *ūdhan-* from *ūdhas-* and *ūdhar-*; *dadhán-* from *dādhi-*; *dosán-* from *dós-*; *yakán-* from *yákrt-*; *yūśan-* from *yūśanū-* and *yūśā-*; *śákan-* from *śákrt-*; *sakthán-* from *sákthi-*. As no stem in *-an* has been found in the N. A. sing. n., such forms appear to have been avoided and to have been purposely replaced by forms from supplementary stems. These forms are the N. A. n. *aksi*, *asthi* (AV.), *āhar*, *āsyām*, *udakām*, *ūdhar*, *yákrt* (AV.), *śákrt*, *sákthi*; also *yūvat* instead of *\*yūva*, as well as *śīras* and *śīrśá-m* (AV.) instead of *\*śīrśá*<sup>2</sup>.

d. There are here several transitions to the *a*-declension. The A. sing. *pūśán-am* is the starting point for the N. *pūśán-a-s* and the G. *pūśānā-sya*<sup>3</sup>. The N. A. pl. n. is the starting point in other instances: the two pl. forms *śīrśā* and *śīrśāni* give rise to the L. sing. *śīrśé* (AV.) beside *śīrśāni*, as well as to the du. N. A. *śīrśé* and the N. A. sing. *śīrśá-m* (AV.); similarly the two plurals *āhā* and *āhāni* led to the G. pl. *āhānām* beside *āhnām*; and *yūśāni*, the pl. of *yūśán-*, which has the appearance of a pl. of a stem *yūśá-*, led to the formation of an I. sing. *yūśēna* (TS.) beside the regular *yūśnā* (VS.). Again, the weak forms *ān-as*, *ān-ās* etc., gave rise to the transition stems *āśna-* and *āhna-*, from which are formed the I. pl. *āśnas* and the L. sing. *pūrvāhne*.

Transition *a*-stems often take the place of *-an* stems at the end of compounds. Thus *-akśá-* appears in several compounds for *-akśán-*, and *-v̥śśá-* (AV.) for *-v̥śśan-*; *an-asthān-* once forms the N. sing. m. *an-asthā-s* (VIII. 134); beside the N. sing. m. *br̥hād-ukśā* appears the D. *br̥hād-ukśāya* (VS.); beside *rājānam* is found the A. m. *adhī-rājā-m* (X. 1289) 'over-lord'; and beside *saptābhis* 'seven', the compound *tri-saptāis*<sup>4</sup>.

### Inflexion.

327. The normal forms, if made from *rājan-* 'king' in the m., and from *āhan-* 'day' in the n., would be as follows:

I. m. Sing. N. *rājā*. A. *rājānam*. I. *rājñā*. D. *rājñe*. Ab. *rājnas*. G. *rājñas*. L. *rājani* and *rājan*. V. *rājan*.

Du. N. A. *rājānā* and *rājānau*. I. *rājabhyām*. D. *rājabhyām*. G. *rājños*.

Pl. N. V. *rājānas*. A. *rājñas*. I. *rājabhis*. D. *rājabhyas*. Ab. *rājabhyas* (AV.). G. *rājñām*. L. *rājasu*.

2. n. Sing. N. A. —<sup>5</sup>. I. *āhnā*. D. *āhne*. Ab. G. *āhnas*. L. *āhani* and *āhan*. — Du. N. A. *āhantī*. G. *āhnos* (AV.). — Pl. N. A. *āhāni*. I. *āhabhis*. D. Ab. *āhabhyas*. G. *āhnām*. L. *āhasu*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *an-asthā* 'boneless', *āyāh-śīrśā* 'iron-headed', *a-śīrśā* 'headless', *ukśā* 'bull', *r̥jī-śvā* N. of a man, *tākśā* 'carpenter', *tāpur-mūrdhā* 'burning-headed', *try-udhā*<sup>6</sup> 'three-uddered', *dvi-bārha-jmā*<sup>7</sup> 'having a double course', *pāri-jmā* 'surrounding', *pūśā* 'Pūsan', *plīhā* (VS.) 'spleen', *br̥hād-ukśā* 'having great oxen', *majjā* (VS. AV.) 'marrow', *mātari-śvā* 'Mātariśvā', *mūrdhā* 'head', *yūvā* 'youth', *rājā* 'king', *vī-bhvā* 'far-reaching', *vī-rājā* (TS. v. 7. 44) 'sovereign', *v̥śśā* 'bull', *śvā* 'dog', *sahāsra-śīrśā* 'thousand-headed'.

'queen', *sōma-rājñī-t-* 'having Soma as king', *hātā-v̥śśn-t-* 'whose lord has been slain', *r̥bhu-śīrśn-t-* 'deer-headed', *saptā-śīrśn-t-* 'seven-headed', *eka-mūrdhn-t-* (AV.) 'having the head turned in one direction', *sindhu-rājñī-t-* (AV.) 'having Sindhu as queen'.

<sup>1</sup> The restoration of the *a* seems to be metrically required in a few instances: see LANMAN 525.

<sup>2</sup> The N. sing. n. of the adj. *v̥śsan-* is avoided in several ways: see LANMAN 530 (bottom).

<sup>3</sup> With shifted accent.

<sup>4</sup> On the other hand there are two transitions from the *a*-declension to the *an*-declension in *nī-kāmabhis* beside *nī-kāmas* and *naktā-bhis* for *nāktam*, but these forms are due to somewhat artificial conditions; see below, I. pl. p. 206, notes 3 and 4.

<sup>5</sup> Only supplementary forms occur: see LANMAN 530 (bottom).

<sup>6</sup> The metre seems to require *try-udhā* (III, 563).

<sup>7</sup> Here *bārha-* = *bārhas-*.

A. m. *ukṣāṇam*, *tikṣāṇam* (VS. xxx. 6), *tri-mūrdhānam* 'three-headed', *tri-śiṣāṇam* 'three-headed' (VS. AV.), *pānthānam* (VS. AV.) 'path', *pāri-jmānam*, *pṛthu-gmānam*<sup>1</sup> 'broad-pathed', *plihānam* (AV.), *majjānam*, *mātari-śvānam*, *mūrdhānam*, *yūvānam*, *rājānam*<sup>2</sup>, *vṛṣāṇam*, *śvānam*, *sapti-śiṣāṇam* 'seven-headed'. — With short *a*: *ukṣāṇam*, *ṛbhu-kṣāṇam*<sup>3</sup> 'chief of the Ṛbhus', *pūṣāṇam*, *vṛṣāṇam*<sup>4</sup>.

I. m. i. *ṛji-śvanā*, *mātari-śvanā*, *vi-bhūvānā*. — 2. With syncope: *āśnā*<sup>5</sup>, *pūṣnā*, *plihnā* (VS.), *majjñā* (AV.), *mūrdhnā* (VS. xxv. 2), *rājñā*, *vṛṣñā*. — 3. With Samprasāraṇa: *śīnā*<sup>6</sup> (AV.). — n. *asnī* (VS. xxv. 9) 'blood', *āhnā* 'day', *āsnā* 'mouth', *udnī* 'water', *dadhnā* 'curds', *mahnā* 'greatness', *yaknā* (VS. xxxix. 8) 'liver', *yāṣnā* (VS. xxv. 9) 'broth', *vi-śiṣnā* (Kh. i. i r<sup>4</sup>) 'headless', *śaknā* (VS.) 'excrement', *śiṣnā* 'head', *sakthnā* (VS.) 'thigh'.

D. m. i. *ṛji-śvane*, *pāri-jmane*, *mātari-śvane*, *vi-bhūvane*, *vṛṣane* (TS. iii. 2. 5<sup>2</sup>)<sup>7</sup>. — 2. *pūṣnē*, *prati-āśne* 'adversary at play', *mūrdhnē* (VS. xxii. 32), *rājñe*, *vṛṣñe*<sup>8</sup>. — 3. *yīne*. — n. i. *dhātṛv-ane* 'hurting'. — 2. *āhne*, *āsnē*, *śiṣnē*.

Ab. m. 2. *plihnās* (AV.), *mūrdhnās*, *vṛṣnās*<sup>9</sup>. — n. 2. *akṣnās* 'eye', *āhnas*, *āsnās*<sup>10</sup>, *udnās*<sup>11</sup>, *ādhnas*, *yaknās* 'liver', *vṛṣnās* 'shedding rain', *śiṣnās*.

G. m. i. *durgtbhi-śvanas* 'continually swelling', *pāri-jmanas*, *mātari-śvanas* (VS. i. 2), *vṛṣanās*<sup>12</sup> (AV.). — 2. *āśnās*<sup>13</sup>, *ukṣnās*, *pūṣnās*, *yāṣnās* (or n.), *rājñas*, *vṛṣnās*. — 3. *yīnas*, *śīnas*. — n. *akṣnās* (VS. iv. 32; TS.), *asnās*<sup>14</sup> (AV.) 'blood', *asthnās* (AV.) 'bone', *āhnas*, *udnās*, *dadhnās*, *vṛṣnās*, *śaknās* (AV.), *śiṣnās*<sup>15</sup>.

L. m. i. *ṛji-śvani*, *mātari-śvani*, *mūrdhāni*, *rājani*. — 2. *jmān* 'way', *pāri-jman*, *mātari-śvan* (AV.), *mūrdhān*. — n. i. *āhani*, *āsāni*, *udāni*, *ādhani* 'udder', *kṣāmāni* 'earth', *rājāni*, *śiṣāni*; *āhni* (AV.). — 2. *āhan*, *āsān*, *udān*, *ādhan*, *kṣāmān*<sup>16</sup>, *gūmbhan* (VS. xiii. 30) 'depth', *śiṣān*<sup>17</sup>.

V. m. i. *uru-jman* (AV.) 'extension', *pari-jman*, *pṛthu-jman* (AV.), *pūṣan*, *mūrdhan* (VS. xviii. 55), *yuvan*, *rājan*, *vṛṣan*, *śata-mūrdhan* (VS. xvii. 71; TS.) 'hundred-headed', *satya-rājan* (VS. xx. 4) 'true king'. — 2. *mātari-śvas*<sup>18</sup>.

Du. N. A. V. m. i. *pāri-jmānā*, V. *mītra-rājānā* 'ye kings Mitra (and Varuṇa)', *yūvānā*, V. *yuvānā*, *rājānā*, *śvānā*. With short vowel: *indrā-pūṣānā*, *pūṣānā*, *vṛṣānā*, V. *vṛṣānā*, *somā-pūṣānā*. With weak stem: *yānā* (ix. 68<sup>5</sup>) for *yūvānā* (probably through *yūvānā*). — 2. With *au*: *rājānau*, *vṛṣānau* (AV.), *śvānau*; V. *vṛṣānau*, *somā-pūṣānau*.

N. A. n. *āhanī*, *cākṣānī* (AV.) 'eyes', *doṣānī* (AV.) 'fore-arms'<sup>19</sup>.

I. m. *vṛṣabhyām*. — D. m. *somā-pūṣābhyām*. — G. m. *pāri-jmanos*, *indrā-pūṣnós*. — n. *āhnos* (AV.). — L. n. *akṣnós* (Kh. i. i r<sup>8</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> *-man-* = *-jman-* 'path'.

<sup>2</sup> There is also the transfer form *adhī-āyā-m* (x. 128<sup>9</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps from *kṣā* = *kṣi-* 'possess'.

<sup>4</sup> In the RV. *vṛṣāṇam* occurs 53 times, *vṛṣāṇam* only twice.

<sup>5</sup> This form (occurring thrice) may possibly be shortened for *āśmanā* (which occurs twice) from *āśman-* 'stone'.

<sup>6</sup> For *\*śī-an-ā*; hence no shift of accent as in monosyllabic stems.

<sup>7</sup> Also *udān-e* (vi. 20<sup>11</sup>) according to BENFEY, *Orient und Occident* 2, 242.

<sup>8</sup> There is also the transition form *byhād-ukṣāya* (VS. viii. 8).

<sup>9</sup> BENFEY, *Gött. Abh.* 19, 261, regards *vibhūvānā* (x. 765) as = Ab. *vibhūvānas*.

<sup>10</sup> Also the supplementary forms *āyāt*, *ās ās*.

<sup>11</sup> Also the supplementary form *udakāt*.

<sup>12</sup> For *vṛṣa-nāma* (ix. 97<sup>54</sup>) GRASSMANN would read *vṛṣāno nā*; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2<sup>1</sup>, 68 a, note (p. 160).

<sup>13</sup> This form (occurring once) may be shortened for *āśmanas* (occurring four times).

<sup>14</sup> With supplementary stem *āṣṛ-j-*.

<sup>15</sup> The G. *pūṣanāśya*, occurring once, seems to be a transfer form starting from the A. *pūṣāṇam* (326 d).

<sup>16</sup> There are also the transition forms *śiṣē*, *pūṣvāṣnē*: see LANMAN 536.

<sup>17</sup> The compound *nemann-is-* 'following guidance' probably contains a loc.

<sup>18</sup> Following the analogy of some stems in *-van*.

<sup>19</sup> Also the transition form *śiṣē*.

Pl. N. V. m. *ukṣāṇas* (VS. XXIV. 13), *ṭigmā-mūrdhānas* 'sharp-edged', *pānthānas* (AV.), *mūrdhānas*, *yīlvānas*, *rājānas*, *svānas*. — With short vowel: *ukṣānas*, *r̥bhū-kṣānas*, *vṛṣānas*.

N. A. n. 1. *akṣāṇi*, *asthāni* (TS. IV. 7. 1<sup>2</sup>)<sup>1</sup>, *āhāni*, *śrīṣāṇi*, *sakthāni*. — 2. *dhā*, *śrīṣā*<sup>2</sup>.

A. m. 1. *mātari-śvanas*, *ukṣānas*, *vṛṣānas*. — 2. *ukṣṇās*, *jana-rājñas* 'king of men', *majjñās* (AV.), *mūrdhñās*, *yamā-rājñas* 'subject to Yama', *rājñas*, *vṛṣṇas*. — 3. *yānas*, *śīnas*.

I. m. *ukṣābhis*<sup>3</sup>, *yīlvabhis*, *rājabhis*, *vṛṣabhis*, *śvābhis* (Kh. v. 157)<sup>4</sup>. — n. *akṣābhis*, *asthābhis*, *āhabhis*, *āsābhis*, *udābhis*, *ūdhabhis*, *mahābhis*, *vṛṣabhis*, *śākabhis* (TS. v. 7. 23<sup>1</sup>), *su-kṛta-karmabhis* (Kh. III. 123) 'doing good deeds'<sup>5</sup>.

D. m. *tūkṣabhyas* (VS.), *majjābhyas* (TS. VS. XXXIX. 10), *yīlvabhyas*, *rājābhyas*, *śvābhyas* (AV. VS.). — n. *asthābhyas* (VS. XXXIX. 10; TS. v. 2. 12<sup>2</sup>), *āhabhyas*. — Ab. m. *majjābhyas* (AV.). — n. *āhabhyas*.

G. m. *vṛṣṇām*, *rājñām* (VS. AV.), *śīnām* (AV.). — n. *āhnām*<sup>6</sup>.

L. m. *majjāsu* (AV.), *yamā-rājasu* (AV.), *rājasu*. — n. *āhasu*, *śrīṣāsu*.

## 2. Stems in -man.

328. These stems are about equally divided between the masculine and the neuter gender, the former being agent nouns, the latter verbal abstracts. These stems seem to have been used normally for the f. as well as the m.; for though no simple stem in -man occurs as a f., about a dozen of them are used as f. at the end of compounds, while no certain example appears in the RV. of a f. being formed by adding -i to -man<sup>7</sup>. A peculiarity of the inflexion of the stems in -man, as compared with those in -an and -van, is that in the syncopated forms of the I. sing. several words drop the m, while two drop the n of the suffix; e. g. *mahinā*<sup>8</sup> for *mahimnā*, and *raśmī* for *raśmnī*.

a. The f. forms which occur at the end of compounds are: Sing. N. *purū-śarmā* (VS. x. 9) 'giving wide shelter' (*āditi-*), *sā-lakṣmā* (x. 10<sup>2</sup>) 'similar'; A. *dyulād-yāmānam* (v. 80<sup>1</sup>) 'having a shining course' (*uṣāsam*); *su-tārmānam* (VIII. 42<sup>3</sup>) 'easily conveying across' (*nāvam*), *su-trāmānam* (x. 63<sup>10</sup>) 'protecting well' (*pr̥thivīm*), *su-sārmānam* (x. 63<sup>10</sup>) 'granting secure refuge' (*āditi-*); V. *arīṣa-bharman* (VIII. 18<sup>4</sup>) 'yielding security' (*adite*), *pr̥thu-yāman* (vi. 64<sup>4</sup>) 'having a broad path' (*duhitar*); Du. N. *su-jānmani*<sup>9</sup> (I. 160<sup>1</sup>) 'producing fair things' (*dhīṣāṇe*); Pl. A. *śuci-janmanas* (vi. 39<sup>3</sup>) 'of radiant birth' (*uṣāsas*); I. *vāja-bharmabhis* (VIII. 19<sup>30</sup>) 'winning rewards' (*ūtībhis*), *su-kārmabhis* (ix. 70<sup>4</sup>) 'skilful' (fingers); G. *śukrā-saāmanām* (vi. 47<sup>5</sup>) 'having a bright dwelling-place' (*uṣāsam*)<sup>10</sup>. From *nāman* 'name' the AV. forms with -i the f. stem -nāmnī- at the end of five compounds: *dur-ṇāmnī* 'ill-named', *pāṇi-ṇāmnī* 'having five names', *mahā-nāmnī* 'great-named', *viśvā-nāmnī* 'having all names', *śānti-ṇāmnī* 'peaceful-named'. The f. *dur-adman-i* (VS. II. 20) 'noxious food' is perhaps similarly formed<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In the corresponding passage of VS. (xviii. 3) *asthīni*.

<sup>2</sup> Both these might be formed from the transition a-stems *āha-*, *śrīṣā-*. This is perhaps the reason why these are the only two plurals of this declension which retain the ā in the Pada text; *āha* appears in I. 92<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The form *nī-kāmbhis* 'eager' for *nī-kāmais* is due to the parallelism of *vayāvabhis* in x. 92<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> There is also a transition form *ānais* 'stones', beside the stem *ānan-*.

<sup>5</sup> The unique form *naktābhis* (as if from a stem *naktān-*) is doubtless used for metrical reasons instead of *nāktam* in VII. 104<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> There is also the transition form *āhānām*.

<sup>7</sup> The AV. has five stems thus formed at the end of compounds.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. BLOOMFIELD, BB. 23, 105 ff., AJPh. 16, 409—434; BARTHOLOMAE IF. 8, Anzeiger 17.

<sup>9</sup> With the ending of the neuter; see LANMAN 433 (top).

<sup>10</sup> Possibly also *su-śīmā* (II. 32<sup>7</sup>) 'bearing well'; but it is derived from \**sū-ma-* according to BR. and GRASSMANN.

<sup>11</sup> The f. *brāhmī-* (IX. 335) formed from *brāhman-* is quite exceptional, being due to a play on words (see LANMAN 528). The form *tmānyā* = *tmānā* in sense, occurring twice in the RV., may be an I. sing. f. of *tmān-i-*: cp. GRASSMANN and BR.



b. In the strong forms *aryamān-* 'Aryaman', *tmān-* 'self', and *jēman-* 'victorious' retain the short vowel of the suffix. In the weak forms, even when the suffix is preceded by a vowel, about a dozen forms do not syncopate the *a*: I. *omānī*, *pravād-yāmanā*, *bhūmānā*, *bhūmanā*, *syūmanā*, *hemānī*; D. *trāmaṇe*, *dāmaṇe*; Ab. G. *bhūmanas*; G. *mahimānas*, *dāmanas*, *yāmanas*, *vyōmanas*. The forms which, besides syncopating, drop the *m* or the *n* of the suffix are: *prathinā*, *preṇā*, *bhūnā*, *mahinā*, *varinā*; *drāghmā*, *raśmā*.

c. Beside the *-man* stems there are several transfer stems in *-mā*, which are, however, of rare or late occurrence: *darmā-* 'destroyer' beside *darmān-*; *dhārma-* (AV. etc.) 'law' beside *dhārman-*; *ēma-* (VS.) 'course' beside *ēman-*; *hēma-* (VS. AV.) 'offering' beside *hōman-* (RV.); *ājma-* 'course' beside *ājman-*; *yāma-* 'course' beside *yāman-*; *prīyā-dhāma-* (I. 1401) 'fond of home' beside *prīyā-dhāman-* (AV.); and occasional forms of *-karma-* at the end of compounds beside the regular *-karman-*: *vr̥tā-karma-m* (X. 61<sup>5</sup>) 'doing manly deeds'; *viśvā-karmanya* (X. 1644) 'all-creating' beside *viśvā-karmaṇā*, etc.

### Inflection.

329. The normal forms actually occurring would, if made from *āsman-* 'stone' in the *m*. and from *kārman-* 'act' in the *n*., be as follows:

Sing. *m*. N. *āsmā*. A. *āsmānam*<sup>1</sup>. I. *āsmānā*<sup>2</sup>. D. *āsmāne*<sup>3</sup>. Ab. *āsmānas*<sup>4</sup>. G. *āsmānas*<sup>5</sup>. L. *āsmāni* and *āsmān*. V. *āsmān*. — Du. N. A. V. *āsmānā*<sup>6</sup>. L. *āsmānos*. — Pl. N. V. *āsmānas*. A. *āsmānas*. I. *āsmābhis*. D. *āsmābhyas*. G. *āsmānām*. L. *āsmāsu* (AV.).

Sing. *n*. N. A. *kārma*<sup>7</sup>. I. *kārmaṇā*<sup>8</sup>. D. *kārmaṇe*<sup>9</sup>. Ab. *kārmaṇas*<sup>8</sup>. G. *kārmaṇas*<sup>8</sup>. L. *kārmaṇi* and *kārman*. — Du. N. A. *kārmaṇī*. G. *kārmanos*. — Pl. N. A. *kārmāṇi*, *kārma*, *kārmā*. I. *kārmābhis*. D. *kārmābhyas*. Ab. *kārmābhyas*. G. *kārmaṇām*<sup>8</sup>. L. *kārmāsu*.

Forms which actually occur are the following:

Sing. N. *m*. *a-karmā* 'wicked', *ā-brahmā* 'lacking devotion', *aryamā* 'Aryaman', *āsmā* 'stone', *a-sremā* 'faultless', *ātmā* 'breath', *āśu-hēma* 'speeding swiftly', *iṣṭā-yāmā* 'going according to desire', *usrd-yāmā* 'moving towards brightness', *ṛtā-dhāmā* (VS. IV. 32) 'abiding in truth', *kṛtā-brahmā* 'having performed devotion', *jarimā* 'old age', *jātā-bharmā* 'ever nourishing', *jemā* (VS. XVIII. 4) 'superiority', *tr̥pāla-prabharmā* 'offering what is refreshing', *darmā* 'demolisher', *dāmā* 'giver', *dur-nāmā* 'ill-named', *dur-mānmā* 'evil-minded', *dyutād-yāmā* 'having a shining path', *drāghimā* (VS. XVIII. 4) 'length', *dvi-jānmā* 'having a double birth', *dharmā* 'arranger', *dhevasmā* 'darkening', *pāka-sthāmā* N. of a man, *pāpmā* (VS. VI. 35) 'misfortune', *pr̥thil-pragāmā* 'wide-striding', *prathimā* (VS. XVIII. 4) 'width', *brahmā* 'devout man', *bhujmā*<sup>9</sup> 'abounding in valleys', *bhūmā* (TS. VII. 3. 13<sup>1</sup>) 'plenty', *bhūri-jānmā* 'having many births', *mahimā* 'greatness', *yajñā-manmā* 'ready for sacrifice', *raghu-yāmā* 'going quickly', *reṣmā* (AV.) 'tempest', *vadmā* 'speaker', *varimā* 'width', *varṣimā* (VS. XVIII. 4) 'height', *viśvā-karmā* 'all-creator', *viśvā-sāmā* (VS. XVIII. 39) 'having the form of all Sāmāns', *viśva-prabharmā* 'to whom the strong (Soma) is offered', *śatātā* 'possessing a hundred lives', *satyā-dharmā* 'whose laws are true', *satyā-manmā* 'whose thoughts are true', *saṇṭi-nāmā* 'seven-named', *sahāśra-yāmā* 'having a thousand courses', *sādhi-karmā* 'acting well', *su-karmā* 'working skilfully', *su-jānimā* 'producing fair things', *su-trāmā* 'guarding well', *su-dyōtmā* 'shining bright', *su-brāhmā* 'accompanied by good prayers', *su-māntu-nāmā* 'bearing a well-known name', *su-mānmā* 'benevolent', *su-vāhmā*

<sup>1</sup> The vowel has also to be restored in several other forms (see LANMAN 524 f.).

<sup>2</sup> With short vowel *aryamāṇam*, *tmānam*.

<sup>3</sup> Without syncopate after vowel *bhūmanā*, etc.; with syncopate *mahimnā*, *mahinā*, *drāghmā*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Also with syncopate, *mahimné*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Also with syncopate, *mahimnās*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Also with short vowel *aryamāṇā*, *jēmanā*.

<sup>7</sup> Sometimes *kārmā* in the Samhitā text.

<sup>8</sup> Also with syncopate, *nāmā*, etc.

<sup>9</sup> *bhūjma* (I. 655) should probably be read *bhujmā*; see BR., GRASSMANN, LANMAN 530 (top).

'driving well', *su-śármā* (VS. VIII. 8) 'good protector', *su-ṣṭhāmā* 'having a firm support', *svādu-ṣṣādmā* 'having sweet food'¹.

N. A. n. *ājma* 'track', *dāma* 'food', *ēma* 'course', *kārma* 'deed', *kārśma* 'goal', *ṣṣādmā* 'carving knife', *cārma* 'skin', *jānima* 'birth', *jānma* 'birth', *śikma* 'young blade of corn', *dāma* 'cord', *dhārma* 'ordinance', *dhāma* 'abode', *nāma* 'name', *pātma* 'flight', *brāhma* 'prayer', *bhāśma* (TS. VS. XII. 35) 'ashes', *bhūma* 'earth', *mānma* 'thought', *mārma* 'vital part', *yāma* 'course', *lōma* (TS. VS. XIX. 92) 'hair', *vārtma* 'path' (Kh. v. 2¹), *vārma* 'mail', *vāsma* 'garment', *vēma* (VS. XIX. 83) 'loom', *vēśma* 'house', *vyōma* 'sky', *śákma* 'power', *sārma* 'refuge', *sādmā* 'seat', *sāma* 'chant', *sāma* 'wealth', *sthāma* 'station', *syūma* 'strong', *svādmā* 'sweetness', *hōma* 'oblation'. — With final vowel lengthened in the Samhitā text: *kārmā*, *jānimī*, *dhāmā* (AV.), *bhāmā*, *vyōmā*, *su-ṣṭārmā*² (TS. v. I. 11²) 'forming an excellent couch', *svādmā*³.

A. m. *āsmānam*, *a-sremānam*, *ātmanānam*, *āsmānam* (AV.) 'heat', *ojmānam* 'power', *omānam* 'favour', *kāmānam* (VS. XIX. 85) 'right lung', *jarimānam*, *tuvi-brahmānam* 'praying much', *darmānam*, *dāmānam* 'gift', *dur-mānmanānam*, *dyutād-yāmānam*, *dvi-jāmānam*, *dharmānam*, *pāka-sthāmānam*, *pāpmānam* (VS. XII. 99; TS. I. 4. 41¹), *puru-tmānam* 'existing variously', *purū-nāmānam* (AV.) 'having many names', *brahmānam*, *bhūmānam*, *māhimānam*, *reṣmānam* (VS. XXV. 2), *varimānam*, *varṣmānam* 'height', *viśvā-karmānam*, *vi-sarmānam* 'dispersion', *śatātmanānam*, *satyā-dharmānam*, *sadmānam* 'sitter', *sahā-sāmānam* 'accompanied by songs', *su-tārmānam* (TS. I. 2. 2²) 'crossing well', *su-dyōtmānam*, *su-brāhmānam*, *su-śārmānam*, *somānam* 'preparer of Soma', *stāmānam* (AV. v. 13³) 'track' (?), *svādmānam* 'sweetness', *harimānam* 'jaundice'. — With short *a*: *aryamānam*, *tmānam* 'breath'.

I. m. *āsmānā*, *ātmanā* (VS. XXXII. 11), *āsmānā* (VS. XXV. 9), *tmānā*, *pāpmānā* (VS. XIX. 11), *bhāsmānā* 'chewing', *majmānā* 'greatness', *varṣmānā*, *viśvā-karmānā*. — 1. *omānā*, *pravād-yāmanā* 'having a precipitous course', *bhūmānā* 'abundance', *śatā-yāmanā* (AV. SV.) 'having a hundred paths'. — 2. *aryamānā* (AV.), *pāmānā* (AV.) 'scab', *bhūmānā* (VS. III. 5), *māhimānā*, *varimānā*⁴ (VS. AV.), *śatā-yāmānā*. — 3. *prathinā*⁵, *preṇā*⁶ 'love', *bhūnā*⁷, *māhinā*⁸, *varinā*⁹ (TS.)⁹; *drāghmā*, *raśmā*¹⁰. — n. *kārmanā*, *jānmanā*, *dhārmanā* 'ordinance', *pātmanā*, *brāhmaṇā*, *bhāsmānā* (VS. VI. 21) 'ashes', *mānmanā*, *vārmanā*, *vidmānā* 'wisdom', *vi-dharmanā* 'extension', *śākmanā*, *sārmanā*, *śākmanā* 'might', *svā-janmanā* 'self-begotten', *hānmanā* 'stroke'. — 1. *bhūmanā* 'earth', *syūmanā*, *hemānā* 'zeal'. — 2. *dāmānā* (AV.) 'tie', *dhāmānā*, *nāmānā*, *lōmā* (AV.) 'hair', *sāmānā*, *sutrāmānā* (VS. XX. 35) 'protecting well'.

D. m. 1. *ātmanē* (VS. VII. 28), *takmānē* (AV.) a kind of disease, *tmānē*, *pāpmānē* (AV. VS.), *brahmānē*, *bhūri-karmānē* 'doing much', *viśvā-karmānē* (TS. VS. VIII. 45). — 2. *aryamānē*, *jarimānē*, *bhūmānē* (VS. XXX. 13) 'plenty', *māhimānē*; *ān-usra-yāmne* 'not going out during daylight', *usrā-yāmne*, *su-trāmne* (VS. X. 31), *su-śāmne* N. of a man ('having beautiful songs'), *suhādvītu-nāmne* 'whose name is to be invoked successfully'. — n. *kār-*

¹ *su-dhārma* (VS. XXXVIII. 14) 'well supporting' seems to be meant for a V. (wrong accent), but perhaps *su-dhārmā* should be read.

² *suṣṭārīma* in the Pada text.

³ See LANMAN 531¹.

⁴ Once also the transfer form *varimānā*, according to the declension in *-mant*.

⁵ For *prathimānā* from *prathimānā*.

⁶ For *preṇā* from *preṇānā*.

⁷ For *bhūmānā* beside *bhūmānā*.

⁸ *māhinā* occurs 35 times, *māhimā* only 3 times.

⁹ Beside *varimānā* (AV.). The TS. twice has *varinā*, which in the corresponding passages of the VS. is replaced by *varimānā*; cp. LANMAN 533.

¹⁰ In these two forms the *m* being preceded by a consonant remains, the *n* being dropped: = *drāghmānā* 'breadth', and *raśmānā* 'rein'. Probably also *dāmā* for *dāmānā* 'gift', and possibly *āsmā* = *āsmānā*.

*maṇe, jānmaṇe, dhārmaṇe, brāhmaṇe, bhārmaṇe* 'support', *vidmāne, vi-dharmaṇe, śārmaṇe*. — 1. *trāmaṇe* 'protection', *dīmaṇe*. — 2. *dhāṃne, sāṃne* 'acquisition'.

Ab. m. *āsmanas, ātmānas, ūsmānas* (VS. VI. 18), *satya-dharmaṇas* (AV.). — 2. *klomnās* (AV.), *jarimṇās* (AV.), *varimṇās* (AV.). — n. *cārmaṇas, jānmanas, dhārmaṇas, mānmanas, vāsmanas, sādmanas*. — 1. *bhūmanas*. — 2. *dāṃnas, dhāṃnas* (VS. VI. 22)<sup>1</sup>, *lōmnas*.

G. m. *a-mārmaṇas* 'having no vital spot', *brahmānas, vi-patmanas* 'speeding away', *vīpra-manmanas* 'having an inspired mind', *śūci-janmanas* 'of radiant birth', *su-śārmaṇas, viśvā-karmaṇas* (VS. XXXI. 17). — 1. *mahimānas*. — 2. *aryamṇās, jarimṇās* (AV.), *mahimṇās, sthīrā-dhāṃnas* (AV.) 'belonging to a strong race'. — n. *kārmaṇas, jānmanas, dhārmaṇas, brāhmaṇas, mānmanas, vārmaṇas*. — 1. *dāmanas, bhūmanas, yāmanas, vyōmanas*. — 2. *dhāṃnas, sāṃnas*.

L. m. 1. *āsmani, ātmāni, tmāni, brahmāṇi, mahmāni* (AV.) 'greatness', *su-śāmaṇi*. — 2. *āsman, tmān, ātmān* (VS. AV.). — n. 1. *ājmani* (AV.), *kārmaṇi, cārmaṇi* (AV.), *jānmani, dīmani, dīrghā-prasādmani* 'affording an extensive abode', *dhārīmani* 'established usage', *dhārmaṇi, dhāmaṇi, pārīmani* 'abundance', *prā-bharmani* 'presenting', *prā-yāmani* 'setting out', *brāhmaṇi, mānmani, mārmaṇi, yāmani, lākṣmaṇi* (TS. VII. 4. 19<sup>2</sup>) 'mark', *vākmaṇi* 'invocation', *vi-dharmaṇi, vēsmani* (AV.), *vyōmani, śārmaṇi, sārīmani* 'current of air', *sāvīmani* 'impulsion', *su-śāmaṇi, stārīmani* 'strewing', *hāvīmani* 'invocation', *hōmani* 'offering' and 'invocation'. — With syncope: *lōmni* (AV.), *vi-jāṃni* (AV.) 'knuckle' (?), *sthāṃni* (AV.). — 2. *ājman, ā-yāman* 'no expedition', *ēman* (VS. TS.), *ōdman* (TS. VS.) 'flooding', *kārman, kārṣman, cārman, jāniman, jānman, dārīman* 'destruction', *dhārman, dhāman, pātman, brāhman, bhāśman* (VS. TS.) 'consuming', *bhārman* 'table', *mānman, mārman, yāman, vārīman, vārīman* 'width', *vārṣman, vi-jāman* 'related to each other', *vi-dharman, vyōman, śārman, śāsman* 'song of praise', *sākman* 'attendance', *sādman, sāmān, svādman, hāvīman*.

V. m. *aryāman, āsman* (TS. IV. 6. 1<sup>1</sup>), *āśu-hēman* (TS. I. 7. 7<sup>2</sup>), *ṭakman* (AV.), *tri-nāman* (TS. AV.) 'three-named', *pīpman* (AV.), *puru-nāman, puru-hanman* N. of a seer, *brahman, vi-dharman, viśva-karman, viśva-sāman* N. of a seer, *vīṣa-karman* 'doing manly deeds', *satya-karman* 'whose actions are true', *sahasra-dhāman* (AV.) 'having thousandfold splendour', *su-dāman* 'giving good gifts', *su-yāman* (AV.), *sva-dharman* 'abiding in one's own customs'.

Du. N. A. V. m. *brahmāṇā, satya-dharmāṇā, sa-nāmānā* 'of the same kind', *su-śārmāṇā; aryamāṇā, jēmanā* 'victorious', *sāmātmanā* (Kh. III. 22<sup>5</sup>; cp. TB. II. 8. 9<sup>1</sup>) 'endowed with chants', *su-kārmaṇā* (VS. XX. 75).

N. A. n. *śārmanī, jānmanī, sādmanī*. — 1. *dhāmaṇī, sāmānī* (VS. X. 14). — 2. *nāmni* (AV.). — G. n. *sādmanos*. — L. m. *āsmanos*.

Pl. N. V. *a-dāmānas* 'unbound' and 'not giving gifts', *a-dhvasmānas* 'undarkened', *ānu-vartimānas* (VS. XVII. 86) 'followers', *ā-brahmānas, a-raśmānas* 'having no reins', *śha-brahmānas* 'conveying sacred knowledge', *jarimānas, brahmānas* (VS. XXVII. 2), *bhrājaj-janmānas* 'having a brilliant birthplace', *māhūmānas, śūci-janmānas, sātya-dharmānas, sād-lakṣmānas* (TS. I. 3. 10<sup>1</sup>) 'having the same marks', *su-kārmānas, su-jānimānas, su-rāmānas* (VS. XXI. 42) 'very delightful', *su-śārmānas, sthā-raśmānas* 'having firm reins', *svādūmānas*. — With short *a*: *aryamānas, mahātmanas* (Kh. III. 12<sup>2</sup>) 'high-minded'.

N. A. n. 1. *ṛk-sāmāni* (VS. XVIII. 43), *kārmāni, cārmaṇi, jānimāni, jānmāni, dāmāni* (AV.), *dhārmāni, dhāmāni, nāmāni, pākṣmāni* (VS. XIX. 89) 'eyelashes', *brāhmāni, mānmāni, mārmaṇi, rīmāni* (AV.), *vārtmāni, vārmāni* (AV.), *śārmāni, sādmanī, sāmāni*. — 2. *kārma<sup>2</sup>, jānima, jānma, dhārma,*

<sup>1</sup> BR. and EGGEING suggest that this is a corruption for *dāmnas* 'bond'.

<sup>2</sup> This and the following forms have

short final *a* in the Pada as well as the Samhitā text.

*dhāma, nāma, brāhma, bhūma, mānma, rōma*<sup>1</sup>, *śarma, sādma*. — 3. *jānimā*<sup>2</sup>, *dhārmā, nāmā, brāhmā, bhūmā, rōmā, sādma*<sup>3</sup>.

A. m. *āsmanas, takmánas* (AV.), *brahmānas*. — 2. *dur-pāmnas* (AV.).

I. m. *ā-khidra-yāmabhis* 'unwearied in course', *a-dhvasmābhis, āsmabhis, āsma-hanmabhis* 'strokes of the thunderbolt', *āsu-hémabhis, ōmabhis, klōmabhis* (VS. xxv. 8), *brahmābhis, mayūra-romabhis* 'peacock-haired', *vīlu-pātmbhis* 'flying strongly', *su-kārmabhis, su-mānmabhis, su-śārmabhis*. — n. *ājmabhis, émabhis, kārmabhis, tōkmabhis* (VS. xix. 81), *trāmabhis, dhārmabhis, dhāmabhis, nāmabhis, pātmbhis, brāhmabhis, bhārīmabhis* 'nourishment', *mānmabhis, yāmabhis, vārīmabhis, vāja-karmabhis*<sup>4</sup> (SV. TS. III. 2. 11<sup>1</sup>) 'active in war', *vāja-bharmabhis* (VIII. 19<sup>30</sup>) 'bringing reward', *vī-gāmabhis* 'strides', *śākmabhis, sāmabhis, hāvmabhis*.

D. m. *brahmābhyas*. — n. *dhāmabhyas*. — Ab. n. *lōmabhyas*.

G. m. *brahmāṇām*. — 2. *dur-pāmnām* (AV.). — n. *dhārmaṇām, brāhmaṇām, mānmaṇām, mārmāṇām* (Kh. I. 5<sup>5</sup>). — 2. *āhi-nāmnām*<sup>5</sup> 'animals named snake', *sāmnām* (AV.).

L. m. *āśmasu* (AV.). — n. *kārmasu, jānmasu, dhāmasu, vārmasu, sādmasu*.

### 3. Stems in -van.

330. The -van stems are by far the most numerous of the three groups. They are chiefly verbal adjectives and are almost exclusively declined in the masculine. Hardly a dozen of them make neuter forms, and only five or six forms are used as feminines.

a. The few feminine forms are cases of adjectives agreeing with f. substantives. They are: sing. N. *sa-yūgvā* (x. 130<sup>4</sup>) 'companion' (*gāyatrī*), *an-arvā* (II. 40<sup>6</sup>) 'irresistible' (*āditi*); A. *an-arvāṇam* (x. 92<sup>14</sup>) 'irresistible' (*āditi*); du. N. *saṃ-sthūvānā* (VIII. 37<sup>4</sup>) 'standing together' (*rodasi*); pl. I. *indhan-vabhis*<sup>6</sup> (II. 34<sup>5</sup>) 'flaming' (*dhenūbhis*); G. *sahasra-dāvnām* (I. 17<sup>5</sup>) 'giving a thousand gifts' (*sumatīnām*). The f. of these stems is otherwise formed with -ī, which is however never added to -van, but regularly to a collateral suffix -vara<sup>7</sup>. Twenty-five such stems in -varī are found in the RV. and several additional ones in the later Samhitās. It is perhaps most convenient to enumerate them here: *agrītvārī*<sup>8</sup> (AV.) 'going in front', *abhi-kṛtvārī* 'bewitching' (AV.), *abhi-bhūtvārī* 'superior', *abhītvārī*<sup>9</sup> (TS. VS.) 'attacking', *utlāna-śtvārī* (AV.) 'lying extended', *rīdvārī* 'regular', *eva-yāvārī* 'going quickly', *kṛtvārī* (AV.) 'bewitcher', *talpa-śtvārī* 'lying on a couch', *niṣ-śidhvārī* 'bestowing', *pītvārī* 'fat', *pūrva-jāvārī* 'born before', *pra-śtvārī* 'furnished with flowers', *bahu-śtvārī* 'bearing many children', *bhūri-dāvārī* 'munificent', *mātari-bhvarī*<sup>10</sup> 'being with her mother', *mātari-śvarī*<sup>11</sup> (AV.) 'mother-growing', *yūjvārī* 'worshipping', *vākvārī* 'rolling', *vahya-śtvārī* (AV.) 'reclining on a couch', *vi-bhūvārī* 'brilliant', *vi-mṛgvārī* (AV.) 'cleansing', *śākvārī* ('powerful') a kind of metre, *śarvārī*<sup>12</sup> ('star-spangled' night), *brūṣṭvārī* 'obedient', *sveta-yāvārī* 'white-flowing', *saṃ-śtvārī*<sup>13</sup> 'having a calf in common', *sa-jitvārī* 'victorious', *sa-yāvārī* 'accompanying', *sumnāvārī* 'gracious', *sūnptāvārī*<sup>14</sup> 'glorious', *śtvārī* 'streaming', *svadhūvārī* 'constant'.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps singular.

<sup>2</sup> The Pada text has always *ā* in this and the following forms.

<sup>3</sup> This lengthening is found in neither -van stems nor -an stems, except *dhā* and *śvā*, which may be formed from transfer stems and in which the Pada as well as the Samhitā text has the long vowel.

<sup>4</sup> *vāja-karmabhis* is a v.l. of *vāja-bharmabhis*, and both adjectives as agreeing with *utibhis* have the value of feminines.

<sup>5</sup> The G. *chando-nāmnām* (VS. IV. 24) 'named metre' seems to be a transfer to the *a*-declension.

<sup>6</sup> Formed from *indhana* 'fuel', with loss of the final vowel.

<sup>7</sup> The f. *atharvī*, formed from *ātharvan* 'fire-priest', is quite exceptional.

<sup>8</sup> That is, *agra-i-t-varī*.

<sup>9</sup> That is, *abhi-i-t-varī*.

<sup>10</sup> From what only seems to be a -van stem which is really = *bhū-an*.

<sup>11</sup> This seems to be a corruption in AV. v. 2<sup>9</sup> of *mātari-bhvarī* in the corresponding passage of the RV.

<sup>12</sup> The f. of *śarvara* 'variegated' occurring in *api-śarvārī* n. 'early morning'; a stem *śar-van* does not occur.

<sup>13</sup> The f. of what only seems to be a stem in -van but is really = *śīsu-an*.

<sup>14</sup> Also *sūnptāvātī*.

b. In the strong cases there is one instance in which the *a* remains short: *an-arvānam*<sup>1</sup> (X. 92<sup>14</sup>), and two others in which the weakest stem is used: A. sing. *maghānam* (VS. XXVIII. 9) instead of *maghāvānam*, N. pl. *maghānas* (VI. 44<sup>12</sup>) instead of *maghāvānas*<sup>2</sup>. In the weak cases when the suffix is preceded by a vowel, the *a* is always syncopated in the Samhitā text except in the forms *dāvāne*, *vasuvāne* (VS.), and *ṛtāvān*, but it may have to be restored in one or two instances<sup>3</sup>.

c. The three words *ṛk-van* 'singing', *maghā-van* 'bountiful', *sahā-van* 'powerful' make a few forms from supplementary stems in *-vant*: I. sing. *ṛkvaṭā*; pl. I. *maghā-vadbhis*, D. *maghāvadbhyas*, L. *maghāvatsu*; N. sing. *sahāvān* and *sahāvān*. Beside *dadhi-krāvān*, N. of a mythical horse, also occurs the stem *dadhi-krā*.

d. Eight or nine words in *-van* show transitions to the *a*-declension by extending the stem with *-a* or, more commonly, by dropping the *n*. Thus *sātvānā-m* and *sātvānās* occur beside the numerous regular forms from *sātvān* 'brave'. The N. sing. m. *anarvān-a-s* (V. 51<sup>11</sup>, VIII. 31<sup>12</sup>) may have started from the A. *anarvān-am* (X. 92<sup>14</sup>), while the n. *anarvā-m* (I. 164<sup>2</sup>) may have been due to the f. (*adittir*) *anarvā* which appears like the f. of the *a*-declension. Other transitional forms are *ṛkvā-s* beside *ṛkvan*; *ṛkva-m* 'dexterous' beside *ṛkvan*; *tākvā-s* 'swift' beside *tākvan*; *vākvā-s*, N. pl., 'rolling' beside *vākvan*; *vākvā-m* 'brilliant' beside *vākvan*; *śikvā-s* (AV.) 'skilful' beside *śikvan*.

### Inflexion.

331. The normal forms occurring, if made from *grāvān* 'pressing stone' in the m. and from *dhānvān* 'bow' in the n., would be:

Sing. m. N. *grāvā*. A. *grāvānam*. I. *grāvānā*. D. *grāvāne*. Ab. *grāvānas*. G. *grāvānas*. L. *grāvāni* and *grāvān*. V. *grāvān*. — Du. N. A. V. *grāvānā* and *grāvānau*. I. *grāvābhyām* (AV.). G. *grāvānos*. — Pl. N. V. *grāvānas*. A. *grāvānas*. I. *grāvābhis*. D. *grāvābhyas*. G. *grāvānām*. L. *grāvāsu*.

Sing. n. N. A. *dhānvā* and *dhānvā*. I. *dhānvānā*. D. *dhānvāne*. Ab. G. *dhānvānas*. L. *dhānvāni* and *dhānvān*. — Pl. N. A. *dhānvāni*, *dhānvā*, *dhānvā* (AV.). I. *dhānvābhis*. D. *dhānvābhyas* (VS.). Ab. *dhānvābhyas* (AV.). G. *dhānvānām* (AV.). L. *dhānvāsu*.

Forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *agra-yāvā* 'going in front', *ātharvā* 'fire-priest', *adma-sādvā* 'companion at a meal', *ādhvā* 'road', *an-arvā*<sup>4</sup> 'irresistible', *abhi-yāvā* (VS. XVII. 86) 'attacking', *abhisasti-pāvā* 'protecting from curses', *abhi-satvā* 'surrounded by heroes', *abhyardha-yāvā* 'receiving sacrifices apart', *amatvā* 'suffering want', *arātvā* 'hostile', *ā-rāvā* 'not giving', 'hostile', *ārvā* 'steed', *āvatata-dhanvā* (VS. III. 61) 'whose bow is unbent', *āsv-pātāvā* 'flying swiftly', *ugrā-dhanvā* 'having a mighty bow', *ṛkvā* 'praising', *ṛghvā* 'impetuous', *ṛṇa-yāvā* 'pursuing guilt', *ṛṇvā* 'guilty', *ṛtāvā* 'pious', *ṛbhvā* 'dexterous', *ṛṣṇā-dhanvā* 'having a black track' (*adhvā*), *kratu-prāvā* 'granting power', *ksīprā-dhanvā* 'having an elastic bow', *grāvā* 'pressing stone', *tākvā* 'bird of prey', *dadhi-krāvā* N. of a divine horse, *deva-yāvā* 'going to the gods', *dru-sādvā* 'sitting on the wood', *ṇi-sādvā* 'sitting among men', *pātharvā* N. of a man, *pātāvā* 'flying', *puru-kṛtvā* 'doing much', *pūrva-gātāvā* 'leader', *pūrva-yāvā* 'leader', *pra-tākvā* (VS. v. 32) 'steep', *pra-ṛkvā* 'extending beyond', *prāṇa-dāvā*<sup>5</sup> (AV.) 'breath-giving', *prātār-itvā* 'coming in the morning', *bādha-sṛtvā* 'striding mightily', *bhāḍ-grāvā* (VS. I. 15) 'like a great stone', *bhūri-dāvā* 'giving much', *maghāvā*<sup>6</sup> 'bountiful', *mādvā* 'exhilarating', *mṛakṣa-kṛtvā* 'rubbing to pieces', *yāvā* 'sacrificer', *yāvā* 'aggressor', *yuktā-grāvā* 'having yoked the pressing stones', *yūdhvā* 'warlike', *raghu-pātāvā* 'flying swiftly', *rārāvā* 'giving abundantly', *rāvā* (VS. VI. 30) 'giving', *vākvā* 'rolling', *vasu-dāvā* 'giving goods',

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be a metrical shortening; according to GRASSMANN it is an A. of a transferring stem *an-arvāna*.

<sup>2</sup> The form *kṛtvānas* in AV. XIX. 35<sup>5</sup> as N. pl. m. is a conjecture; cp. p. 213, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> See LANMAN 524 (bottom).

<sup>4</sup> *an-arvān-a-s* is a transition to the *a*-declension.

<sup>5</sup> Emendation for *prāṇa-dāvān* in AV. IV. 35<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Also once *maghā-vān*, transition form from a stem in *-vant*.

*vāja-dātvā* 'granting wealth', *vi-jātvā* 'bodily', 'own', *vi-bhātvā* 'brilliant', *vi-bhītvā* 'bearing hither and thither', *vīṣa-parvā* 'strong-jointed', *vyomā* (VS. IV. 23) 'heaven'<sup>1</sup>, *subham-yātvā* 'flying swiftly', *śubhvā* 'bright', *syend-patvā* 'borne by eagles', *śrutārvā* N. of a man, *śruṣṭvā* 'obedient', *satind-satvā* 'truly brave', *satyā-madvā* 'really exhilarated', *sātvā* 'brave', *samadvā* 'eager for battle', *sahātvā*<sup>2</sup> 'mighty', *sītvā* 'Soma-pressing', *su-dhātvā* 'wielding a good bow', *stvā* 'speeding', *soma-pātvā* 'drinking Soma', *soma-sītvā* 'pressing Soma', *stūbhvā* 'praising', *hītvā* 'speedy'.

N. A. n. *dhānvā*<sup>3</sup> 'bow' and 'desert', *pārva* (AV.) 'joint', *vi-vāsva* 'bright flame', *snāva* (AV.) 'sinew'.

A. m. *ādhvānam*, *an-arvānam*, *ā-yajvānam* 'not sacrificing', *ārvānam*, *rjīsvānam* N. of a man, *ṛtāvānam*, *grāvānam*, *dadhi-krāvānam*, *dhītī-vānam* 'bountiful', *pīvānam* 'fat', *puru-niṣṭdhvānam* 'bestowing many gifts', *puro-yāvānam* 'going in front', *prātara-yāvānam* 'coming in the morning', *maghāvānam*, *muṣṭvānam* 'thief', *satā-yāvānam* (Kh. I. 3<sup>2</sup>) 'having a hundred ways', *śruṣṭvānam*, *sa-jitvānam* 'victorious', *sātvānam*, *sa-yāvānam* 'accompanying', *sahāvānam*, *śkāvānam* 'corner of the mouth', *hārdvānam* (VS. XXXVIII. 12) 'strengthening hearts'.

I. m. 1. *ātharvaṇā*, *abhi-yūgvaṇā*, *cikītvānā* 'wise', *satā-parvaṇā* 'having a hundred joints', *śikvaṇā* (TS. II. 5. 12<sup>2</sup>) 'skilful'. — 2. *grāvṇā*. — n. 1. *dhānvānā*, *pārvaṇā*. — 2. *snāvṇā* (AV.).

D. m. 1. *ādhvane*, *ā-pācād-daghvane* 'not staying behind', *kītvane* 'active', *jāsvane* 'needy', *drūhvane* 'hostile', *pr̥ṣṭha-yājvane* 'sacrificing on the ridge', *mādvane*, *yājvane*, *vasuvāne* (VS. XXI. 48) 'winning of wealth', *śākvane* (VS. V. 5) 'skilful', *satā-dhānvane* (VS. XVI. 29) 'having a hundred bows', *śrutārvane*, *sātvane*, *su-kītvane* 'pious', *su-dhānvane* (VS. XVI. 36), *sthirā-dhānvane* 'having a strong bow'. — 2. *ā-rāvne*, *ṛtāvne*, *osiṣṭha-dāvne* (TS. I. 6. 12<sup>3</sup>) 'giving immediately', *vīṣa-prayāvne* 'going with stallions', *suta-pāvne* 'Soma-drinker', *su-dāvne* 'giving abundantly', *soma-pāvne*, *sva-dhāvne* 'independent'. — n. 1. *turvāne* 'victory', *dāvāne* 'giving', *dhānvane* (VS. XVI. 14).

Ab. m. 1. *ādhvanas* (VS. XXVI. 1; TS.), *pīka-sītvanas* 'offering Soma with sincerity'. — 2. *ā-rāvnas*, *puru-rāvnas* (VS. III. 48) 'loud-roaring'. — n. 1. *dhānvanas* (AV.), *pārvaṇas*.

G. m. 1. *ātharvaṇas*, *ādhvanas*, *ā-yajvanas*, *ā-stṛta-yajvanas* 'sacrificing indefatigably', *yājvanas*, *vy-ādhvanas* 'striding through'. — 2. *ā-rāvnas*, *dadhi-krāvnas*, *bhūri-dāvnas*, *yuktā-grāvnas*, *suta-pāvnas*, *soma-pāvnas*; *maghāvnas*<sup>4</sup>. — n. 1. *dhānvanas* 'bow'.

L. m. 1. *ātharvaṇi*, *ādhvani*, *ṛtāvani*, *śrutārvani*, *su-kītvani*. — 2. *satā-dāvni*<sup>5</sup>. — 3. Without ending: *ādhvani*. — n. 1. *tīgvani* 'ford', *pārvaṇi*. — 3. *an-arvān*, *a-parvān*, *dhānvān*, *pārvaṇ* (AV.).

V. m. 1. *ātharvan* (AV.), *āsva-dāvan* 'giving horses', *dāvan* (AA. V. 2. 2<sup>13</sup>), *maghavan*, *vasu-dāvan*, *vīṣvato-dāvan* (SV. I. 5. 2. 1<sup>1</sup>) 'giving everywhere', *vīṣva-dāvan* (AV.) 'giving everything', *satya-satvan* 'truly strong', *satvā-dāvan* 'giving everything', *sahasāvan* 'strong', *suta-pāvan*, *soma-pāvan*, *sva-dāvan* 'having good taste', *sva-dhāvan*, *sva-yāvan* 'going one's own way'. — 2. With *-vas*: *ṛtāvas*, *eva-yāvas* 'going quickly', *prātara-itvas*, *vibhāvas*<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> As a masculine.

<sup>2</sup> Also *sahāvān* and *sāhāvān* from a stem in *-vanī*.

<sup>3</sup> Once with final vowel lengthened in the Samhitā text, *dhānvā*.

<sup>4</sup> Sometimes to be read as *maghā-vanas*; see LANMAN 534.

<sup>5</sup> The only example of syncopation in the L. of this declension in the RV. (V. 27<sup>2</sup>), where

however the *a* must be metrically restored; there are no examples in the *-an* or *-man* stems, but the AV. has one in the former and three in the latter.

<sup>6</sup> *khid-vas* (VI. 22<sup>4</sup>) is perhaps best taken as V. of a stem *khid-vāns*; BR. and LANMAN explain it as from *khid-van*. The V. *mātariśvas* is formed as if from *mātariś-van* instead of *mātariś-van*; cp. p. 210, notes <sup>10</sup> and <sup>13</sup>.

Du. N. A. V. m. *agrādvānā* 'eating (*advan-*) first', *a-druhvānā* 'not hostile', *ṛtāvānā*, *grāvānā*, *prātar-yāvānā*, *maghāvānā*, *ratha-yāvānā* 'driving in a car', *śubhṛa-yāvānā* 'driving stately', *śruṣṭvānā*, *sa-jitvānā*. — With *-au*: *ṛtāvānau*, *grāvānau* (AV.). — I. m. *grāvabhyām* (AV.). — G. m. *maghīnos*.

Pl. N. V. m. *akṣṇa-yāvānas* 'going across', *ātharvānas*, *an-arvānas*, *ā-yajvānas*, *upā-hāsvānas* 'mocking', *urdhvā-grāvānas* 'lifting the pressing stone', *ṛkvānas*, *ṛtāvānas*, *grāvānas*, *ghṛta-pāvānas* (VS. vi. 19) 'drinking ghee', *dṛhāvānas*, *ni-kṛtvānas* 'deceitful', *pari-sādvānas* 'besetting', *pīvānas* (TS. iii. 2. 85), *prāsthāvānas* 'swift', *prātar-yāvānas*, *maghāvānas*, *raghu-pātāvānas*, *vānāvānas* 'demanding', *vasā-pāvānas* (VS. vi. 19) 'drinkers of fat', *śubham-yāvānas*, *śruṣṭvānas*, *sātvānas*, *su-dhāvānas*, *su-śīkvānas* 'shining brightly'. — Weak form for strong: *maghīnas* (vi. 44<sup>12</sup>)<sup>2</sup>.

N. A. n. i. *dhānvāni*, *pārvāni*, *snāvāni* (AV.). — 2. *dhānva*, *pārva*<sup>3</sup>; with long final vowel only *pārvā* (AV. xii. 5<sup>4</sup>).

A. m. i. *ādhvānas*, *ā-yajvānas*, *dṛhāvānas* (AV.). — 2. *ā-rāvānas*, *evayāvānas*, *grāvānas*, *prātar-yāvānas*; *maghīnas*.

I. m. *ādhvabhis*, *ā-prayutvabhis* 'attentive', *ṛkvabhis*, *eva-yāvabhis*, *grāvabhis*, *prātar-yāvabhis*<sup>4</sup>, *yājvabhis*, *rāvabhis* 'agreeable', *śīkvabhis*, *sātvabhis*, *sanītvabhis* 'bestowers', *sa-yāvabhis*, *su-pṛa-yāvabhis* 'speeding well', *sva-yūgvabhis* 'allies'. — n. *pātavabhis*, *pārvabhis*, *vivāsvabhis*, *soma-pārvabhis* 'times of Soma offerings'.

D. m. *ātharvabhyas*, *grāvabhyas*, *gharma-pāvabhyas* (VS. xxxviii. 15) 'drinking hot (milk)'<sup>5</sup>. — n. *snāvabhyas* (VS. xxxix. 10). — Ab. n. *snāvabhyas* (AV.).

G. m. i. *ādhvānām* (VS. v. 33), *an-arvānām*, *ā-yajvānām*, *sātvānām*. — 2. *grāvānām*, *rāvānām*, *vāja-dāvānām*<sup>6</sup>, *soma-pāvānām*; *maghīnām*. — n. i. *dhānvānām* (AV.).

L. m. *ādhuvasu*, *kṛtvasu*, *grāvāsu* (Kh. i. 12<sup>3</sup>)<sup>7</sup>, *yājvasu*<sup>8</sup>. — n. *dhānvasu*, *pārvasu*.

### Stems in *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*.

332. The suffixes *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*, which have the sense of 'possessing', are used to form secondary adjectives. The stems in *-in* are very common, those in *-vin* are fairly frequent, numbering nearly twenty, but there is only one in *-min*: *ṛg-min*- 'praising'. They are declined in the m. and n. only<sup>9</sup>; but the neuter forms are very rare, amounting to fewer than a dozen altogether. The inflexion presents hardly any irregularities. The vowel of the suffix remains accented throughout<sup>10</sup>, and is not liable either to syncope or to lengthening in the G. pl. It is lengthened in the N. sing. m. only<sup>11</sup>. As in all derivative stems ending in *-n*, the nasal disappears in the N. sing. m. n. and before terminations beginning with consonants.

a. There are a few transition forms to the *a*-declension starting from the A. sing. m. in *-in-am* understood as *-ina-m*. Such are *paramēsth-ina-m* (AV. xix. 94) 'most exalted', N. sing. n.; the V. *māhina-a* and the G. *māhina-sya* from *māh-in*- 'mighty', and

<sup>1</sup> From the intensive of *ṇvan*.

<sup>2</sup> The form *kṛtvāno* in AV. xix. 355 is a conjecture for the *kṛtvāno* of the Mss.

<sup>3</sup> In Pada as well as Samhitā.

<sup>4</sup> Also the supplementary form *maghāvād-bhis*.

<sup>5</sup> Also the supplementary form *maghāvād-bhyas*.

<sup>6</sup> The form *sahasra-dāvānām* is read as a f. in i. 17<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Accented *grāvāsu* in the edition.

<sup>8</sup> There is also the transfer form *maghāvātsu*.

<sup>9</sup> They form a special f. stem by adding *-ī*; e. g. from *āv-in*- 'possessing horses' *āvīn-ī*.

<sup>10</sup> Except *ir-in*, *śākin*, *sārin*, and the compounds *kārū-lātin*, *māhā-vaṭīrin*, *indrā-medīn*, from each of which a single form occurs; also the compounds formed with the negative *a*; e. g. *ā-nāmin*.

<sup>11</sup> It would doubtless be lengthened in the N. A. n. pl. also if that form occurred.

the n. pl. *vaninā-ni* (x. 66<sup>9</sup>); from *van-in-* m. 'forest-tree'. The isolated form *mandi-m* (I. 9<sup>2</sup>) is a transition to the *i*-declension, starting probably from the I. sing. *mandin-ā* 'exhilarating' understood as *mandi-nā*.

### Inflexion.

333. All the case-forms are represented in the m., but in the n. the three singular case-forms, N. A., I., and G. only. As only eight or nine n. forms occur, they may most conveniently be enumerated separately:

**Sing. n.** N. *ā-nāmi* 'unbending', *ubhayaṛ-hastī* 'filling both hands', *tsāri* (AV.) 'hidden', *patatṛī* 'winged', *vājī* 'vigorous' (Kh. iv. 6<sup>3</sup>), *śakalyeṣī* (AV.) 'seeking shavings'<sup>2</sup>. I. *kirīṇā* 'praising', *su-gandhīn-ā*<sup>3</sup> 'fragrant'. G. *pra-hoṣṇas* 'offering oblations'<sup>4</sup>.

The m. forms actually occurring, if made from *hast-in-* 'having hands', would be as follows:

**Sing. N.** *hastī*. A. *hastinam*. I. *hastinā*. D. *hastīne*. Ab. *hastinas*. G. *hastinas*. L. *hastinī*. V. *hastin*. — **Du.** N. A. *hastin-ā* and *hastinau*. I. D. *hastibhyām*. G. L. *hastīnos*. — **Pl.** N. *hastinas*. A. *hastinas*. I. *hastibhis*. D. *hastibhyas* (VS. AV.). G. *hastinām*. L. *hastīṣu*.

a. The forms actually occurring are:

**Sing. N.** 1. Stems in *-in-*: *aikī* 'possessing a hook', *ati-ryādhi* (VS. xxii. 22) 'wounding', *abhya-varī* 'coming near', *arthī* 'active', *asvi* 'possessed of horses', *irī*<sup>5</sup> 'powerful', *uj-jeṣī* (VS. xvii. 85) N. of one of the Maruts, *udrī* 'abounding in water', *ṛjīpī* 'moving upwards', *ṛjāsī* 'receiving the residue of Soma', *ekīkī* (VS. TS.) 'solitary', *kapardī* 'wearing braided hair', *kāru-latī*<sup>6</sup> 'having decayed teeth', *kāmi* 'desirous', *kulīyī* (TS. iv. i. 9<sup>6</sup>) 'forming a nest', *kevalādī* 'eating by oneself alone', *keṣī* 'having long hair', *krūḍī* (VS. xvii. 85) 'sporting', *grha-medhī* (VS. xvii. 85) 'performing the domestic sacrifices', *candṛī* (VS. xx. 37) 'golden', *tsāri* 'hidden', *dyumnī* 'majestic', *niṣ-ṣapī* 'lustful', *paktihī* 'cooking the oblation', *patatṛī* (TS. i. 7. 7<sup>2</sup>) 'winged', *parame-ṣṭhī* (VS. viii. 54) 'most exalted', *pari-panthī* 'waylayer', *prṣṭy-āmayī* 'suffering from a pain in the side', *pra-ghāṣī* (VS. xvii. 85) 'voracious', *pra-bhaṅgī* 'destroying', *pra-repanī* 'causing to tremble', *bāhu-sardhī* 'relying on his arms', *brahma-cārī* 'practising devotion', *brahma-varcasī* (VS. xxii. 22) 'eminent in sacred knowledge', *bhadra-vādī* 'uttering auspicious cries', *manṣī* 'thoughtful', *manthī* (VS. vii. 18) 'stirred Soma juice', *mandī* 'exhilarating', *marāyī* 'destructive' (?), *mahā-hastī* 'having large hands', *māyī* 'crafty', *medī* 'ally', *rathī* 'possessing a car', *rambhī* 'carrying a crutch', *rukmi* 'adorned with gold', *vajrī* 'armed with a bolt', *varmī* 'mailed', *vaśī* 'having power', *vājī* 'vigorous', *vi-rapṣī* 'copious', *śata-svī* 'having a hundred possessions', *śaktī*<sup>7</sup> 'strong', *śiprī* 'full-cheeked', *śuṣmī* 'roaring', *ślokī* 'sounding', *śvaḥnī* 'gambler', *ṣoḍaśī* (VS. TS.) 'having sixteen parts', *sārī*<sup>5</sup> 'hastening', *śahasrī* 'thousandfold', *sācī* 'companion', *somī* 'offering Soma', *svabādī* 'bellowing', *hastī* 'having hands'. — 2. stem in *-mín-*: *ṛgmī* 'praising'. — 3. stems in *-vín-*: *ā-dvayāvī* 'free from duplicity', *ā-yudhvī*<sup>8</sup> 'not fighting', *aṣṭrāvī* 'obeying the goad', *tarasvī* (VS. xix. 88) 'bold'.

A. 1. *atrinam* 'devourer', *adhi-kalpīnam* (VS. xxx. 18) 'gamble-manager',

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *vanin-as*, probably due to the metre.

<sup>2</sup> The Pada text reads *śakalya-eṣī*; but the Paippalāda recension has the better reading *śākalyeṣu* 'among the shavings': see WHITNEY's note on AV. i. 25<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> But this form might be from *su-gandhī*.

<sup>4</sup> The isolated form *krudhmī* (vii. 56<sup>8</sup>) agreeing with *mānāṃsi* is a N. pl. n. of a stem *krudh-mi-*, rather than of *krudh-min-* 'angry'.

<sup>5</sup> With abnormal accent.

<sup>6</sup> Accented like a Bahuvrihi.

<sup>7</sup> Thus accented VS. xvii. 85, but *śāki* RV. i. 51<sup>8</sup>: the latter is probably an error as the suffix is accented in the three other forms *śākinam*, *śākine*, *śākinas*.

<sup>8</sup> BÖHTLINGK (pw.) regards this as a gerund: *ā-yud-dhvī* 'without fighting'.



*abhi-praśnīnam* (VS. xxx. 10) 'inquisitive', *abhi-mātīnam* 'insidious', *arkīnam* 'praising', *ava-krakṣīnam* 'rushing down', *d-vājinam* 'a bad horse', *aśvinam*, *ādārinam* 'breaking open', *āyinam* (TS. II. 4. 7<sup>1</sup>) 'hurrying up', *iśminam* 'speeding', *ukthā-saṃśīnam* 'uttering verses', *ukthīnam* 'praising', *udrīnam*, *rjīśīnam*<sup>2</sup>, *kapardīnam*, *karambhīnam* 'possessing gruel', *kalpīnam* (VS. xxx. 18) 'designing', *kālmālikīnam* 'flaming', *kāminam*, *kārīnam* 'singing', *kuḷāyīnam*, *kūci-d-arthīnam* 'striving to get anywhere', *catīnam* 'lurking', *jana-vādīnam* (VS. xxx. 17) 'prattler', *tri-śthīnam* (VS. xxx. 14) 'having a threefold footing', *dyumnīnam*, *dhanīnam* 'wealthy', *nī-yayīnam*<sup>2</sup> 'passing over', *pakṣīnam* 'winged', *patatrīnam* (VS. xix. 10), *pari-panthīnam*, *pīṭha-sarpīnam* (VS. xxx. 21) 'cripple', *putrīnam* 'possessing sons', *purīśīnam* 'possessing land', *pra-vādīnam* (VS. xxx. 13) 'speaking pleasantly', *praśnīnam* (VS. xxx. 10) 'questioner', *bahuvādīnam* (VS. xxx. 19) 'talkative', *manīśīnam*, *manthīnam*, *mandīnam*<sup>3</sup>, *manyu-sāvīnam* 'pressing Soma with zeal', *māyīnam*, *medīnam* (TS. IV. 7. 10<sup>4</sup>), *rathīnam*, *vaṃśa-nartīnam* (VS. xxx. 21) 'pole-dancer', *vajrīnam*, *vanīnam* 'bountiful', *vanīnam* 'forest tree', *vayīkīnam* 'ramifying', *varcīnam* N. of a demon, *vājinam*, *vi-rapśīnam*, *vi-śthīnam* (VS. xxiii. 29) 'wetting', *śata-gvīnam* 'hundredfold', *śatīnam* 'hundredfold', *sākinam*, *śuśmīnam*, *śringīnam* 'horned', *śvanīnam* (VS. xxx. 7) 'keeping dogs', *sahasra-pośīnam* 'thriving a thousandfold', *sahasrīnam*. — 3. *d-dvayāvīnam*, *ubhayāvīnam* 'partaking of both', *tarasvīnam*, *namasvīnam* 'reverential', *māyāvīnam* 'employing deceit', *medhāvīnam* (VS. xxxii. 14) 'possessed of wisdom', *raṅgasvīnam* 'demoniacal'.

I. 1. *arcinā* 'shining', *aśvinā*, *kimīdinā* 'evil spirit', *kīrīnā* 'praising'<sup>4</sup>, *balīnā* (TS. III. 3. 8<sup>2</sup>) 'strong', *mandīnā*, *mahā-vaṭurīnā*<sup>5</sup> 'very wide', *vaṭurīnā* 'wide', *vājīnā*. — 3. *raṅgasvīnā*.

D. 1. *abhiyā-vartīne*, *a-mitrīne* 'hostile', *ava-bhedīne* (VS. xvi. 34) 'splitting', *ā-tatāyīne* (VS. xvi. 18) 'having one's bow drawn', *ā-yudhīne* (VS. xvi. 36) 'warrior', *upa-vītīne* (VS. xvi. 17) 'wearing the sacred cord', *uṣṇīśīne* (VS. xvi. 22) 'wearing a turban', *kapardīne*, *kavacīne* (VS. xvi. 35) 'mailed', *kārīne*, *kimīdinē*, *tantrāyīne* (VS. xxxviii. 12) 'drawing out rays', *nī-vyādīne* (VS. xvi. 20) 'piercing', *nī-saṅgīne* (VS. xvi. 20) 'sword-bearer', *pra-sakṣīne* 'victorious', *bilmīne* (VS. xvi. 35) 'having a helmet', *bhāmīne* 'angry', *manīśīne*, *mantrīne* (VS. xvi. 19) 'wise', *mandīne*, *mahīne*, *vajrīne*, *varūthīne* (VS. xvi. 35) 'wearing armour', *varmīne* (VS.), *vi-naṣṭīne* (VS. ix. 20) 'vanishing', *vi-rapśīne*, *vy-aśnuvīne*<sup>6</sup> (VS. xii. 32) a genius of food, *vyādīne* (VS. xvi. 18) 'piercer', *sākinē*, *śiprīne*, *śuśmīne*, *śoḍaśīne* (VS. viii. 33), *sv-āyudhīne* (VS. xvi. 36) 'having good weapons'. — 3. *raṅgasvīne*.

Ab. 1. *abhi-prabhāṅgīnas* 'breaking completely', *patatrīnas*, *manthīnas* (TS. VS. xiii. 57), *somīnas*.

G. 1. *arthīnas*, *rjīśīnas*, *kapardīnas* (TS. VS. xvi. 10), *dhanīnas*, *patatrīnas* (TS. IV. 7. 13<sup>1</sup>), *parīnas* 'winged', *pra-gardhīnas* 'pressing onwards', *bhūri-pośīnas* 'much-nourishing', *manthīnas* (VS. vii. 18), *mandīnas*, *māyīnas*, *ratnīnas* 'possessing gifts', *rasīnas* 'juicy', *retīnas*<sup>7</sup> 'abounding in seed', *vajrīnas*, *vanīnas* 'bountiful', *vanīnas* 'forest tree', *varcīnas*, *vājīnas*, *vi-rapśīnas*, *vīṣu-harṣīnas*

<sup>1</sup> *rjīśām* in I. 32<sup>6</sup> is possibly a metrically shortened form for *rjīśīnam*: cp. LANMAN 543<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> As this compound occurs only once beside the simple adj. *yayī*, which occurs several times, the former is perhaps a transfer from the *i*-declension.

<sup>3</sup> *mandī-m* (I. 92) is probably a transition form; but BR. regard it as a contraction in pronunciation of *mandīnam*.

<sup>4</sup> GRASSMANN in I. 100<sup>9</sup> proposes to read *kīrīne*.

<sup>5</sup> Accented like *Bahuvrīhi*; but cp. p. 154<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Formed from the present stem of *vaś*: *vi-aś-nuvīn-*.

<sup>7</sup> From *rīta-* for *rītas-* 'seed'.

'refractory', *vrandīnas* 'becoming soft', *śatīnas*, *śuśmīnas*, *śṛṅgīnas*, *sahasrīnas*, *somīnas*. — 3. *d-dvayāvīnas*, *dvayāvīnas* 'double-dealing', *namasvīnas*.

L. 1. *dvīpīni* (AV.) 'leopard', *parame-śīhīni* (AV.), *brahma-cārīni* (AV.), *māyīni*, *vājīni*, *somīni*.

V. 1. *ānā-bhayin* 'fearless', *abhyā-vartin* (VS. XII. 7), *amatrin* 'having a large drinking vessel', *rjīpin*, *rjīšin*, *tuv-kūrmin* 'working powerfully', *pra-pathin* 'roaming on distant paths', *yakṣin* 'living', *vajrin*, *vājin*, *vīrapśin*, *śavasīn* 'mighty', *śiprin*, *śuśmin*, *sahasin* 'mighty'. — 3. *ubhayāvin*.

Du. N. A. V. 1. *āsvinā*, V. *āsvinā* and *āsvinā*, *kumārīnā* 'having children', *keśinā*, V. *paśra-hośinā* 'having rich oblations', *parṇinā*, *putrīnā*, *purīṣinā*, *pra-sakṣinā*, *manthīnā*, V. *māyīnā*, *vajrīnā*, *vājīnā*, V. *vājīnā*, *vi-ghanīnā* 'slaying', *śuśmīnā*, *sarathīnā* (VS. XXIX. 7; TS.) 'driving in the same car', *sāma-cārīnā* (Kh. III. 22<sup>5</sup>) 'faring with chants'. — 3. *mūyāvīnā*. — Forms with *-au*<sup>1</sup>: *āsvīnau*, V. *āsvīnau* and *āsvīnau*, *patatrīnau* (VS. XVIII. 52), *vājīnau*.

I. *āśvibhyām*, *indra-medibhyām* (AV.) 'whose ally is Indra'. — D. *āśvibhyām*. — G. *āśvīnos*. — L. *āśvīnos*.

Pl. N. V. 1. *aṅkuśīnas* 'having a hook', *atrīnas*, *arkīnas*, *arīnas*, *arthīnas*, *avarokīnas* (VS. XXIV. 6) 'brilliant', *iśmīnas*, *ukthīnas*, *upa-mantrīnas* 'persuading', *rjīṣīnas*, *kapardīnas*, *kabandhīnas* 'bearing casks', *kāmīnas*, *kārīnas*, *kīrīnas*, *kṛṣānīnas* 'adorned with pearls', *keśīnas*, *khādīnas* 'adorned with rings', *gaṇīnas* (TS. I. 4. 11<sup>1</sup>) 'having attendants', *gāthīnas* 'singers', *gāyatrīnas* 'singers of hymns', *gharmīnas* 'preparing the Gharma offering', *daśaguīnas* 'tenfold', *drapsīnas* 'falling in drops', *dhūmīnas* 'smoking', *nī-kārīnas* (TS. VS. XXVII. 4) 'injurers', *nī-todīnas* 'piercing', *nī-rāmīnas* 'lurking', *nī-śaṅgīnas*, *pakṣīnas*, *patatrīnas*, *pari-panthīnas*, *pari-parīnas* (VS. IV. 34) 'adversaries', *parṇīnas*, *pāśīnas* 'laying snares', *purīṣīnas*, *pra-krūdīnas* 'sporting', *pra-sakṣīnas*, *balīnas*, *manīṣīnas*, *mandīnas*, *malīnas*, *māyīnas*, *medīnas*, *rathīnas*, *vanīnas* 'bountiful', *vanīnas* 'forest trees', *varmīnas*, *vājīnas*, *vī-rapśīnas*, *vī-rokīnas* 'brilliant', *viśāpīnas* 'holding horns' (a people), *vrata-cārīnas* 'performing vows', *śataguīnas*, *śatīnas*, *śākīnas*, *śuśmīnas*, *sahasrīnas*, *somīnas*, *svanīnas* 'resounding', *hastīnas*, *hiraṇīnas* 'golden'. — 2. *rṅmīnas*. — 3. *tarasvīnas*, *dvayāvīnas*, *dhṛṣadvīnas* 'bold', *namasvīnas*, *māyāvīnas*.

A. 1. *atrīnas*, *a-rājīnas* 'lacking splendour', *arthīnas*, *āśvīnas*, *uktha-*'*aṃśīnas*, *kāmīnas*, *kārīnas*, *grathīnas* 'false', *dyumnīnas*, *pakṣīnas*, *pra-ghāsīnas* (VS. III. 44), *bhāmīnas*, *mandīnas*, *māyīnas*, *mitrīnas* 'befriended', *rathīnas*, *vanīnas* 'bountiful', *vanīnas* 'forest trees', *vājīnas*, *vrandīnas*, *sahasrīnas*, *somīnas*, *hastīnas* (VS. XXIV. 29), *hiraṇīnas*. — 3. *rakṣasvīnas*.

I. 1. *āśvibhis*, *keśibhis*, *nī-śaṅgībhis*, *patatrībhis*, *manīṣībhis*, *mandībhis*, *rukībhis*, *vājībhis*, *śuśmībhis*, *hastībhis*. — 2. *rṅmībhis*.

D. 1. *ṛta-vādībhyas* (VS. V. 7) 'speaking the truth', *krūdībhyas* (VS. XXIV. 16), *grha-medhībhyas* (VS. XXIV. 16), *ghanvāyībhyas* (VS. XVI. 22) 'carrying a bow', *rathībhyas* (VS. XVI. 26), *śikhībhyas* (AV.) 'peaked', *śvanībhyas* (VS. XVI. 27), *śṛkayībhyas* (VS. XVI. 21) 'having a spear', *svadhāyībhyas* (VS. XIX. 36) 'owning the Svadhā'.

G. 1. *kārīnām*, *māyīnām*, *vaśīnām* (AV.), *vājīnām*, *śṛṅgīnām*. — 3. *stukāvīnām* 'shaggy'. — L. 1. *khādīṣu*, *dvarīṣu* 'obstructing', *hastīṣu* (AV.).

#### 4. Labial Stems.

##### a. Stems in (radical) *-p*.

334. These stems are inflected alike in the masculine and feminine, there being no neuters. All the monosyllables are feminine substantives.

<sup>1</sup> According to LANMAN 544 the *-ā* forms occur 369 times, the *-au* forms 32 times.

They are: *áp-* 'water', *kép-* 'beauty', *kṣáp-* 'night', *kṣép-* 'finger', *rép-* 'deceit', *rép-* 'earth', *vép-*<sup>1</sup> 'rod'. Feminine are also the compounds *ā-táp-* 'heating', *pāti-rép-* 'deceiving a husband', *vi-śtáp-* 'summit', *ṛta-sáp-* 'performing worship'. All other compound stems are masculine. They are: *agni-táp-* 'enjoying the warmth of fire', *abhī-lāpa-láp-*<sup>2</sup> (AV.) 'excessively whimpering', *asu-tép-*<sup>3</sup> 'delighting in lives', *keta-sáp-* 'obeying the will (of another)', *pari-rép-* 'crying around', *paśu-tép-*<sup>3</sup> 'delighting in herds', *pra-sép-*<sup>4</sup> 'slumbering', *ṛity-áp-* 'having streaming (ṛiti-) water'.

a. The distinction of strong and weak forms appears in *áp-* and its compound *ṛity-áp-*, as well as in the two compounds of *sat-* 'serve', *ṛta-sáp-* and *keta-sáp-*. The strong form *āpas* is used a few times in the A. pl., but the long vowel in *pari-rāpas* as A. pl. is due to the metre; on the other hand, the weak form *ap-ās* appears twice in the AV. as N. pl.

b. The A. pl. *āpas* is nearly always accented on the ending as a weak case; *kṣāpas* similarly appears two or three times, and *vīpas* once.

c. No N. sing. m. or f. occurs, but a n. transition form once appears in this case: *viśtāpa-m* (IX. 113<sup>10</sup>), a form which doubtless started from the A. sing. f. *viśtāp-am*. The n. pl. of the same transition stem occurs once as *viśtāpā* (VIII. 80<sup>5</sup>). Two other transition forms are *kṣapābhis* and *kṣipābhis*.

### Inflexion.

335. The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. A. m. *paśu-tēpam*. — f. *vi-śtāpam*. — I. m. *vīpā* 'priest'. — f. *apā*, *képā*, *kṣapā*, *vīpā*. — Ab. f. *apās*; *ā-tāpas*, *vi-śtāpas*. — G. m. *vīpas*<sup>5</sup>. — f. *apās*, *kṣapās*, *rīpās*, *rupās*. — L. f. *vi-śtāpī*.

Du. N. m. *ṛity-āpā*; *asu-tēpau*<sup>6</sup>.

Pl. N. m. *ṛta-sāpas*, *keta-sāpas*, V. *ṛiti-āpas*; *vīpas*; *agni-tāpas*, *abhī-lāpa-lāpas* (AV.), *asu-tēpas*, *pra-sīpas*. — f. *āpas*, V. *āpas*, *ṛta-sāpas*; *kṣīpas*, *vīpas*, *rīpas*; *pāti-rīpas*. The A. form *āpas* occurs twice in the AV. for the N.<sup>7</sup>

A. m. *asu-tēpas*, *pari-rāpas*<sup>8</sup>. — f. *apās* and *āpas*<sup>9</sup>, *kṣapās* and *kṣāpas*<sup>10</sup>, *vīpās* and *vīpas*<sup>11</sup>, *rīpas*.

I. f. *adbhīs*<sup>12</sup>. — D. f. *adbhyās*<sup>12</sup> (VS. vi. 9). — Ab. f. *adbhyās*<sup>12</sup>. — G. m. *vīpām*. — f. *apām*<sup>13</sup>, *kṣapām*, *vīpām*. — L. f. *apsū*<sup>14</sup>.

### b. Stems in (radical) -bh.

336. Both masculines and feminines occur in this declension, but there are no neuters. The stems comprise five monosyllables formed from roots, together with compounds of three of the latter (*grābh-*, *śubh-*, *stubbh-*), and *kakīlbbh-*. The stems are: *kṣībbh-* f. 'push', *gṛbbh-* f. 'seizing', *nābbh-* f. 'destroyer', *sībbh-* f. 'splendour', *stībbh-* adj. 'praising', f. 'praise'; *jīva-gṛbbh-* m. 'capturing alive', 'bailliff', *sute-gṛbbh-* 'taking hold of the Soma', *syūma-gṛbbh-* 'seizing the

<sup>1</sup> *vīp-* as an adjective is used as a m. also.

<sup>2</sup> An irregular intensive formation.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. KLUGE, KZ. 25, 311f.

<sup>4</sup> From *svap-* 'sleep'.

<sup>5</sup> With irregular accent.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. LANMAN 482 (middle).

<sup>7</sup> There is also the transition form in the n. *vi-śtāpā*.

<sup>8</sup> Metrical for *pari-rāpas*, which is the reading of the Pada text in II. 23<sup>14</sup>; see RPr. ix. 26.

<sup>9</sup> *āpas* is the regular form occurring 152 times in the RV. and 26 times in the AV. The strong form *āpas* is used half a dozen

times in books I and X of the RV., and 16 times in the AV.; it also occurs in Kh. III. 9.

<sup>10</sup> *kṣāpas* 6 or 8 times in RV., *kṣapās* 2 or 3 times.

<sup>11</sup> *vīpas* thrice, *vīpās* once in RV.

<sup>12</sup> By dissimilation for \**ab-bhis*, \**ab-bhyās*; cp. JOHANSSON, IF. 4, 134—146. See LANMAN 483. There are also the two transfer forms *kṣapābhis* and *kṣipābhis*, each occurring once.

<sup>13</sup> On the metrical value of *apām* see LANMAN 484 (top).

<sup>14</sup> BR. regard *apāsu* in VIII. 4<sup>14</sup> as = *apsū* with inserted -a-. See LANMAN 484.

reins'; *rathe-slibh-* 'flying along in a car'; *anu-slibh-* f. 'after-praise', a metre, *ṛta-slibh-* 'praising duly', *tri-slibh-* 'triple praise', a metre, *pari-slibh-* 'exulting on every side', *saṃ-slibh-* (VS.) 'shout of joy', a metre, *gharma-slibh-* 'shouting in the heat', *chandaḥ-slibh-* 'praising in hymns', *ṛṣa-slibh-* 'calling aloud', *su-slibh-* 'uttering a shrill cry'; *kaklibh-* f. 'peak', *tri-kaklibh-* 'three-pointed'.

a. The distinction of strong and weak forms does not appear except in the N. and A. pl. of *nābh-*. The inflexion of these stems is incompletely represented, there being no dual forms, and no plural forms the endings of which begin with a consonant.

### Inflexion.

337. The forms occurring are:

Sing. N. m. *stūp*; *tri-kakīp*. — f. *anu-stūp* (VS. AV.), *anu-stūk* (TS. v. 2. 11<sup>1</sup>), *tri-stūp*; *kakīp* (VS. AV.).

A. m. *rathe-slibham*, *sute-gṛbham*. — f. *gṛbham*, *slibham*; *ṛta-slibham*, *anu-slibham*, *tri-slibham*; *kakībham*.

I. m. *stubbhā*; *su-slibbhā*. — f. *kṣubbhā*, *gṛbhā*, *śubhā*; *anu-slibbhā*, *tri-slibbhā* (VS. XVII. 34; TS. II. 2. 4<sup>8</sup>); *kakībbhā* (VS. XXVIII. 44).

D. m. *gharma-slibhe*, *syūma-gṛbhe*. — f. *slibhe* (AV. VS. XXX. 7); *anu-slibhe* (VS. XXIV. 12), *tri-slibhe* (VS. XXIV. 12); *kakībhe* (VS. XXIV. 13).

Ab. m. *jīva-gṛbhas*. — f. *gṛbhās* (VS. XXI. 43); *anu-slibhas* (VS. XIII. 54), *tri-slibhas* (AV.).

G. m. *su-slibhas*. — f. *śubhās*<sup>1</sup> (in *śubhās pāti*, du. N. A. and *śubhas pāti*, V.).

L. f. *tri-slibhi* (VS. XXXVIII. 18); *kakībbhi* (TS. III. 3. 9<sup>2</sup>; VS. XV. 4).

Pl. N. m. *chandaḥ-slibhas*, *ṛṣa-slibhas*, *pari-slibhas*, *su-slibhas*. — f. *nābhas*<sup>2</sup>, *slibhas*, *stlibhas*.

A. f. *nābhas*, *stlibhas*; *tri-slibhas*, *pari-slibhas*; *kakībhas*.

G. f. *kakībbhām*.

### c. Stems in -m.

338. There are only about half a dozen stems in -m which among them muster a few more than a dozen forms. All are monosyllables except a compound of *nam-* 'bend'. Neuters are *sām-* 'happiness' and perhaps *dām-* 'house'. A possible m. is *hīm-* 'cold'; and there are four feminines: *kṣām-*, *gām-*, and *jām-*, all meaning 'earth', and *saṃ-nām-* (AV.) 'favour'. Strong and weak forms are distinguished in *kṣām-*, which lengthens the vowel in the strong cases, and syncopates it in one of the two weak cases occurring; *gām-* and *jām-* are found in weak cases only, where they syncopate the vowel. The forms occurring are the following:

Sing. N. A. n. *sām*. — I. f. *kṣamā*, *jāmā*; m. *hīm-āṣ*. — Ab. f. *kṣmās*, *gmās*, *jāmās*. — G. f. *gmās*, *jāmās*<sup>4</sup>; n. *dām*<sup>5</sup>. — L. f. *kṣāmi*<sup>6</sup>. — Du. N. f. *kṣānā*, *dyāvā-kṣāmā* 'heaven and earth'. — Pl. N. f. *kṣāmas*; *saṃ-nāmas* (AV.). — G. n. *damām*.

<sup>1</sup> The form *dābhas* in v. 19<sup>4</sup> is regarded by BR. and GRASSMANN as N. sing. m. 'destroyer'. LANMAN 485 thinks it may be a G. sing. f. with wrong accent.

<sup>2</sup> Strong form.

<sup>3</sup> This is the only form, occurring twice, from a possible stem *hīm-*, beside *himēna*, from *himā-*. It might, however, be an I. from the latter stem. Cp. 372.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 580.

<sup>5</sup> For *\*dām-s* (like *ā-ṣau* for *\*ā-ṣam-s*) occurring only in the expressions *pātir dām* and *pātī dām* and equivalent to *dām-pātīḥ* and *dām-pātī* at the end of a triṣubh line. Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 453.

<sup>6</sup> With irregular accent; cp. above 94 a.

## 5. Stems in Sibilants.

1. a. Stems in radical *s* and *ṣ*.

339. In radical stems ending in *s* and *ṣ*, the sibilants are identical in origin, both being alike etymologically based on the dental *s*, which remains after *ā*, but is cerebralized after other vowels and after *k*. In the RV. there are of radical *s*-stems some 40 derived from about 15 roots; of radical *ṣ*-stems, some 50 derived from about 15 roots; in both groups taken together there are nearly 20 monosyllabic stems, the rest being compounds. Masculine and feminine stems are about equally numerous; but there are altogether only 7 or 8 neuters.

a. The distinction between strong and weak forms appears in three words: *pīmāṃs* and *pūṃs* 'male'; *nās-* and *nas-* 'nose'; *uktha-śās-* and *uktha-śas-* 'uttering verses'. The A. pl. has the accentuation of weak stems in the masculines *jñās-ās*, *pūṃs-ās*, *mās-ās* and in the feminines *iṣ-ās*, *uṣ-ās*, *dviṣ-ās*.

b. The stem *ās-* 'face' is supplemented in its inflexion by the *an-* stem *ās-an-*; the stem *iṣ-* is supplemented before consonant endings by *iḍā-*<sup>1</sup>; and *dūs-* 'fore-arm' is supplemented by *doṣ-an-* in the dual form *doṣānī* (AV. IX. 7<sup>7</sup>).

c. Transitions to the *a-* or *ā-*declension appear in forms made from *ās-* 'face', *iṣ-* 'refreshment', *kās-* 'cough', *nās-* 'nose', *mās-* 'month', *ā-śās-* 'hope', *nī-miṣ-* 'winking'. 1. From *ās-*, beside and probably through the influence of the I. sing. *ās-ā*, is formed the adv. *āsaya* 'before the face of' (as from a stem *ās-ā*, and with adverbial shift of accent instead of \**āsāyā*). — 2. Forms like G. *is-ās* gave rise to *iṣā-m*; and the supplementary stem *iḍā-* probably started from the I. sing. *iḍ-ā*, which itself was probably due to *iḍ-* the form assumed by *iṣ-* before *bh-* endings; the stem *iṣ-* further shows a transition to the *i-* declension in the D. *iṣāye*. — 3. From *kās-* 'cough' there is the transition V. *kāse* (AV.). — 4. The strong dual form *nās-ā* furnished a transition to an *ā-* stem, from which is formed the dual *nāse* (AV.). — 5. As *pād-am* gave rise to a new N. *pāda-s*, so from *mās-am* arose the new stem *māsa-*, from which are formed the N. sing. *māsa-s* and the A. pl. *māsān*. — 6. In the RV. the stem *ā-śās-* alone is used; but in the AV. appears the A. *āśām* (perhaps a contraction for *ā-śāsam*) which, understood as *āśā-m*, was probably the starting point of the *āśā-*, the only stem in the later language. — 7. From *nī-miṣ-* 'winking' there appear, beside the regular compound forms A. *ā-nimiṣ-am*, I. *ā-nimiṣ-ā* f. 'non-winking', the transition forms N. *a-nimiśā-s*, A. *a-nimiśā-m*, I. *a-nimiṣṭha*, N. pl. *a-nimiśās*, adj. 'unwinking', with the regular Bahuvrīhi accent (90 B c).

## Inflexion.

340. In the N. sing. the sibilant is of course dropped if preceded by a consonant, as *an-āk* 'eyeless', *pīmān* 'man'. Otherwise *s* remains, while *ṣ* becomes *ṣ*<sup>2</sup>. Before *bh-* endings, *s* becomes *ḍ* in two forms which occur (*mād-bhīs*, *mād-bhyās*)<sup>3</sup> and *r* in the only other one (*dor-bhyām*); while *ṣ* becomes *ḍ* in the only example occurring (*vi-prūḍ-bhis*).

The forms actually occurring, if made from *mās*<sup>4</sup> m. 'month' as an *s-* stem, and from *dviṣ-* f. 'hatred' as a *ṣ-* stem, would be as follows:

Sing. N.<sup>5</sup> *mās*; *dviṣ*. A. *māsam*; *dviṣam*. I. *māśā*; *dviṣā*. D. *māśé*; *dviṣé*. Ab. *māsás*; *dviṣás*. G. *māsás*; *dviṣás*. L. *māsi*; *dviṣi*. — Du. N. A. *māśā*; *dviṣā*. G. *māsós*. L. *māsós* (AV. TS.). — Pl. N. *māsas*; *dviṣas*. A. *māsás*; *dviṣas* and *dviśás*. I. *mādbhis*; *dviḍbhis*. D. *mādbhyás* (AV.). Ab. *mādbhyás* (AV.). G. *māsām*; *dviṣām*. L. *māssi* (AV.).

The forms actually occurring are:

<sup>1</sup> As *kṣāp-* and *kṣip-* by *kṣapā-* and *kṣipā-* respectively.

<sup>2</sup> It becomes *k* only in the n. form *dadhīk* 'boldly', used as an adv. from *dadhīk-*, if the word is derived from *dāhīk-* 'be bold'; but the word is perhaps more probably derived from *dāh-* 'be firm', see BR. s. v. *dadhīk*, and cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 12, Anzeiger p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 26, 340.

<sup>4</sup> In this word (derived from *mā-* 'measure') the *s* is really secondary, probably representing the suffix *-as* (*mās-* = *mā-as-*); cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 398.

<sup>5</sup> The only V. occurring is *pumas*.

Sing. N. 1. m. *pūmān*<sup>1</sup> 'male'; *candrā-mās* 'moon', *dūrē-bhās*<sup>2</sup> 'shining to a distance', *su-dās*<sup>3</sup> 'worshipping well'. — f. *ā-jñās* 'having no kindred', *ā-śśs*<sup>4</sup> 'prayer'. — n. *bhās* 'light', *mās* 'flesh'; *dās* 'arm', *yās* 'welfare', *saṃ-yās* 'luck and welfare'. — 2. m. *an-āk*<sup>5</sup> 'blind', *edhamāna-dvīṣ*<sup>6</sup> 'hating the insolent'. — f. *vi-prīṣ* (AV.) 'drop'.

A. 1. m. *māsam* 'month', *pūmāṃsam*; *a-yāsam* 'dexterous', *uktha-śāsam*<sup>7</sup> 'uttering verses', *su-dāsam*, *su-bhāsam* 'shining beautifully', *sv-āśśsam*<sup>8</sup> 'well-praising', *sv-āsam* 'fair-mouthed'. — f. *kāsam*<sup>9</sup> (AV.) 'cough'; *ā-śśsam*<sup>4</sup>, *prā-śśam*<sup>4</sup> 'precept'. — 2. m. *ghṛta-prīṣam* 'sprinkling ghee', *jara-dvīṣam* 'hating decrepitude', *brahma-dvīṣam* 'hating sacred knowledge', *viśvā-pīṣam* 'all-nourishing'. — f. *īṣam* 'refreshment', *dvīṣam* 'hatred', *pṛkṣam* 'satiation'; *ā-nimiṣam* 'non-winking', *doṣaṇi-śrīṣam* (AV.) 'leaning on the arm', *hṛdaya-śrīṣam* (AV.) 'clinging to the heart'. Also the adverbial A. *ā-vy-uśām* (AV.) 'till the dawn'. — n. *dadhṛk* 'boldly' as adv.

I. 1. m. *māsā*. — f. *kāsā* (AV.), *nasā* (AV.) 'nose', *śāsā* 'ruler'<sup>10</sup>; *abhi-śāsā*<sup>11</sup> 'blame', *ava-śāsā* (AV.) 'wrong desirer', *ā-śāsā* 'hope', *ā-śīṣā*, *niḥ-śāsā* 'blame', *parā-śāsā* (AV.) 'calumny', *prā-śīṣā* (AV. VS.). — n. *āsā* 'mouth', *bhāsā*. — 2. m. *viśva-pīṣā*<sup>12</sup>. — f. *īṣā*, *tvīṣā* 'excitement'; *ā-nimiṣā*, *prā-vīṣā* (AV. TS.) 'rainy season', *preṣā*<sup>13</sup> 'pressure'. — n. *ghṛta-prīṣā*.

D. 1. m. *pūṃsē* (AV.); *su-dāse*. — n. *bhāsē* (VS. XIII. 39). — 2. m. *ā-prā-yuṣe*<sup>14</sup> 'not careless'; *ā-vi-dvīṣe* (AV.) 'for non-enmity', *ṛṣi-dvīṣe* 'hating the seers', *brahma-dvīṣe*; *gav-īṣe* 'wishing for cows', *paśu-īṣe* 'wishing for cattle'; *sākam-līṣe*<sup>15</sup> 'sprinkling together'. — f. *īṣē*<sup>16</sup>, *tvīṣē*, *pṛkṣē*, *riṣē* 'injury', *preṣe* (VS. v. 7).

Ab. 1. m. *pūṃsās*. — f. *kāsās* (AV.) — n. *āsās*. — 2. f. *īṣās*, *tvīṣās*, *dvīṣās*, *riṣās*; *abhi-śrīṣās* 'ligature', *ni-mīṣās* 'winking'.

G. 1. m. *pūṃsās*; *a-śāsās* 'not blessing', *su-dāsās*, *sv-āsās*. — f. *ā-śīṣās* (TS. IV. 6. 63). — 2. m. *śrīga-vṛṣās*<sup>17</sup> a man's name. — f. *īṣās*, *uṣās* 'dawn', *dvīṣās*, *pṛkṣās*; *abhra-prīṣās* 'sprinkling of the clouds', *ni-mīṣās*.

L. 1. m. *pūṃsi*, *māsi*. — f. *upāsi* 'in the lap', *nasī* (VS.); *ā-śīṣi* (AV.), *prā-śīṣi* (AV.). — 2. f. *ni-mīṣi*, *prā-vīṣi*, *vy-īṣi* 'dawn'.

V. m. *pūmas*<sup>18</sup>.

Du. N. A. 1. m. *uktha-śāsā*<sup>19</sup>, *sūryā-māsā*<sup>20</sup> 'sun and moon'. — f. *nāsā*<sup>21</sup>.

— I. 1. n. *dorbhyām* (VS. XXV. 3). — G. 1. f. *nasīs*. — L. 1. f. *nasīs* (AV. TS.).

Pl. N. 1. m. *a-yāsas*, V. *ayāsas*, *uktha-śāsas*<sup>19</sup>, *su-saṃśāsas*<sup>22</sup> (AV.) 'well-directing'. — f. *ā-śāsas*; *ā-śīṣas*, *prā-śīṣas*, *vi-śīṣas* (AV.) 'explanations',

<sup>1</sup> On the Sandhi of this N. see LANMAN 495<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See LANMAN 495<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> There are also the transition forms *māsa-s* and *a-nimiṣā-s*.

<sup>4</sup> The root in *ā-śīṣ-* and *prā-śīṣ-*, being a reduced form of *śās-* 'order', is here treated as belonging to the *s*-class.

<sup>5</sup> From *an-ākṣ-* 'eyeless'.

<sup>6</sup> The N. of *īṣ-* would be \**iṣ*: its place is supplied by the extended form *iṣā*.

<sup>7</sup> Strong stem from *śas* = *saṃs* 'proclaim'.

<sup>8</sup> Accented *kāsām* (AV. v. 22<sup>11</sup>).

<sup>9</sup> Also the transition forms *a-nimiṣām* and *āśām* (AV.).

<sup>10</sup> Cp. LANMAN 495 (bottom).

<sup>11</sup> From *śas* = *saṃs* 'proclaim'.

<sup>12</sup> There is also the transition form *a-nimiṣēna*.

<sup>13</sup> Accented thus as a monosyllabic stem instead of *preṣā* (= *prā-īṣ-ā*).

<sup>14</sup> From *pra+yū-* 'separate' with *s* as root determinative.

<sup>15</sup> Perhaps also *āram-īṣe* (VIII. 46<sup>17</sup>) 'hastening near', Pada *āram-īṣe*; cp. LANMAN 496<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Also the transfer to the *i*-declension *īṣāye*.

<sup>17</sup> In a compound vocative with *napāt*.

<sup>18</sup> In the f. are found the transfers to the *ā*-declension *hīṣe* and *kāse* (AV.).

<sup>19</sup> Strong forms; Pp. *uktha-śāsā*, *-śāsas*.

<sup>20</sup> This might be from the transition stem *-māsa-*.

<sup>21</sup> There is also the transition form *nāsē* (AV.).

<sup>22</sup> There are also the transition forms *māsās*, *a-nimiṣās*.

*saṃ-śīśas* (AV.) 'directions'; *vi-srāsas*<sup>1</sup> (AV.) 'falling apart', *su-srāsas* (AV.) 'falling off easily', *svayaṃ-srāsas* (AV.) 'dropping spontaneously'. — 2. m. *māksas* 'flies', *mīśas* 'mice'; *anṛta-dviśas* 'persecuting untruth', V. *a-saca-dviśas* 'hating non-worshippers', *gau-śas*, *ghṛta-pṛīśas*, *pari-pṛīśas* 'sprinkling', *brhad-īkśas* 'shedding copiously', *brahma-dviśas*, *yajña-mīśas* (TS. III. 5. 4<sup>1</sup>) 'sacrifice stealer', *vāta-tviśas* 'having the impetuosity of the wind'. — f. *īśas*, *tviśas*, *pṛīśas*; *ān-ā-dhṛśas* (AV.) 'not checking', *ghṛta-pṛīśas*, *ni-mīśas* (AV.), *nemann-īśas*<sup>2</sup> 'following guidance', *pati-dviśas* 'hating her husband', *vy-īśas* (AV.), *saṃ-īśas* 'darts', *sākam-īkśas*, *su-pṛīśas* 'abounding with food'.

A. 1. m. *jñāsās* 'relatives', *pūṃsās*, *māsās*<sup>3</sup>; *an-āsas* 'faceless', *ān-ūrdhva-bhīśas* 'whose splendour does not rise', *a-yāsas*, *a-śāsas*, *hṛtsv-āsas* 'throwing into the heart'. — f. *ā-śāsas*; *ā-śīśas*, *pra-śīśas*. — 2. m. *brahma-dviśas*. — f. *īśas* and *iśās*<sup>4</sup>, *uśās*, *dviśas* and *dviśās*<sup>5</sup>, *pṛīśas*; *camṛīśas*<sup>6</sup>, *vi-pṛīśas* (AV.).

I. 1. m. *mādbhis*. — 2. f. *vi-pṛīdbhis*<sup>7</sup> (VS.). — D. 1. m. *mādbhyās* (AV.). — Ab. 1. m. *mādbhyās* (AV.). — G. 1. m. *pūṃsām* (AV.), *māsām*, *vasām*<sup>8</sup> 'abodes'; *a-yāsām*. — 2. f. *iśām*, *dviśām*. — L. 1. m. *pūṃsī*<sup>9</sup> (AV.).

## i. b. Stems in derivative -s.

### a. Stems in -is and -us.

341. The stems formed with the suffixes *-is* and *-us* may best be treated together, as their inflexion is identical. The *-is* stems, numbering about a dozen, consist primarily of neuters only<sup>10</sup>; these when they are final members of compounds are secondarily inflected as masculines also, but only in a single form (N. sing. *svā-śocis* 'self-radiant') as feminine. The *-us* stems, numbering sixteen (exclusive of compounds) in the RV., include primary masculines (two also as f.) as well as neuters; three of the latter as final members of compounds are also inflected as feminine. Eleven of the *-us* stems are neuter substantives, all but one accented on the radical syllable; four of these are also used as m. adjectives<sup>11</sup> accented in the same way (*ārus-*, *cākṣus-*, *tāpus-*, *vāpus-*). Three of those *-us* stems which are exclusively m. are adjectives accented on the suffix, while two are substantives accented on the root (*nāh-us-*, *mān-us-*)<sup>12</sup>.

a. The N. A. pl. n. are distinguished as strong forms by lengthening and nasalizing the vowel of the suffix (as in the *-as* stems), e. g. *jyōtīmī* and *cākṣīmī*.

b. Among these stems appear a number of transitions to, and a few from, other declensions. 1. The N. sing. n., as in *śoc-is* and *cākṣ-us*, having in some passages the appearance of a N. sing. m. *śoc-is* and *cākṣ-us*, led to formations according to the *i*- and *u*-declension. Such are N. pl. *śocāyas* (AV.) 'flames', V. sing. *pāvaka-śoce* 'shining brightly', *bhādra-śoce* 'shining beautifully', *śukra-śoce* 'shining brilliantly'; N. pl. *arcāyas* 'beams', I. pl. *arci-bhis*. The form of *kṛav-is* 'raw flesh' in the compound *ā-kṛavi-hasta* 'not having bloody hands' is probably due to the same cause. From *cākṣ-us* 'eye' is once formed the Ab. *cākṣo-s* and the V. *sahasra-cākṣo* (AV.) 'thousand-eyed'. From *tāp-us* 'hot' is once

<sup>1</sup> The Mss. read *vi-srasas*; see WHITNEY'S note on AV. XIX. 343.

<sup>2</sup> *neman-* is here probably a locative.

<sup>3</sup> There is also the transition form *māsām*.

<sup>4</sup> *īśas* occurs 63 times, *iśās* 7 times in the RV.

<sup>5</sup> *dviśas* occurs 39 times, *dviśās* 4 times in the RV.

<sup>6</sup> The meaning of this word is perhaps 'libations in ladles'.

<sup>7</sup> There is also the transition form *i-īābhis* as an I. pl. of *ī-*.

<sup>8</sup> This word, occurring in this form only, might be a f.

<sup>9</sup> *māssu-* occurs Pañc. Br. IV. 4. 1 and *māsī* (like *pūṃsī* for *pūṃs-sī*) TS. VII. 5. 22. The f. transition form *iḍāsu* occurs as the L. pl. of *ī-*.

<sup>10</sup> There seems no reason why *ām-is* occurring in L. s. only, should exceptionally be regarded as m. (BR., LANMAN, GRASSMANN).

<sup>11</sup> One of these, *tāpus-* 'hot', has a single f. form, A. du. *tāpuṣā*.

<sup>12</sup> See above p. 84, 19.

formed the G. *tápo-s*; from *van-ús* 'desiring', as if *vanít-s* in N., the A. sing. *vanít-m* and pl. *vanít-n*; from *áy-us* 'life' occurs not only the L. sing. *áy-n-i*, but several compound forms, V. *dinghāyo* 'long-lived', *adabdhāyo* (VS.) 'having unimpaired vigour', A. *vyddhāyu-m* 'full of vigour', n. *viśvāyu* 'all-quickening', A. m. *viśvāyu-m*, D. *viśvāyau*, G. *viśvāyo-s*<sup>1</sup>. — 2. There are also some transition forms from three masculines in *-us*, by extension of the stem, to the *a*-declension: from *nāh-us* 'neighbour', starting perhaps from the G. *nāhu-s* taken as a N. sing. *nāhu-s-a*, are made the G. *nāhu-s-a* and the L. *nāhuc*; from *mān-us* 'man', starting from the N. pl. *mānu-s* taken as a N. sing. *mānu-s-a*, come the D. *mānu-sāya* and the G. *mānu-s-a*; from *vāp-us* 'beauty', once D. *vāpu-sāya* beside the frequent *vāpu-s*. — 3. On the other hand, there are a few transitions from the declension of *i*- and *u*-stems to that of stems in *-is* and *-us*. Beside *su-rabhi* 'fragrant', the superlative form *su-rabhi-s-jamam*<sup>2</sup> occurs once; and beside numerous compounds formed with *tuvī* appear the stems *tuvī-s-mant* 'powerful' and *tuvī-s-jama* 'strongest'<sup>3</sup>. Beside the G. *dhákvo-s* and *dákšo-s*<sup>4</sup> 'burning', there appears once the form *dákšus-as*<sup>5</sup>, which is doubtless due to the false analogy of forms like *tasthūśas*. Though *mān-us* 'man' may be an independent formation beside *mān-u*, the probability is rather in favour of regarding it as secondary (starting from a N. *mānu-s*), because *mānu-* shows eight case-forms, but *mānu-s* only three<sup>6</sup>. The stem *á-frāyus*, occurring only once beside the less rare *á-frāyu-*, probably represents a transition from the latter stem.

### Inflexion.

342. The final *s* becomes *ś* before vowel endings, and *r* before *-bh*. The inflexion of the n. is the same as that of the m. except in the A. sing., N. A. du. and pl. The only f. forms occurring are in the N. or A. They are the following: N. sing. *svá-śocis* 'self-radiant'; *cákṣus* 'seeing', *á-ghora-cákṣus* 'not having an evil eye', *hradé-cákṣus* 'reflected in a lake'; *citriyus* 'possessed of wonderful vitality'; A. du. *tāpuś* 'hot'; A. pl. *gá-vāpuśas* 'having the form of cows'.

The actual forms occurring, if made from *śocis*- 'glow' in the n., and from *-śocis*- in the m. (when it differs from the n.), and from *cákṣus*- 'eye' as n. and 'seeing' as m., would be as follows:

1. Sing. N. *śocis*. A. *śocis*; m. *-śociśam*. I. *śociśā*. D. *śociśe*. Ab. *śociśas*. G. *śociśas*. L. *śociśi*. V. *śocis*. — Pl. N. A. *śociśiṣi*; m. *-śociśas*. I. *śociśrbhis*. D. m. *-śociśrbhyas*. G. *śociśām*. L. *śociśṣu*.

2. Sing. N. *cákṣus*. A. *cákṣus*; m. *cákṣuśam*. I. *cákṣuśā*. D. *cákṣuśe*. Ab. G. *cákṣuśas*. L. *cákṣuśi*. — Du. N. A. *cákṣuśi*; m. *cákṣuśā*. D. *cákṣurbhyām* (VS.). — Pl. N. A. *cákṣuśiṣi*; m. *cákṣuśas*. I. *cákṣurbhis*. D. *cákṣurbhyas* (VS.). G. *cákṣuśām*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. 1. *á-havis* 'not offering oblations', *kṣṇá-vyathis* 'whose path is black'; *citrá-jyotis* (VS. xvii. 80) 'shining brilliantly', *śukrá-jyotis* (VS. xii. 15) 'brightly shining', *satyá-jyotis* (VS. xvii. 80) 'truly brilliant', *su-jyotis* (VS. xxxvii. 21) 'shining well'; *citrá-śocis* 'shining brilliantly', *duróka-śocis* 'glowing unpleasantly', *śukrá-śocis* 'bright-rayed'; *jivá-barhis* (AV.) 'having a fresh litter', *su-barhis* (VS. xxi. 15) 'having a goodly litter', *stirñt-barhis* 'who has strewn the litter'; *svá-rociś* 'self-shining'; *su-arcis*<sup>7</sup> 'flashing beautifully'. — 2. *cákṣus* 'seeing', *vāpuś*<sup>8</sup> 'beautiful', *vidús* 'attentive'<sup>9</sup>; *á-dabdhā-cákṣus* (AV.) 'having undamaged sight', *kṣitīyus* 'whose life goes to an end', *dirgháyus* 'long-lived', *duḥ-śásus* 'malignant', *vī-parus* (AV.) 'jointless', *viśvátas-cákṣus* 'having eyes on all sides', *sárva-parus* (AV.) 'having all joints', *sahásráyus* (AV.) 'living a thousand years'.

<sup>1</sup> There is probably insufficient reason to assume a primary independently formed stem *áy-u-* beside *áy-us*; cp. LANMAN 569 (bottom).

<sup>2</sup> Retaining the *s* of the N. like *indras-vant*.

<sup>3</sup> *tuv-is* as an independent formation would be irregular, since the radical vowel otherwise shows Guṇa before the suffix *-is* (134).

<sup>4</sup> Desiderative adj. from *dah-* 'burn'.

<sup>5</sup> The Pada text has *dhakṣśas*.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. LANMAN 570 (bottom).

<sup>7</sup> There are also the transition forms *arci-s* and *śoci-s*, the neuters becoming masculines of the *i*-declension.

<sup>8</sup> Also the transition forms *cákṣu-s*, *tāpú-s*.

<sup>9</sup> This may be an *u*-stem: *vidú-s*.



**N. A. n. 1.** *arcīś* 'flame', *kravīś* (AV.) 'raw flesh', *chadīś* 'cover', *chardīś* 'fence', *jyōtīś* 'light', *barhīś* 'litter', *vartīś* 'circuit', *vyāthīś* 'course', *śociś* 'lustre', *sarplīś* 'clarified butter', *haviś* 'oblation'; *vaiśvānarā-jyōtīś* (VS. xx. 23) 'light of Vaiśvānara', *śukrā-jyōtīś* (TS. iv. 1. 9<sup>3</sup>), *svār-jyōtīś* (VS. v. 32) 'light of heaven'. — **2.** *ārus* (AV.) 'wound', *āyus* 'life', *cākṣus* 'eye', *tāpus* 'glow', *dhānus* 'bow', *pārus* 'joint', *yājus* 'worship', *vāpus* 'beauty', *śāsus* 'command'; *indra-dhanīś* (AV.) 'Indra's bow', *sv-āyīś*<sup>1</sup> (VS. iv. 28) 'full vigour'.

**A. m. 1.** *ā-grbhīta-śociśam* 'having unsubdued splendour', *ajirā-śociśam* 'having a quick light', *urdhvā-śociśam* 'flaming upwards', *citrā-śociśam*, *dirghāyu-śociśam* 'shining through a long life', *pāvakā-śociśam* 'shining brightly', *śrā-śociśam* 'sharp-rayed', *śukrā-śociśam*, *śrēṣṭha-śociśam* 'most brilliant'; *citrā-barhīśam* 'having a brilliant bed', *vrktā-barhīśam* 'having the litter spread', *su-barhīśam*, *stīrnā-barhīśam* (VS. xiv. 49); *dāksinā-jyōtīśam* (AV.) 'brilliant by the sacrificed gift', *hiraṇya-jyōtīśam* (AV.) 'having golden splendour'. — **2.** *janīśam* 'birth', *dirghāyusam*, *pūrv-āyīśam* 'bestowing much vitality', *śatāyusam*<sup>2</sup> 'attaining the age of a hundred'.

**I. 1. n.** *arcīṣā*, *kravīṣā*, *chardīṣā* (VS. xiii. 19), *jyōtīṣā*, *barhīṣā* (VS. xviii. 63; TS.), *rocīṣā* 'brightness', *śociṣā*, *sarplīṣā*, *haviṣā*. — **m.** *manthī-śociṣā* (VS. vii. 18) 'shining like mixed Soma', *śukrā-jyōtīṣā* (VS.). — **2. n.** *āyusā*, *cākṣusā*, *janīṣā*, *tāpusā*, *dhānusā* (Kh. iii. 9), *pārusā*, *yājusā*, *śatāyusā*, *samiṣṭa-yajīṣā* (VS. xix. 29) 'sacrifice and formula', *sv-āyīṣā* (VS. iv. 28) 'full vigour of life'. — **m.** *tāpusā*, *nāhusā* 'neighbour', *mānusā* 'man', *vanīṣā* 'eager'.

**D. 1. n.** *arcīṣe* (TS. VS. xvii. 11), *jyōtīṣe* (VS. AV.), *barhīṣe* (VS. ii. 1), *śociṣe*, *haviṣe*. — **m.** *tigmā-śociṣe* 'sharp-rayed', *pāvakā-śociṣe*, *śukrā-śociṣe*, *vrktā-barhīṣe*, *stīrnā-barhīṣe*, *rātā-haviṣe* 'liberal offerer', *su-haviṣe* 'offering fair oblations'. — **2. n.** *āyusē* (VS. AV.), *cākṣusē*, *janīṣe*, *tāpusē* (AV.), *yājusē* (VS. i. 30), *vāpusē*. — **m.** *cākṣusē*, *mānusē*, *vanīṣē*<sup>3</sup>.

**Ab. 1. n.** *jyōtīṣas* (AV.), *barhīṣas*, *haviṣas*. — **2. n.** *āyusas* (TS. iv. 1. 4<sup>3</sup>), *cākṣusas* (TS. v. 7. 7<sup>1</sup>), *janīṣas*, *pārusas* (TS. iv. 2. 9<sup>2</sup>), *vāpusas*. — **m.** *nāhusas*, *mānusas*, *vāpusas*.

**G. 1. n.** *kravīṣas*, *chardīṣas*, *jyōtīṣas*, *barhīṣas*, *śociṣas*, *sarplīṣas*, *haviṣas*. — **m.** *pāvakā-śociṣas*, *vrddhā-śociṣas* 'blazing mightily', *vāsu-rocīṣas* 'shining brightly', *vrktā-barhīṣas*<sup>4</sup>. — **2. n.** *āyusas*, *cākṣusas*, *tāpusas*, *tārusas* 'superiority', *pārusas*, *vāpusas*. — **m.** *cākṣusas*, *nāhusas*, *mānusas*, *vanīṣas*<sup>5</sup>; *īṣṭa-yajusas* (VS. viii. 12) 'having offered the sacrificial verses'.

**L. 1. n.** *arcīṣi*, *āmiṣi*<sup>6</sup> 'raw flesh', *jyōtīṣi*, *barhīṣi*, *sādhiṣi* (VS. xiii. 53) 'resting-place', *haviṣi*; *tri-barhīṣi* 'with threefold litter'. — **2. n.** *āyusi*<sup>7</sup>, *tāruṣi*, *pāruṣi*, *vāpuṣi*.

**V. 1. n.** *barhīś*<sup>8</sup>; *deva-haviś* 'oblation to the gods' (VS. vi. 8). — **2. m.** *ākāyus*<sup>9</sup> 'first of living beings'.

**Du. N. A. 2. n.** *cākṣuṣī* (AV., Kh. iv. 11<sup>14</sup>), *janīṣī*. — **m.** *cākṣuṣā*, *jayīṣā* 'victorious'. — **D. 2. n.** *cākṣurbhīyam* (VS. vii. 27).

<sup>1</sup> Also the transition form *viśvāyu* 'all-quickening'.

<sup>2</sup> Also the transition forms *vanī-m*, *vrddhāyu-m*, *viśvāyu-m*.

<sup>3</sup> Transition forms: *viśvāyave*; *mānuṣāya*, *vāpuṣāya*; *ā-prāyuse* 'not careless'.

<sup>4</sup> Also perhaps a transition form *śoci-s*; cp. LANMAN 568.

<sup>5</sup> Also the transition forms *tāpos*, *viśvāyos*; *nāhuṣasya*; *mānuṣasya*; *dhakṣīṣas* (341b, p. 222).

<sup>6</sup> Accounted a m. by BR., GRASSMANN, LANMAN.

<sup>7</sup> Also the transition form *āyuni*; and m. *nāhuse*.

<sup>8</sup> Also the transition forms *pāvaka-śoce*, *bhadra-śoce*, *śukra-śoce*.

<sup>9</sup> Also the transition forms *adabdhāyo* (VS.), *dirghāyo*, *sahasra-cakṣo* (AV.).

Pl. N. m. i. *āgrbhīta-śociṣas*, *ajirā-śociṣas*, *vāta-dhrājiṣas* (Kh. i. 3<sup>3</sup>) 'having the impulse of wind', *vrktā-barhiṣas*, V. *vrkta-barhiṣas*, *sūdma-barhiṣas*. 'preparing the litter', V. *su-barhiṣas*, *su-jyotiṣas* and *su-jyotiṣas*, *svā-rociṣas*<sup>1</sup>. — 2. *nāhuṣas*, *mānuṣas*, V. *manuṣas*, *vanuṣas*, *vāpuṣas*.

N. A. n. i. *arciṃṣi*, *jyotiṃṣi*, *barhiṃṣi* (VS. XXVIII. 21), *śociṃṣi*, *haviṃṣi*. — 2. *dyūṃṣi*, *cākṣuṃṣi*, *januṃṣi*, *tāpūṃṣi*, *pārūṃṣi* (TS. VS. AV.), *yājūṃṣi* (VS. AV.), *vāpūṃṣi*.

A. m. i. *su-jyotiṣas*. — 2. *nāhuṣas*, *mānuṣas*, *vanuṣas*<sup>2</sup>.

I. i. n. *haviṛbhis*<sup>3</sup>. — 2. n. *dhānurbhis* (AV.), *yājurbhis* (VS. IV. 1), *vāpurbhis*. — D. i. m. *urdhvā-barhīrbhyas* (VS. XXXVIII. 15) 'being above the litter'. — 2. n. *yājurbhyas* (VS. XXXVIII. 11).

G. i. n. *jyotiṣām*, *haviṣām* (AV.). — 2. n. *cākṣuṣām* (AV.), *januṣām*, *yājuṣām* (AV.), *vāpuṣām*. — m. *vanuṣām*, *viśvā-manuṣām* 'belonging to all men'.

L. i. n. *haviṣṣu*.

### β. Stems in -as.

343. Primarily this declension consists almost entirely of neuters, which are accented on the root, as *mān-as* 'mind'; but these as final members of adjective compounds may be inflected in all three genders, as N. m. f. *su-mānās*, n. *su-mānas* 'well-disposed'. There are besides a few primary masculines, which are accented on the suffix, being either substantives, as *raṅś-as* 'demon', or adjectives, some of which occur in the f. also (as well as n.), as *ap-ās* 'active'; and one feminine, *uś-ās* 'dawn'<sup>4</sup>.

a. Strong cases are regularly distinguished only in the N. A. pl. n., where the vowel of the suffix is lengthened and nasalized<sup>5</sup> (as in the -is and -us stems), as *āmhāmsi* 'troubles'. Otherwise the stem *uśās-* shows in the A. sing., N. A. du., N. V. pl., strong forms with lengthened vowel in the suffix, which occur beside the unlengthened forms<sup>6</sup>, the latter being nearly three times as frequent in the RV. The long vowel is here required by the metre in 20 out of 28 occurrences, and is favoured by the metre in the rest<sup>7</sup>; so that the lengthening may be due to metrical exigencies. The strong form *uśāsas*<sup>8</sup> occurs once (X. 39<sup>1</sup>) for the weak *uśāsas* as the G. sing. or A. pl. There is further the single strong form N. du. m. *uśāsā*<sup>9</sup> 'bestowing abundantly'<sup>10</sup>.

b. Supplementary stems ending in -as beside -an are *śbhvas-* 'skilful' (as well as *śbhva-*) beside *śbhvan-*, and *śikvas-* 'strong' (as well as *śikva-*) beside *śikvan-*.

c. There is here a large number of transition forms both to and from the ā-declension. Many pairs of stems in -a and -as are common in both forms and seem therefore to be of independent derivation. But there are also a good many such doublets of which the one is the normal stem, while the other has come into being through mistaken analogy or metrical exigency. i. In the transitions to the ā-declension several may be explained as starting from the misleading analogy of contracted forms. To this group belong the following: from *āngiras-*, a name of Agni, L. sing. *āngire* beside N. pl. *āngirās*; from *ān-āgas-* 'sinless', A. pl. *ān-āgān* beside A. sing. *ān-āgām* and N. pl. *ān-āgās*; from *ap-sarās-* 'water-nymph', *apsarābhya-* (AV.), *apsarāṣu* (AV.), *apsarā-patīs* (AV.) beside *apsarām* (AV.); from *uśās-* 'dawn', N. du. *uśē* (VS.), *uśābhyām* (VS.), beside A. sing. *uśām* and pl. *uśās*; from *jarās-* m. 'old age', f. sing. N. *jarā* (AV. VS.), D. *jarāyai* (AV.), beside

<sup>1</sup> Also the transition forms *arcāyas*, *śocāyas*.

<sup>2</sup> Also the transition form *vanūn*.

<sup>3</sup> Also the transition form *arci-bhis*.

<sup>4</sup> The derivation of a few stems ending in -as is obscure; as *upās-* 'lap' (only L. sing.), and *viśādas-* 'destroying enemies'.

<sup>5</sup> On the origin of this form as a combination of -ān-i and -ās-i see JOHANSSON, BB. 18, 3 and cp. GGA. 1890, p. 762.

<sup>6</sup> The lengthened vowel never occurs in the Pada text in these forms (excepting of course the N. *uśās*).

<sup>7</sup> See ARNOLD, Vedic Metre, p. 130, II (a); cp. LANMAN 546.

<sup>8</sup> The Pada text has *uśāṣah*.

<sup>9</sup> Here the long vowel appears in the Pada text also. This is the only form made from the stem *uśās-* (from *uś-* 'drip').

<sup>10</sup> The form *sa-psarāṣas* 'enjoying in common(?)', occurring once, must be the pl. of *sa-psarā-* (BR., GRASSMANN), not of *\*sa-psarās-* (LANMAN 546, GELDNER, VS. 3, 197), because -as is never accented in Bahuvrīhi compounds; see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 301 d, note. *su-medhās-* 'very wise' is not a Bahuvrīhi.

A. *jarām*<sup>1</sup>; from *sa-jōṣas* 'united', N. du. *sa-jōṣau* beside pl. *sa-jōṣās*. There is a further group of transitions to the *a*-declension starting not from contracted forms, but from the N. sing. n. understood as m.<sup>2</sup> From *avas* 'favour' is thus formed I. *āvena*; from *krāndas* 'battle-cry', D. *krāndāya*<sup>3</sup> (AV.), and the compound *śīci-kranda-m* 'crying aloud'; from *sārdhas* n. 'troop' the m. forms *sārdha-m*, *sārdhena*, *sārdhāya*, *sārdha-sya*, *sārdhān*<sup>4</sup>; from *hēḥas* n., once (I. 94<sup>12</sup>) *hēḥas* N. m., hence A. *hēḥa-m* (AV.), L. *hēle*; also the compound forms N. f. du. *a-dveśē* 'not ill-disposed', beside *dveśas* 'hate'; *dur-ōka-m* (VII. 43) 'unwonted' beside *ōkas* 'abode'; *vi-dradhē* (IV. 32<sup>23</sup>) 'unclothed' (?) beside *drādhasi* (TS.) 'garments'; *pṛthu-jrāya-m* (IV. 44<sup>1</sup>) 'far-extending' beside *jrāyas* 'expanse'; *puru-pēsāsu* 'multiform' beside *pēsas* 'form'.<sup>5</sup>

2. The second class, comprising transitions to the *-as* declension, consists of the two groups of transfers from the radical *-ā* stems and the derivative *-a* stems. The former group embraces forms of compounds made from *kṣā* 'abode', *prajā* 'offspring', *dā* 'giving', *dhā* 'bestowing', besides *mās* 'moon', starting from the N. in *-ā*s which is identical in form with that of stems in *-as*. The forms of this type are the following: N. pl. *divā-kṣas* *as* beside N. sing. *divā-kṣā-s* 'having an abode in heaven'; A. sing. *ā-prajas-am* (AV. VS.) 'childless', A. pl. f. *īḍa-prajas-as* (TS. MS.), A. sing. *su-prajās-am* (AV.), N. pl. m. *su-prajās-as* (AV. TS.) 'having a good son' beside N. sing. m. *su-prajā-s*; V. *draviṇo-dās*<sup>6</sup> beside N. sing. *draviṇo-dās*, A. *draviṇo-dā-m* 'wealth-giving'; *varco-dās-au* (VS.) 'granting vigour'; *reto-dhās-as* (VS.) 'pregnating' beside N. sing. m. *reto-dhā-s*; A. *vayo-dhās-am* (VS.), I. *vayo-dhās-ā* (VS.), *vayo-dhās-e* (VS.), V. *vayo-dhas*, N. pl. *vayo-dhās-as* (AV.) beside N. sing. *vayo-dhā-s* 'bestowing vigour'; D. sing. *varco-dhās-e* (AV.) beside N. sing. *varco-dhā-s* (AV.) and A. sing. f. *varco-dhā-m* (VS.); of *candrā-mās*-7 'moon' all the forms occurring, except the N. sing., which is their starting-point, are transfer forms: A. *candrā-masam* (VS. XXIII. 59), I. *candrā-masā* (AV.), D. *candrā-mase* (VS.), G. *candrā-masas*, L. *candrā-masi* (AV.), V. *candramas* (AV.), N. du. *candrā-masā*, *sūryā-candra-māsā* and *sūryā-candra-māsau*.

3. There are further several sporadic transition forms from *-as* stems occurring beside the ordinary corresponding *-a* stem. These may sometimes have started from an ambiguous N. sing., but they seem usually to be due to metrical exigencies. Such forms are the following: *dākṣas-e*, *dākṣas-as*, *pūtā-dākṣas-ā* and *pūtā-dākṣas-as* beside very frequent forms of *dākṣa* 'skill'; *doṣās-as*<sup>8</sup> (AV.) once beside forms of *doṣā* 'evening'; (*viśvāyū*)-*pośas-am* beside the common *pōśa*; N. sing. *sā-bharās*, A. *viśvā-bharas-am* beside the frequent *bhāra* 'supporting'; *veśās-as*<sup>9</sup> (AV.) beside *veśā* 'neighbour'; *śēpas* as A. sing. in AV. (XIV. 23<sup>38</sup>) for the *śēpam* of the RV., from *śēpa*-m. 'tail', N. sing. *śēpa-s*; N. sing. m. *su-śēvās* occurs in the AV. as a variant for *su-śēvas* 'very dear' of the RV.; *sahāsra-śokās* occurs once as N. sing. m. beside the common *śōka* 'flame'; A. sing. *tuvī-ṣvaṇās-am* and N. pl. *tuvī-ṣvaṇās-as*, beside *svand* 'sound'; A. pl. f. *gharmā-svaras-as* beside *svarā* 'roaring'; also the D. *dhruvās-e* (VII. 70<sup>1</sup>) for *dhruvāya* to which it is preferred owing to the metre and the influence of infinitives in *-āse*, and similarly *vṛdhās-e* (V. 64<sup>5</sup>) parallel to *vṛdhāya* (VIII. 83<sup>6</sup>).

4. There are besides a few quite abnormal transition forms. The occurrence of the very frequent N. pl. m. of *vī* 'bird' with a singular verb (I. 141<sup>8</sup>) and once as an A. pl. (I. 104<sup>1</sup>) may have produced the impression of a n. collective *vāyas* and thus led to the n. pl. *vāyāmsi* (AV.), helped perhaps by the existence of the very frequent n. stem *vāyas* 'food'. The isolated form N. sing. m. *sv-āñcās* is probably lengthened for *sv-āñca-s* (like *su-śēvās* for *su-śēvas*) which started from the A. sing. m. *sv-āñc-am*. The G. du. *rōdas-os* occurs once (IX. 22<sup>5</sup>), evidently on account of the metre instead of the ordinary *rōdasī-os*<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> LANMAN 552 thinks that *medhā* 'wisdom' in N. *medhā*, I. *medhāya*, N. pl. *medhās*, I. *medhābhis* started from *medhām* as contracted A. of *medhas* found in *su-medhās*. This seems doubtful to me.

<sup>2</sup> In VI. 66<sup>6</sup> *rōkas* might be taken as N. sing. m. (as GRASSMANN takes it) beside *rokās*, m.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. also the D. *carāyai* (VII. 77<sup>1</sup>) beside *carāse* (I. 92<sup>4</sup>, V. 47<sup>4</sup>), and *tārāya* (II. 13<sup>12</sup>) beside *tārāse* (III. 18<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. LANMAN 353 and 554, 8.

<sup>5</sup> There is also an *-as* stem extended with *-a* in the D. *ā-jarasāya* (X. 85<sup>43</sup>) 'till old age', based on the adv. compound *ā-jaras-ām* (B.)

<sup>6</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 398.

Indo-arische Philologie. I. 4.

<sup>7</sup> From *mās*. (A. *mās-am*, etc.), where the *s* belongs to the stem. It is formed probably with *-as* from *mā* 'measure' (*mā-as*), being thus in origin a contracted *-as* stem, in which, however, the N. *mās* giving rise to the transition forms was understood as the lengthened form of \**mas*.

<sup>8</sup> In *uśāso doṣāsas* *ca* (AV. XVI. 4<sup>6</sup>) obviously due to parallelism with *uśāsas*.

<sup>9</sup> Clearly owing to the metre instead of *veśāsas*.

<sup>10</sup> Similarly *aks-ōs* occurs in AV. V. 11<sup>10</sup> (but contrary to the metre) for *akṣī-ōs*. On the transition forms of the *-as* declension cp. LANMAN 546—558.

## Inflexion.

344. The N. sing. m. f. lengthens the vowel of the suffix; e. g. m. *āṅgirās*<sup>1</sup>, f. *usās*. In about a dozen compounds the long vowel appears (owing to the influence of the m.) in the n. also; e. g. *ārṇa-mradās* 'soft as wool'. Before endings with initial *bh* the suffix *-as* becomes *-o*<sup>2</sup>. The forms actually occurring, if made from *āpas-* n. 'work' and *apās-* m. f. 'active', would be as follows:

**Sing.** N. *āpas*; *apās*. A. *āpas*; *apāsam*. I. *āpasā*; *apāsā*. D. *āpase*; *apāse*. Ab. *āpasas*; *apāsas*. G. *āpasas*; *apāsas*. L. *āpaśi*; *apāśi*. V. *āpas*; *apās*. — **Du.** N. A. V. *āpaśī*; *apāśī* and *apāsau*<sup>3</sup>. D. *apābhyaṁ* (VS.). G. *āpasos* (VS.). — **Pl.** N. *āpāmsi*; *apāsas*. A. *āpāmsi*; *apāsas*. I. *āpobhis*; *apābhis*. D. *āpobhyas*; *apābhyas*. Ab. *āpobhyas*. G. *āpasām*; *apāsām*. L. *āpassu*; *apāssu*<sup>4</sup>.

The forms actually occurring are as follows:

**Sing. N. m.** *āṅgirās*<sup>5</sup> an epithet of Agni, *dāmānās* 'domestic', *nodhās* name of a seer, *yaśās* 'glorious', *raṁśās* 'demon', *vadhās* 'ordainer'; **compounds:** *a-cetās* 'senseless', *dīty-amhās* (VS. xvii. 80) 'beyond distress', *ādri-barhās* 'fast as a rock', *ā-dvayās* 'free from duplicity', *ān-āgās*<sup>6</sup> 'sinless', *an-ūdhās* 'udderless', *ānūna-varcās* 'having full splendour', *an-enās* 'guiltless', *ā-pracetās* 'foolish', *abhībhūty-ōjās* 'having superior power', *āmītauṣjās* 'almighty', *a-rapās* 'unhurt', *āvayāta-heṭās* 'whose anger is appeased', *āsamāty-ōjās* 'of unequalled strength', *ā-hanās* 'exuberant', *uru-cāksās* 'far-seeing', *uru-tyācās* 'widely extending', *ṛṣi-manās* 'of far-seeing mind', *ṛṣvāyās* 'having sublime (ṛṣvā-) power', *kārī-dhāyās* 'favouring the singer', *kṛttī-vāsās* (VS. iii. 61) 'wearing a skin', *kēta-vedās* 'knowing the intention', *khādo-arṇās* 'having a devouring flood', *gabhrīd-vepās* 'deeply moved', *gūrtā-manās* 'having a grateful mind', *gūrtā-sravās* 'the praise of whom is welcome', *gō-nyughās* 'streaming among milk', *ghṛtā-prayās* 'relishing ghee', *jātā-vedīs* 'knowing created beings', *tād-apās* 'accustomed to that work', *tād-okās* 'rejoicing in that', *tād-ōjās* 'endowed with such strength', *tarād-dveśās* 'overcoming foes', *tigmā-tejās* (VS. i. 24) 'keen-edged', *tri-vayās* 'having threefold food', *dabhrīd-cetās* 'little-minded', *dasmā-varcās* 'of wonderful appearance', *dīrghā-tamās* N. of a seer, *dīrghāpsās* 'having a long fore-part', *dur-ōśās* 'hard to excite', *devā-psarās* 'serving the gods as a feast', *devā-sravās* 'having divine renown', *dvi-bārḥās* 'doubly strong', *nā-vedās* 'cognisant', *nṛ-cāksās* 'watching men', *nṛ-mānās* 'mindful of men', *nṛ-ōkās* 'domestic', *pāvakā-varcās* 'brightly resplendent', *purū-rāvās* (VS. v. 2) N., *prīhu-jrāyās* 'widely extended', *prīhu-pājās* 'far-shining', *prā-cetās* 'attentive', *prā-vayās* 'vigorous', *bāhu-ōjās* 'strong in the arm', *brhāc-chravās* 'loud-sounding', *brhād-ravās* (VS. v. 22) 'loud-sounding', *brhād-vayās* (TS. i. 5. 10<sup>2</sup>) 'grown strong', *bodhīn-manās* 'watchful-minded', *bhūri-retās* (VS. xx. 44) 'abounding in seed', *bhūry-ōjās* 'having great power', *mādhū-vacās* 'sweet-voiced', *māno-javās* 'swift as thought', *mahā-yaśās* (Kh. iv. 8<sup>8</sup>) 'very glorious', *mitrā-mahās* 'rich in friends', *raghu-pātma-jamhās* 'having a light-falling foot',

<sup>1</sup> The stems *svā-tavas-* and *sv-āvas-* form the irregular N. *svā-tavān* and *sv-āvān*, VS. *sv-āvā*.

<sup>2</sup> Except in f. *usādbhis* and m. *svā-tavādbhyas* (VS.); cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 713 (bottom).

<sup>3</sup> The ending *-au* is here very rare and occurs chiefly in the later Samhitās.

<sup>4</sup> Represented in f. by *apsarāssu* (Kh.) and m. *apāsu* if for *apāssu*.

<sup>5</sup> The *s* of the N. sing. is perhaps lost in *usānā*; but this form may be a transition, starting from the A. *usānīm* (= *usānasam*) after the analogy of the f.; another instance is perhaps *an-chā* (x. 61<sup>12</sup>).

<sup>6</sup> The form *ān-āvayās* (AV. vii. 90<sup>3</sup>), meaning perhaps 'not producing conception', may belong to this declension. See WHITNEY's note. LANMAN 443, places it under radical *-ā* stems.

*rāthaujās* (VS. xv. 15) 'having the strength of a chariot', *riśādās* 'destroying enemies', *viśu-śravās* 'famous for wealth', *vāta-rāṃhās* 'fleet as wind', *vi-cetās* 'clearly seen', *vi-manās* 'very wise', *viśvā-cakṣās* 'all-seeing', *viśvā-dhāyās* 'all-sustaining', *viśvā-bharās*<sup>1</sup> (VS. xi. 32) 'all-supporting', *viśvā-bhojās* 'all-nourishing', *viśvā-manās* 'perceiving everything', *viśvā-vedās* 'omniscient', *viśvā-vyacās* (VS. xiii. 56) 'embracing all things', *viśvādūjās* 'all-powerful', *vi-hāyās* 'mighty', *vīlu-dvēsās* 'hating strongly', *vīlu-harās* 'holding fast', *vṛddhā-mahās* 'of great might', *vṛddhā-vayās* 'of great power', *vṛddhā-śravās* 'possessed of great swiftness', *śatā-tejās* (VS. i. 24) 'having a hundredfold vital power', *śatā-payās* (TS. VS.) 'having a hundred draughts', *śukrā-varcās* 'having bright lustre', *śraddhā-manās* 'true-hearted', *śrī-manās* (VS.) 'well-disposed', *sā-canās* 'being in harmony with', *sā-cetās* 'unanimous', *sa-jōśās* 'united', *satyā-rādhas* 'truly beneficent', *satyādūjās* (AV. VS. TS.) 'truly mighty', *sa-prāthās* 'extensive', *sām-okās* 'dwelling together', *sahāsra-cakṣās* 'thousand-eyed', *sahāsra-cetās* 'having a thousand aspects', *sahāsra-pāthās* 'appearing in a thousand places', *sahāsra-retās* 'having a thousandfold seed', *sahāsra-śokās*<sup>1</sup> 'emitting a thousand flames', *sahāsraṣās* 'thousand-shaped', *su-dāmsās* 'performing splendid actions', *su-mānās* 'well-disposed', *su-medhās*<sup>2</sup> 'having a good understanding', *su-rādhas* 'bountiful', *su-rēkhas* 'having fair possessions', *su-rētās* 'having much seed', *su-varcās* 'splendid', *su-vāsās* 'having beautiful garments', *sōma-cakṣās* (TS. ii. 2. 124) 'looking like Soma', *śōma-vāhās* 'receiving praise', *spārthā-rādhas* 'bestowing enviable wealth', *sv-āncās*<sup>1</sup> 'going well', *sv-āpās* 'skilful', *svābhūty-ōjās* 'having energy from inherent power', *svā-yaśās* 'glorious through one's own acts', *svār-cakṣās* 'brilliant as light', *svār-canās* 'lovely as light', *sv-ōjās* 'very strong'.

f. *uśās* 'dawn'; *āti-cchandās* (TS., VS. xxi. 22) a metre, *ā-dvayās*, *ap-sarās* 'water-nymph', *a-repās* 'spotless', *ā-hanās*, *uru-vyācās*, *ārṇa-mradās* 'soft as wool', *dvi-bārhas*, *nīcā-vayās* 'whose strength is low', *nr-mānās*, *prā-cetās*, *mādhū-vacās*, *yāvayād-dvēsās* 'driving away enemies', *vi-cchandās* (TS. v. 2. 11<sup>1</sup>) 'containing various metres', *vi-hāyās*, *vīśa-manās* 'manly-spirited', *śukrā-vāsās* 'bright-robed', *sā-cetās*, *sā-cchandās* (TS. v. 2. 11<sup>1</sup>) 'consisting of the same metres', *sa-jōśās*, *sa-prāthās*, *sā-bharās*<sup>1</sup> 'furnished with gifts' (?), *sahā-yaśās* (TS. iv. 4. 12<sup>2</sup>) 'glorious', *su-dāmsās*, *su-pēsās* 'well-adorned', *su-mānās*, *su-medhās*<sup>2</sup>, *su-vāsās*.

N. A. n. *ānhas* 'distress', *āñhas* 'ointment', *a-dvēsās* 'without malevolence', *ānas* 'cart', *an-ehās* 'without a rival', *āndhas* 'darkness' and 'plant', *āpas* 'work', *apās* 'active', *āpnas* 'property', *āpsas* 'hidden part of the body', *āmbhas* 'water', *āyas* 'metal', *a-rakṣās* 'harmless', *a-rapās*, *ārṇas* 'flood', *āvas* 'favour', *āgas* 'sin', *āpas* 'religious ceremony', *ūras* 'breast', *ūdhas* 'udder', *ēnas* 'sin', *ōkas* 'abode', *ōjas* 'strength', *kṣōdas* 'rushing water', *cānas* 'delight', *cetas* (VS. xxxiv. 3) 'intellect', *chāndas* 'metrical hymn', *jāmhas* 'course', *jīvas* 'quickness', *jṛdyas* 'expanse', *tād-āpas*, *tāpas* 'heat', *tāmas* 'darkness', *tāras* 'velocity', *tējas* 'sharp edge', *tyājas* 'abandonment', *dāmsas* 'marvellous power', *dīvas* 'worship', *dṛāvīnas* 'property', *dvēsās* 'hostility', *nābhas* 'vapour', *nāmas* 'obedience', *pākṣas* 'side', *pāyas* 'milk', *pāsas* (VS. xx. 9) 'penis', *pājas* 'vigour', *pāthas* 'place', *pīvas* 'fat', *puru-bhōjas* 'greatly nourishing', *pēsās* 'ornament', *prāthas* 'width', *prāyas* 'enjoyment', *psāras* 'feast', *bhārgas* 'radiance', *bhāsas* 'light', *mānas* 'mind', *māyas* 'joy', *māhas* 'greatness', *māhās* 'great', *mīdhas* 'disdain', *mēdas* 'fat', *yāsas* 'fame', *rākṣas* 'damage', *rājas* 'region of clouds', *rāpas* 'infirmary', *rābhas* 'violence', *rādhas* 'bounty', *rēkhas* 'wealth', *rētās* 'flow', *rēpas* 'stain', *rōdhas* 'bank', *vākṣas* 'breast', *vācas* 'speech', *vāyas* 'bird' and

<sup>1</sup> Probably a transition form (p. 225, 3, 4).

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a transfer form from *medhā*, and *su-medhasas* (four times in a refrain). since the latter stem is common, while the

'food', *vāriṣas* 'space', *vārcas* 'vigour', *vārpas* 'figure', *vāg-ḥjas* (VS. XXXVI. 1) 'speech-energy', *vāsas* 'garment', *vāhas* 'offering', *vēdas* 'wealth', *vēpas* 'quivering', *vyācas* 'expanse', *vrāyas* 'superior power', *sārdhas* 'troop', *sāvas* 'power', *śīras* 'head', *śēsas* 'offspring', *śrāvas* 'renown', *sa-jīśas*, *sādas* 'seat', *sānas*<sup>1</sup> (Kh. III. 15<sup>15</sup>) 'gain', *sa-prāthas*, *sa-bādhas* 'harassed', *sāras* 'lake', *sāhas* 'force', *sahāḥjas* (VS. XXXVI. 1) 'endowed with strength', *su-rētas*, *srōtas* 'stream', *svā-tavas* 'inherently strong', *hāras* 'flame', *hēlas* 'passion', *hūiras* 'crookedness'. — Ending in *-ās*<sup>2</sup> (like m.): *asrī-vīyās*<sup>3</sup> (VS. XIV. 18), *uru-prāthās* (VS. XX. 39) 'far-spread', *ūrṇa-mradās*, *gūrtā-vacās* 'speaking agreeably', *devā-vyacās* 'affording space for the gods', *dvi-bārthās*, *viśvā-vyacās* (AV.), *vi-spardhās* (VS. XV. 5) 'emulating', *vīrā-peśās* 'forming the ornament of heroes', *vīh-harās*, *sa-prāthās* (AV. VS. TS.), *sumānās* (TS. IV. 5. 1<sup>2</sup>)<sup>4</sup>.

A. m. *jāśasam* 'old age', *tavāśam* 'strong', 'strength', *tyajśam* 'offshoot', *dāmūśam*, *pārīśam* (160) 'abundance', *bhīyāśam* 'fear', *yaśśam*, *rakṣāśam*, *vedhāśam*; *a-cetāśam*, *ānaṣṭa-vedāśam* 'having one's property unimpaired', *ān-āśam*, *ānu-gāyāśam* 'followed by shouts', *an-enāśam* (TS. I. 8. 5<sup>3</sup>), *an-ehāśam*, *apāśam*, *ā-pratidhṛṣṭa-śavasam* 'of irresistible power', *abhībḥṭy-ḥjasam*, *arī-manāśam* 'obedient', *a-rādḥāśam* 'not liberal', *a-repāśam*, *arcanāśam* 'having a rattling carriage' (N. of a man), *ā-hāśam*, *uccaiś-śravasam* (Kh. V. 14<sup>5</sup>) 'neighing aloud' (N. of Indra's horse), *upākt-cakṣasam* 'seen close at hand', *uru-cakṣasam*, *uru-jrīyasam* 'extending over a wide space', *uru-vyāśam*, *ūrṇa-mradāśam* (VS. II. 2), *ūrdhvā-nabhasam* (VS. VI. 16) 'being above the clouds', *kṣetra-sādhasam* 'who divides the fields', *gūthā-śravasam* 'famous through songs', *gāyatrī-cchandāśam* (VS. VIII. 47) 'to whom the Gāyatrī metre belongs', *gāyatrī-vepāśam* 'inspired by songs', *gīr-vaṇāśam* 'delighting in invocations', *gīr-vāśam* 'praised in song', *gūrtā-śravasam*, *gī-arnāśam* 'abounding in cattle', *gī-dhāyasam* 'supporting cows', *cikitiṣṭ-manāśam* 'attentive', *citrā-mahāśam* 'possessing excellent bounty', *citrā-rādhasam* 'granting excellent gifts', *jāgac-chandāśam* (VS. VIII. 47) 'to whom the Jagatī metre belongs', *jātā-vedāśam*, *tuvi-rādhasam* 'granting many gifts', *tuvi-svanāśam*<sup>5</sup> 'loud-sounding', *tuvi-ḥjasam* 'very powerful', *trīṣṭhīp-chandāśam* (VS. VIII. 47), *dāndūkāśam* 'delighting (śkas-) in a sacrificial meal', *dyukṣā-vacāśam* 'uttering heavenly words', *dvi-bārthasam*, *dvi-śavasam* 'having twofold strength', *dhṛṣṇv-ḥjasam* 'endowed with resistless might', *nāryāpasam* 'doing manly (nārya-) deeds', *nṛ-cakṣasam*, *pañkti-rādhasam* 'containing fivefold gifts', *puru-pēśasam* 'multiform', *puru-bhīśasam*, *puru-vārpasam* 'having many forms', *puru-vēpasam* 'much-exciting', *prā-cetasam*, *prā-tvakṣasam* 'energetic', *brāhma-vāhasam* 'to whom prayers are offered', *bhūri-cakṣasam* 'much-seeing', *bhūri-dhīyasam* 'nourishing many', *māno-javāśam* (TS. II. 4. 7<sup>1</sup>), *yajñā-vanāśam* 'loving sacrifice', *yajñā-vāhasam* 'offering worship', *riśādāśam*<sup>6</sup>, *vāja-śravasam* 'famous for wealth', *vi-cetasam*, *vi-jośasam* 'forsaken', *vi-dveśasam* 'resisting enmity', *viśvā-dhāyasam*, *viśvā-bharasam*<sup>7</sup>, *viśvā-vedāśam*, *viśvā-vyacāśam*, *viśvāyu-pośasam*<sup>7</sup> 'causing prosperity to all men', *viśvāyu-vepāśam* 'exciting all men', *vi-hāyasam*, *vīti-rādhasam* 'granting enjoyment', *sā-cetasam*, *sa-jōśasam*, *satyā-girvāhasam* 'getting true praise', *satyā-rādhasam* (VS. XXII. 11), *satyā-śavasam* 'truly vigorous',

<sup>1</sup> Though *sānas* does not otherwise occur (*sana-* m. is found as last member of a compound), the context in Khila III. 15<sup>15</sup> seems to require an A.: *ahām gandhārva-rūpeṇa sāna ā vartayāmi te*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. LANMAN 560.

<sup>3</sup> Of doubtful meaning; the form may possibly be N. pl. of *asrīvi-*. Cp. BR.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. LANMAN 560; see also the neuters in *-ās*; LANMAN 445 (mid).

<sup>5</sup> For this form, TS. III. 3. 11<sup>2</sup> has erroneously *tuvi-manāśam*.

<sup>6</sup> Also the transition form *vayo-dhāśam* (VS.) 'bestowing strength'.

<sup>7</sup> Probably to be explained as a transition form (p. 225, 3).

*sādma-makhasam* 'performing sacrifice in a sacred precinct', *sa-prāthasam* (VS. XXI. 3), *samudrā-vāsam* 'concealed in the waters', *samudrā-vyacasam* 'extensive as the sea', *sārva-vedasam* (VS. xv. 55; TS. iv. 7. 13<sup>4</sup>) 'having complete property', *sahāsra-cakṣasam*, *sahāsra-bharnasam* 'a thousandfold', *sahāsra-varcasam* 'having a thousandfold power', *su-eltasam* 'very wise', *su-dāṁsasam*, *su-pēśasam*, *su-prayāsam* 'well regaled', *su-bhūjasam* 'bountiful', *su-medhāsam*<sup>1</sup>, *su-rādhasam*, *su-rētasam*, *su-vārcasam* (TS. III. 2. 8<sup>5</sup>), *su-śrāvasam* 'famous', *śrprā-bhojasam* 'having abundant food', *svā-yaśasam*, *sv-dvasam* 'affording good protection', *hāri-dhāyasam* 'giving yellow streams', *hāri-varpasam* 'having a yellow appearance'. — **Contracted forms:** *uśām* N. of a seer, *māhām*, *vedhām*.

f. *uśāsam* and *uśāsam*<sup>2</sup>, *dhvarāsam* 'deceiving'; *an-āgasam*, *an-ehāsam*, *a-rakṣāsam*, *a-repāsam*, *āśva-peśasam* 'decorated with horses', *id-ojasam* 'exceedingly powerful', *uru-vyācasam*, *cikitiṁ-manasam*, *puru-bhūjasam*, *yāvayād-dveśasam*, *vāja-peśasam* 'adorned with precious gifts', *viśva-dūhasam* 'yielding all things', *viśvā-dhāyasam*, *viśvā-peśasam* 'containing all adornment', *viśvā-bhojasam*, *śatārcasam* 'having a hundred supports' (*rcās*-), *ślci-peśasam* 'brightly adorned', *sahāsra-bharnasam*, *svā-yaśasam*, *hāri-varpasam*. — **Contracted forms:** *uśām*, *jarām*, *medhām* 'wisdom', *vayām* 'vigour'; *an-āgām*, *ap-sarām* (AV.)<sup>3</sup>.

I. m. *jarāsā*, *tārūśasā* 'giving victory', *tavāsā*, *tveśāsā* 'impulse', *pārīnasā*, *bhiyāsā*<sup>4</sup>, *yaśāsā*, *sāhasā* 'mighty', *havāsā* 'invocation'; *an-ehāsā*, *a-rakṣāsā*, *gō-parīnasā* 'having abundance of cows', *prthu-pājasā*, *māno-javasā*, *viśvā-peśasā*, *su-pēśasā*, *su-śrāvasā*, *sv-āpasā* (VS. xxv. 3).

f. *uśāsā*, *yajāsā* 'worshipping'; *āti-cchandāsā* (VS. I. 27), *a-repāsā*, *uru-cakṣāsā* (VS. IV. 23).

n. *āñjasā*, *ānasā*, *āndhasā*, *āpasā*, *apāsā*, *a-rakṣāsā*, *ārṇasā*, *āvasā*, *īrasā* (VS. TS.), *ēnasā*, *ōjasā*, *ōhasā* 'prospect', *kṣōdasā*, *gō-ārṇasā*, *cakṣāsā* 'brightness', *cētāsā*, *chāndasā* (VS. TS.), *jāvasā* and (once) *jāvāsā*<sup>5</sup> 'with speed', *tānasā* 'offspring', *tāpasā*, *tāmasā*, *tārasā*, *tējasā*, *tyājasā*, *tvākṣasā* 'energy', *dāṁsasā*, *dūhasā* 'milking', *dhāyasā* 'nourishing', *dhṛjāsā* 'gliding power', *nābhasā*, *nāmasā*, *pāyasā*, *pājasā*, *pīvasā*, *pēśasā* (VS. xx. 41), *prāyasā*, *bāhvōjasā*, *bhrājāsā* 'lustre', *mānasā*, *māhasā*, *mēdasā*, *yaśāsā*<sup>6</sup> 'glorious', *rākṣasā*, *rājasā*, *rāpasā*, *rādhasā*, *rēkṇasā*, *rētasā*, *vācasā*, *vānasā* 'enjoyment', *vāyasā*<sup>7</sup>, *vārcasā*, *vārpasā*, *vāsasā*, *vāhasā*, *vēdasā*, *vēpasā*, *sāvasā*, *śīrasā* (Kh. I. 9<sup>1</sup>), *śēśasā*, *śrāvasā*, *sāhasā*, *su-dāṁsasā*, *su-rētasā*, *srōtasā*, *hārasā*, *hēśasā* 'vigour'<sup>8</sup>.

D. m. *tavāse*, *duvāse* 'worshipper', *yaśūse*, *rakṣūse*, *vedhāse*, *śīkvaṣe* 'adroit', *sāhase* 'mighty'; *abhiṣṭi-śavase* 'granting powerful aid', *ukthā-vāhase* 'offering verses', *uru-vyācase*, *ṛtā-peśase* 'having a glorious form', *gāyatrā-vepase*, *gīr-vaṇase*, *gīr-vāhase*, *ghorā-cakṣase* 'of frightful appearance'<sup>9</sup>, *jātā-vedase*, *tād-apase*, *tād-okase*, *dirghā-yaśase* 'renowned far and wide', *dirghā-śravase* 'famous far

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps to be explained as a transition form starting from N. *su-medhā-s*.

<sup>2</sup> In Pada text *uśāsam*.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. J. SCHMIDT, *Heteroklitische nominative singularis auf -ās in den arischen sprachen*, KZ. 26, 401—409; 27, 284; COLLITZ, BB. 7, 180; PRELLWITZ, BB. 22, 83.

<sup>4</sup> Also contracted to *bhūśā* with adverbial shift of accent occurring 3 times (*bhiyāsā* 11 times).

<sup>5</sup> In IV. 27<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *yaśās*.

<sup>7</sup> Also the transition form *vayo-dhāsā* (VS. xv. 7).

<sup>8</sup> A few forms in *-as* appear to have the value of instrumentals as agreeing with a word in that case: *vācas* (I. 26<sup>2</sup> etc.), *yajña-vacās* (AV. XI. 3<sup>19</sup>), *sāvas* (I. 81<sup>4</sup>); *ēdhas* (AV. XII. 3<sup>2</sup>); cp. BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, 645; see LANMAN 562, and cp. CALAND, KZ. 31, 261.

<sup>9</sup> Also the transition form *candrā-mase* (VS. xxx. 21).

and wide', *dyumnā-śravase* 'producing a clear sound', *ṛ-cākṣase*, *ny-ōkase*, *purī-rāvase*, *pr̥thu-pr̥yase*, *pr̥thu-pājase*, *pr̥d-cetase*, *pr̥d-tavase* 'very strong', *br̥h̥ma-vāhase*, *m̥ktā-vāhase* 'carrying off what is injured', N. of a seer, *yajñā-vāhase*<sup>1</sup>, *viśvā-cakṣase*, *vi-hāyase*, *satyā-rādhasse*, *sahāsra-cakṣase*, *svā-tavase*, *svā-yāsase*.

f. *uśāse*, *vr̥dhāse* 'furtherance'; *āti-cchandase* (VS. XXIV. 13), *dur-vāsase* 'ill-clothed', *parjānya-retase* 'sprung from the seed of Parjanya'.

n. *apāse*, *a-peśāse* 'formless', *āvase*, *ōjase*, *cākṣase*, *javāse*, *tāpase*, *tāmase*, *tīrase*, *tējase* (VS. XV. 8), *dākṣase* 'ability', *dhūyase*, *dhruvāse* 'stopping', *nābhase* (VS. VII. 30), *nāmase*, *pājase*, *pr̥yase*, *psārāse*, *mānase*, *māhase* (VS. XIX. 8), *yāsase* (VS. XX. 3), *yādase* (VS. XXX. 20) 'voluptuousness', *rākṣase*, *rādhasse*, *rētase*, *vācase*, *vārcase*, *śārāse* (VS. XXXVIII. 15) 'skin of boiled milk', *śāvase*, *śrāvase*, *sāhase*, *svā-yāsase*, *hārāse*.

Ab. m. *a-rādhasas*, *javāsas*, *tavāsas*, *pārīṇasas*, *rakṣāsas*<sup>2</sup>, *sīhasas*. — f. *uśāsas*. — n. *āṇhasas*<sup>3</sup>, *ānasas*, *āndhasas*, *āpasas*, *ārīpasas*, *āgasas* (TS. IV. 7. 15<sup>2</sup>), *ēnasas*, *ōkasas*, *ōjasas*, *kṣōddasas*, *jr̥yāsas*, *tāpasas*, *tāmāsas*, *dr̥vīṇasas*, *pāyasas*, *pājāsas*, *pr̥āthasas*, *bhūṃsasas* 'intestine', *mānasas*<sup>4</sup>, *rājāsas*, *rādhasas*, *vēdasas*, *sādasas*, *sārāsas*, *sāhasas*.

G. m. *āṅgīrasas*, *apāsas*, *āpnasas*, *tavāsas*, *pārīṇasas*, *rakṣāsas*, *vedhāsas*; *in-āgasas*, *āpāka-cakṣasas* 'shining from afar', *abhi-vayasas* 'refreshing', *a-rakṣāsas*, *upamā-śravasas* 'most highly famed', *kṣṇā-jamhasas* 'having a black track', *jāti-vēdasas*, *dāmāpnasas* 'having abundance of gifts', *dirghī-śravasas*, *dvī-bārhasas*, *ṛ-cākṣasas*, *pārī-dveśasas* 'enemy', *puru-bhōjasas*, *pr̥thu-śrāvāsas* 'far-famed', *pr̥d-cetasas*, *pr̥d-mahasas* 'very glorious', *prayāsas* (TS. IV. 1. 8<sup>2</sup>), *bhū-tvakṣasas* 'having the power of light', *vi-cetasas*, *vidmanāpasas* 'working with wisdom', *viśvā-manasas*, *ṛka-dvarasas*<sup>5</sup>, *satyā-rādhasas* (TS. III. 3. 11<sup>1</sup>), *satyā-savasas* (VS. IV. 18) 'having true impulsion', *sa-bādhasas*, *su-prayāsas* (VS. XXVII. 15), *svā-yāsasas*. — f. *uśāsas*<sup>6</sup>.

n. *āṇhasas*, *ānasas*, *āndhasas*, *āpasas*, *āyasas*, *ārīpasas*, *ārāsas* (VS. XII. 97) 'piles', *āpasas*, *ēnasas* (VS. VIII. 13), *ōkasas*, *ōjasas*, *gō-arnasas*, *tāpasas* (VS. IV. 26; Kh. IV. 11<sup>13</sup>), *tāmāsas*, *tyājāsas*, *dākṣasas*<sup>7</sup>, *dr̥vīṇasas*, *nābhāsas*, *nāmāsas*, *pāyasas*, *pājāsas* (Kh. I. 7<sup>2</sup>), *pr̥yāsas*, *mānasas*, *mēdasas*, *rājāsas*, *rādhasas*, *rētāsas*, *vācasas*, *vāpasas* 'fair form', *vāyasas*, *vārpasas*, *vīpasas*, *śāvasas*<sup>8</sup>, *śrāvāsas*, *sādasas*, *sārāpasas*<sup>5</sup>, *sāhasas*, *hārāsas*<sup>9</sup>. — Contracted form: *ṛ-mānās* (X. 92<sup>14</sup>).

L. m. *āṅgīrasī*<sup>10</sup> (VS. IV. 10), *gō-arnasī*, *jāti-vēdasī*, *dāmūnasī*, *pr̥thu-śrāvāsī*, *yajñā-vāhasī* (VS. IX. 37), *satyā-śravāsī* 'truly famous', N. of a man. — f. *uśāsī*. — n. *āṇhasī*, *āñjasī*, *apāsī*, *āvāsī*, *ōgasī*, *ōkasī*, *kr̥indasī* 'battle-cry', *cākṣasī*, *tāmāsī*, *nāmāsī*, *pāyasī*, *pāthasī* (VS. XIII. 53), *mānasī*, *rājāsī*, *rādhasī*, *rētāsī*, *śrāvāsī*, *sādasī*, *sārāsī*, *hēdasī* (TS. III. 3. 11<sup>4</sup>).

V. m. *āṅgīras*, *nodhas*, *vedhas*; *uktha-vāhas*, *upama-śravas*, *kāru-dhāyas*,

<sup>1</sup> Also the transition form *vayo-dhāse* (VS. XXVIII. 46).

<sup>2</sup> Also the transition form *reto-dhāsas* (VS. VII. 10).

<sup>3</sup> In VI. 3<sup>1</sup> *āṇhas* is probably the stem used instead of the very frequent Ab. *āṇh-as-as*, rather than the Ab. of *āṇh-*, as this would be the only form from such a stem, and the accent would be irregular.

<sup>4</sup> Also the adv., in the sense of the Ab., *mēdas-tās* (VS. XXI. 60).

<sup>5</sup> Of uncertain meaning.

<sup>6</sup> Once the strong form *uśāsas* (X. 39<sup>1</sup>) for the weak.

<sup>7</sup> This, as well as the D. n. *dākṣase*, is a transition form (p. 225, 3).

<sup>8</sup> The stem *śāvas* in VIII. 36 may be used for the G. Perhaps also *sādas-pāti-* stands for *sādasas-pāti-*. Cp. LANMAN 563<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Transition forms are *śārdhasya*, *nir-avāsyā*; *candrā-masas*, *reto-dhāsas* (VS.); *dākṣasas*, *doṣāsas* (AV.).

<sup>10</sup> Also the transfer forms *āṅgīre*, *hēle*; *candrā-masī* (AV.).



*gir-vāṇas*, *gir-vāhas*<sup>1</sup>, *jāta-vedas*, *deva-śravas*, *dhṛṣṇ-manas* 'bold-minded', *nṛ-cakṣas*, *nṛ-maṇas*, *purū-ravas*, *pra-cetas*<sup>2</sup>, *brahma-vāhas*, *mitra-mahas*, *vāja-pramahas* 'superior in strength', *viśva-cakṣas*, *viśva-dhāyas*, *viśva-manas*, *vṛṣa-maṇas*, *satya-rādhas*, *su-draviṇas* 'having fine property', *su-mahas* 'very great', *sva-tavas*, *sv-ojas*<sup>3</sup>. — f. *uṣas*; *ā-hanas*, *tigma-tejas* (AV. VS.). — n. *draviṇas*, *śārdhas*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *apāsā*, *tavāsā*, *tośāsā*<sup>4</sup> 'showering', *yaśāsā*, *vedhasā*; *a-repāsā*, *āsu-hēśasā* 'having neighing horses', *īya-cakṣasā* 'of far-reaching sight', *uktha-vāhasā*, *uru-cakṣasā*, *kṛṣṭy-ojasā* 'overpowering men', *gambhīra-cetasā* 'of profound mind', *gṛ-pariṇasā*, *jāta-vedasā*, *ūd-okasā*, *na-vedasā*, *nṛ-cakṣasā*, *nṛ-vāhasā* 'conveying men', *puru-dāṃsasā* 'abounding in wonderful deeds', *puru-bhojasā*, *pūti-dakṣasā*<sup>5</sup> 'pure-minded', *prthu-pākṣasā* 'broad-flanked', *prī-cetasā*, *prā-mahasā*, *bodhin-manasā*, *mata-vacasā* 'heeding prayers', *mano-javasā*, *yajña-vāhasā*, *riśādasā*, *vatsa-pracetasā* 'mindful of Vatsa', *vi-cetasā*, *vi-pākṣasā* 'going on both sides', *vipra-vāhasā* 'receiving the offerings of the wise', *viśvā-bhojasā*, *viśvā-vedasā*, *vy-ēnasā* 'guiltless', *śrēṣṭha-varcasā* 'having most excellent energy', *sa-jōsasā*, V. *sātyajyāsā* (TS. iv. 7. 15<sup>2</sup>), *sā-manasā* 'unanimous', *samānā-varcasā* 'having equal vigour', *sām-okasā*, *sā-vayasā* 'having equal vigour', *sā-vedasā* 'having equal wealth', *sindhu-vāhasā* 'passing through the sea'(?), *su-dāṃsasā*, *su-prayāsā*, *su-rādhasā*, *su-rētasā*, *su-vācasā* 'very eloquent', *sv-ēvasā*, *hitā-prayasā* 'who has offered an oblation of food', *hiranya-pekṣasā* 'having golden lustre'<sup>6</sup>. — With *au*: *a-repāsau*, V. *jāta-vedasau* (TS. i. 3. 7<sup>2</sup>), *nṛ-cakṣasau*, *prā-cetasau* (VS. xxviii. 7), *viśvā-śārdhasau* 'forming a complete troop', *sā-cetasau* (VS. v. 3; Kh. iii. 15<sup>13</sup>), *sa-jōsasau* (VS. xii. 74), *sā-manasau* (TS. i. 3. 7<sup>2</sup>), *sām-okasau* (TS. i. 3. 7<sup>2</sup>)<sup>7</sup>. — f. *uśāsā* and *uśāsā*<sup>8</sup>, *nāktōśāsā* 'night and morning', *an-ehāsā*, *uru-vyācasā*, *nṛ-cakṣasā* (AV.), *bhūri-rētasā*, *bhūri-varpasā* 'multiform', *viśvā-pekṣasā*, *sā-cetasā*, *sā-manasā*, *su-dāṃsasā*<sup>9</sup>, *su-pāsā*. — With *-au*: *ap-sārdasau* (AV.), *a-repāsau*, *uśāsau* (VS. xxi. 50), *yaśāsau*; *nṛ-cakṣasau*, *viśvā-śārdhasau*, *vy-ēnasau* (AV.)<sup>10</sup>. — n. *āndhasī*, *krāndasī*, *jānasī*, *drādhāsī* (TS. iii. 2. 2<sup>2</sup>) 'garments', *nābhasī* (AV.), *nādhāsī* 'refuges', *pākṣasī* (AV.), *pājāsī*, *rājāsī*, *vācasī*, *vāsasī* (TS. i. 5. 10<sup>1</sup>).

D. m. *sa-jōsobhyām* (VS. vii. 8).

G. n. *dīkṣā-tapāsas*<sup>11</sup> (VS. iv. 2) 'consecration and penance'.

Pl. N. V. m. *āngirasas*, *apāsas*, *tavāsas*, *dāṃtinasas*, *duvāsas* 'restless', *mṛgayāsas* 'wild animals', *yaśāsas*, *rakṣāsas*, *vedhāsas*, *śikvasas*; *ā-giraukasas* 'not to be kept back by hymns' (*girā*), *a-cetāsas*, *a-codāsas* 'unurged', *dābhutainasas* 'in whom no fault (*ēnas*) is visible', *an-avabhṛd-rādhasas* 'giving undiminished wealth', *ān-āgasas*, *an-ehāsas*, *a-repāsas*, *ā-vicetasas* 'unwise', *a-śēśasas* 'without descendants', *dāva-rādhasas* 'equipping horses', *ā-sāmi-śavāsas* 'having complete strength', *ā-hanasas*, *ukthā-vahasas*, *ūd-ojasas*, *uru-vyācasas* (VS. xxvii. 16), *kṣetra-sādhāsas*, *gambhīrā-vepasas*,

<sup>1</sup> In VI. 24<sup>6</sup> GRASSMANN would read *gīrvavāhas*, as N.; cp. LANMAN 564<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> TS. i. 5. 11<sup>3</sup> has *praceto rājan*; the original passage, RV. i. 24<sup>14</sup>, has *pracetā rājan* (Pada, *pracetā*); see LANMAN 564<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Transition forms are *sā-pratha* (TB.), *candra-mas* (AV.), *vayo-dhas*, *draviṇo-das*.

<sup>4</sup> With lengthened vowel.

<sup>5</sup> Probably to be explained as a transition form (p. 225, 3).

<sup>6</sup> Also the transition forms *candrāmasā*, *sūryā-candrāmasā*.

<sup>7</sup> Also the transition forms *sūryā-candra-māsau*, *varco-dāsau* (VS. vii. 27), *sa-jōsasau*.

<sup>8</sup> In the Pada text *uśāsā*.

<sup>9</sup> In vii. 73<sup>1</sup> *puru-dāṃsā* is perhaps a contracted form.

<sup>10</sup> Also the transition forms *uśē* (VS.), *a-dveṣē*, *vi-drādhē*.

<sup>11</sup> There are also in the f. the transition forms *uśābhhyām* I. and *rōdasos* G.

*ghr̥svi-rādhasas* 'granting with joy', *ghor̥d-varpasas* 'of terrible appearance', *citr̥r̥-rādhasas*, *tād-okasas*, *tuvi-svandasas*<sup>1</sup>, *devi-bārhasas*, *dh̥r̥svi-ṛjasas*, *nā-vedasas*, *nr̥-cākṣasas*, *pathi-rākṣasas* (VS. XVI. 60) 'protecting roads', *pūth-dakṣasas*<sup>1</sup>, *pr̥thu-pājasas*, *pr̥ā-cetasas*, *prati-jūti-varpasas* 'assuming any form according to impulse', *pr̥ā-tavasas*, *pr̥ā-tvakṣasas*, *pr̥ā-sravasas* 'far famed', *bāhu-ṛjasas*, *bhalāndsas* N. of a people, *mādhū-psarasas* 'fond of sweetness', *mādhya-cchandasas* (TS. IV. 3. 113) 'sun' or 'middle of the year' (Comm.), *yajña-vāhasas*, *yutā-dveṣasas* 'delivered from enemies', *riśādāsas*, *rukmi-dakṣasas* 'wearing gold ornaments on the breast', *vārūna-śeṣasas* 'resembling sons of Varuṇa', *vātā-ramhasas*, *vāta-svanasas* 'roaring like the wind', *vī-cetasas*, *vidmanāpasas*, *vidyūn-mahasas* 'rejoicing in lightning', *vīpra-vacasas* 'whose words are inspired', *vī-mahasas* 'very glorious', *viśvā-dhāyasas*, *viśvā-mahasas* 'having all splendour', *viśvā-vedasas*, *vī-spardhasas* 'vying', *vī-hāyasas*, *vṛddhī-śarvasas* 'of great strength', *śrēṣṭha-varcasas*, *sā-cetasas*, *sa-jōsasas*, *satya-śavāsas*, *sa-bharasas*<sup>1</sup>, *sā-manasas*, *sām-okasas*, *sā-vayasas*, *sā-srotasas* (VS. XXXIV. 11) 'flowing', *sahā-cchandasas* 'accompanied by metre', *sahāśra-pājasas* 'having a thousandfold lustre', *sahāujasas* (VS. x. 4), *su-cākṣasas* 'seeing well', *su-cetasas*, *su-dāmsasas*, *su-pṛūṣas* 'very fat', *su-pēśasas*, *su-pr̥cetasas* 'very wise', *su-prajāsas*<sup>2</sup> (TS. I. 6. 2<sup>1</sup>; AV.) 'having a good son', *su-mānasas*, *su-mahasas*, *su-medhasas*<sup>3</sup>, *su-rādhasas*, *sūtra-cākṣasas* 'radiant as the sun', *sūrya-tracasas* (VS. x. 4) 'having a covering bright as the sun', *sūrya-varcasas* (VS. x. 4) 'resplendent as the sun', *stīma-vāhasas* 'giving praise', *svā-tarvasas*, *sv-āpasas*, *sv-āpnasas* 'wealthy', *svā-yāsasas*, *sv-āvasas*, *hitā-prayasas*. — **Contracted forms:** *āngirās*, *ān-āgās*<sup>4</sup>, *nāvedās*, *sajōsās*. — **f.** *apāsas*, *uśāsas* and *uśāsas*<sup>5</sup>, *yaśāsas*; *agnī-bhr̥jasas* 'fire-bright', *an-chāsas*, *ap-sarāsas*, *uru-vyācasas* (TS. IV. 1. 8<sup>2</sup>), *tr̥su-cyāvasas* 'moving greedily', *dhānu-arnasas* 'overflowing the dry land', *nr̥-pēśasas* 'adorned by men', *pr̥ā-cetasas*, *pr̥ā-svādasas* 'pleasant', *mādhv-arnasas* 'having a sweet flood', *vī-cetasas*, *su-pēśasas*, *śūda-dohasas* 'milking sweetness', *sv-āpasas*, *svā-yāsasas*. — **Contracted forms:** *medhās*; *d-jōsās* 'insatiable', *nā-vedās*, *su-rādhas*.

**N. A. n.** *ānham̐si*, *ānkham̐si* 'bends', *āndham̐si*, *āpam̐si*, *ārnam̐si*, *ātvam̐si*, *āgām̐si*, *ēnam̐si*, *ōkam̐si*, *ōjam̐si*, *kāram̐si* 'deeds', *chāndām̐si*, *jātvām̐si*, *jr̥āyam̐si*, *tāmām̐si*, *tvākṣām̐si*, *dāmsām̐si*, *dīhvām̐si*, *dveṣām̐si*, *pāyam̐si*, *pājām̐si*, *pūthām̐si* (VS. XXI. 46), *pēśām̐si*, *pr̥āyam̐si*, *bhāsām̐si*, *mānām̐si*, *māhām̐si*, *rākṣām̐si*, *rājām̐si*, *rāpām̐si*, *rādham̐si*, *rētām̐si*, *rōdhām̐si*, *rōhām̐si* 'heights', *vākṣām̐si*, *vācām̐si*, *vāyam̐si*, *vārām̐si* 'expanses', *vārivām̐si*, *vārcām̐si* (VS. IX. 22), *vārpām̐si*, *vāsām̐si*, *sārdham̐si*, *sāvām̐si*, *śrāvām̐si*, *sādām̐si*, *sārām̐si*, *sīhām̐si*, *skāndham̐si* 'branches', *hēlām̐si*, *hvarām̐si*.

**A. m.** *āngirasas*<sup>6</sup>, *dhvārdasas*, *yaśāsas*, *rakṣāsas*, *vedhāsas*; *ān-āgasas*, *an-chāsas*, *ā-pracetasas*, *a-rādhasas*, *uru-cākṣasas*, *tuvi-rādhasas*, *pūth-dakṣasas*<sup>7</sup>, *pr̥ā-cetasas*, *br̥hāc-chravasas*, *yajñā-vanasas*, *riśādāsas*, *vī-mahasas*, *vī-spardhasas*, *sa-jōsasas* (VS. III. 44), *sā-manasas* (VS. VII. 25), *su-pēśasas*, *su-rādhasas*, *sv-āpnasas*<sup>8</sup>. — **Contracted forms:** *ān-āgās*, *su-medhās*<sup>9</sup>. — **f.** *apāsas*, *uśāsas*<sup>10</sup>, *yaśāsas*; *a-javāsas* 'not swift', *an-apnāsas* 'destitute of wealth', *an-chāsas*, *ap-sarāsas*, *ari-dhāyasas* 'willingly yielding milk', *gharmā-svarasas*<sup>1</sup> 'sounding like (the contents of) a boiler', *tād-apasas*, *bhūri-varpasas*, *vāja-dravināsas* 'richly

<sup>1</sup> Probably a transition form (p. 225, 3).

<sup>2</sup> Probably a transition form (p. 225, 2).

<sup>3</sup> Probably a transfer form; see p. 227, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps also *an-chās* (X. 61<sup>12</sup>); see LANMAN 551<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> In the Pāda text *uśāsas*.

<sup>6</sup> In I. 112<sup>18</sup> LANMAN would take *āngirasas* as A. pl. m. without ending.

<sup>7</sup> Probably a transition form (p. 225, 3).

<sup>8</sup> Also the transition forms *sārdhān*, *an-āgān*.

<sup>9</sup> It is somewhat doubtful whether this is a contracted A. pl. (VII. 91<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>10</sup> Once also *uśāsas*. In III 6<sup>7</sup>, and VIII.

41<sup>3</sup> LANMAN (566) would take *uśas* as A. pl. without ending.

rewarded', *vāja-śravasas*, *viśvā-dohasas*, *viśvā-dhāyasas*, *su-pśasas*<sup>1</sup>. — **Contracted form:** *usās* (IX. 41<sup>5</sup>).

**I. m.** *āngirobhis*; *agni-tāpobhis* 'having the heat of fire', *svā-yaśobhis*. — **f.** *svā-yaśobhis*; with **-ad-** for **-o-**: *usādbhis* (44 a, 3).

**n.** *ā-yavobhis* (VS. XII. 74) 'dark halves of the month', *ārṇobhis*, *āvobhis*, *ḷjobhis*, *chāndobhis* (Kh. v. 3<sup>4</sup>), *tāpobhis*, *tāmobhis*, *tārobhis*, *dāṃsobhis*, *dvēṣobhis*, *dhāyobhis*, *nābhobhis*, *nāmobhis*, *pākṣobhis* (VS. XXIX. 5; TS. v. 1. 11<sup>2</sup>), *pāyobhis*, *prāyobhis*, *māhobhis*, *rājobhis*, *rādhobhis*, *vācobhis*, *vāyobhis*, *vārobhis*, *śāvobhis*, *śrāvobhis*, *sāhobhis*.

**D. m.** *āngirobhyas*; with **-ad-** for **-o-**: *svā-tavadbhyas* (VS. XXIV. 16). — **n.** *mādobhyas* (VS. XXXIX. 10), *rākṣobhyas*, *vāyobhyas* (AV.), *sārobhyas* (VS. XXX. 16). — **Ab. n.** *dvēṣobhyas*.

**G. m.** *āngirasām*, *apāsām*, *tavāsām*, *yaśāsām*, *vedhāsām*; *ādbhutainasām*, *dasmā-varcasām*, *mahā-manasām* 'high-minded', *stīma-vāhasām*. — **f.** *apāsām*, *uśāsām*; *ap-sarāsām*, *nākṣatra-śavasām* 'equalling the stars in number'. — **n.** *chāndasām*, *tīrasām* (AV.), *mādasām* (VS. XXI. 40), *rākṣasām* (VS. II. 23), *rādhāsām*, *vēdasām*<sup>2</sup>.

**L. f.** *ap-sarāssu* (Kh. IV. 8<sup>3</sup>). — **n.** *āṃhassu*<sup>3</sup> (AV.), *ūdhasu*, *rājassu*, *vākṣassu*, *vāyassu* (AV.), *śrāvassu*, *sādassu*<sup>4</sup>.

### γ. Stems in -yāms.

345. The primary suffix *-yāms* (137)<sup>5</sup> is used to form comparative stems. It is added either directly or with connecting *-ī-* to the root, which is always accented. There are seven duplicate stems formed in both ways: *tāv-yāms-* and *tāv-īyāms-* 'stronger'; *nāv-yāms-* and *nāv-īyāms-* 'new'; *pān-yāms-* and *pān-īyāms-* 'more wonderful'; *bhūyāms-* and *bhūvīyāms-* 'more'; *rābhīyāms-* and *rābhīyāms-* (VS.) 'more violent'; *vāsyāms-* and *vāsīyāms-* 'better'; *sāh-yāms-* and *sāhī-yāms-* 'mightier'. Strong and weak forms are regularly distinguished. In the latter the suffix is reduced by loss of the nasal and shortening of the vowel to *-yas*. These stems are declined in the m. and n. only, as they form their f. by adding *-ī-* to the weak stem; e. g. *prīyas-ī-* 'dearer'. No forms of the dual occur, and in the plural only the N. A. G. are found.

### Inflection.

346. The V. sing. m. ends in *-as*<sup>6</sup>. The forms actually occurring, if made from *kāñīyāms-* 'younger', would be as follows:

**Sing.** N. m. *kāñīyān*, n. *kāñīyas*. A. m. *kāñīyāmsam*, n. *kāñīyas*. I. m. n. *kāñīyasā*. D. m. n. *kāñīyase*. Ab. m. n. *kāñīyasas*. G. m. n. *kāñīyasas*. L. m. *kāñīyasi*. V. m. *kāñīyas*. — **Pl.** N. m. *kāñīyāmsas*. A. m. *kāñīyasas*. N. A. n. *kāñīyāmsi*. G. m. *kāñīyasām*.

The forms which occur are the following:

**Sing. N. m.** *ā-tavyān*<sup>7</sup> 'not stronger', *ḷjīyān* 'stronger', *kāñīyān*, *jāvīyān* 'swifter', *jyāyān* 'mightier', *tārīyān*<sup>8</sup> 'easily passing through', *tāvīyān* 'stronger', *tāvīyān* 'stronger', *dhāvīyān* 'running fast', *nāvīyān* 'new', *māṃhīyān* 'more bountiful', *yājīyān* 'worshipping more', *yūdhiyān* 'more warlike', *vāñīyān* 'imparting more', *vārīyān* 'better', *vārīyān* (VS. XXIII. 48) 'higher', *vāsyān*

<sup>1</sup> Also the transition forms *īda-prajasas* (TS. I. 5. 6<sup>1</sup>; MS. I. 5<sup>2</sup>, p. 70).

<sup>2</sup> The form *vayām* is perhaps contracted for *vayāsām* (I. 165<sup>15</sup> etc.); see LANMAN 552<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> All the Mss. read *āṃhassu*; see WHITNEY's note on AV. VI. 35<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> The form *apāssu* (VIII. 4<sup>14</sup>) is perhaps

for m. *apāssu*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. III, note.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. J. SCHMIDT KZ. 26, 377—400; HIRT, IF. 12, 201 f.

<sup>6</sup> As in the *-mant*, *-vant* and *-vāms* stems.

<sup>7</sup> On the Sandhi of these nominatives see LANMAN 514 (middle).

<sup>8</sup> Cp. REICHEL, BB. 27, 104 f.

'better', *vādyān* 'knowing better', *śrēyān* 'better', *sāntyān* (TS. III. 5. 5<sup>3</sup>) 'winning much', *sāhīyān* 'mightier', *skābhīyān* 'supporting more firmly'.

N. A. n. *jīyās* 'straighter', *ḡyās*, *kānīyas*<sup>1</sup>, *jyāyas*, *tāvyās*, *dāvīyas* 'farther', *drāghīyas* 'longer', *nāvīyas*, *nāvyās*, *nēdyās* 'quite near', *prīyas* 'dearer', *bhīyas*<sup>2</sup> 'more', *vāryās*, *vārṣīyas*, *vāśīyas* (TS. VS.), *vāsyās*, *śrīyas* (TS. VS.), *svādīyas* 'sweeter'.

A. m. *jyāyāṃsam*, *tāvyāṃsam*, *drāghīyāṃsam*, *nāvīyāṃsam*, *pānyāṃsam* 'more wonderful', *vārṣīyāṃsam* (AV.), *śāśīyāṃsam*<sup>3</sup> 'more frequent', *śrīyāṃsam*, *sāhīyāṃsam* (AV.).

I. m. *jāvīyasā*, *nāvīyasā*, *bhīyasā*, *sāhīyasā* (Kh. I. 1<sup>1</sup>). — n. *tējīyasā* 'keener', *tvākṣīyasā* 'very strong', *nāvīyasā*, *nāvīyasā*, *pānyasā*, *bhāvīyasā* 'more abundant', *bhīyasā*, *vāsyasā*, *sāhīyasā*.

D. m. *tāvīyase*, *nāvīyase*, *pānīyase*, *pānyase*, *bālīyase* (AV.) 'mightier', *vārṣīyase* (VS. XVI. 30), *śrēyase* (VS. XXXI. 11), *sānyase* 'older', *sāhīyase*<sup>4</sup>, *sāhyase*, *hānīyase* (VS. XVI. 40) 'more destructive'. — n. *nāvīyase*, *nāvīyase*, *sānyase*.

Ab. m. *tāvīyasas*, *rābhīyasas* 'more violent', *sāhīyasas*, *sāhyasas*. — n. *bhīyasas*.

G. m. *kānīyasas*, *jyāyasas*, *tāvyasas*, *nāvīyasas*, *nāvīyasas*, *bhīyasas*. — n. *nāvīyasas*.

L. m. *vārṣīyasi* (VS. VI. 11), *sāhīyasi*. — V. m. *ḡyās*, *jyāyas*.

Pl. N. m. *tīkṣṇīyāṃsas* (AV.) 'sharper', *bhīyāṃsas* (TS. VS. AV.), *śrīyāṃsas*. — n. *nāvīyāṃsi*.

A. m. *kānīyasas*, *nēdyasas*, *bhīyasas*, *rābhīyasas* (VS. XXI. 46), *vārṣīyasas* (AV.), *vāsyasas*, *vāhīyasas* 'driving better', *śrīyasas* (VS. TS.).

G. m. *āstheyasām* 'not firm' (137). The f. form *nāvīyasām* is twice used owing to metrical exigencies instead of *nāvīyasām* in agreement with *marītām*<sup>5</sup>.

### ḡ. Stems in -vāṃs.

347. The suffix -vāṃs<sup>6</sup> is used to form the stem of the perfect participle active. **Strong and weak stem<sup>7</sup>** are regularly distinguished; but the latter assumes two different forms according as it is followed by a vowel or a consonant. The suffix is reduced before vowels, by loss of the nasal and Samprasāraṇa, to -us which becomes -us; before a consonant (i. e. *bh*), it is reduced, by loss of the nasal and shortening of the vowel, to -vas, which becomes -vat<sup>8</sup>. The latter form of the stem occurs only three times in the RV. There are thus three stems employed in the inflexion of these participles: -vāṃs, -vat, -us. The weakest form of the stem (-us) appears instead of the strong twice in the A. sing. m. and once in the N. pl. m. The accent rests on the suffix in all its forms except in compounds formed with the negative *ā-* or with *su-* 'well' and *du-* 'ill', where it shifts to these particles. This declension is restricted to the m. and n., as the f. is formed by adding -ī to the weakest stem, as *jagmīḥ-ī* 'having gone'. There are altogether (including compounds) about 75 stems in -vāṃs in the RV.

### Inflection.

348. No specifically n. forms occur except two in the A. sing. No L. has been met with in any number; all the other weak cases are wanting in

<sup>1</sup> The form *jāvīyas* occurs in VS. XL. 4 (Īśā Up.).

<sup>2</sup> Once to be read *bhāvīyas*: LANMAN 514<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Comparative of the root from which *śāś-vat* 'constant' is derived.

<sup>4</sup> To be read *sāhyase* in I. 71<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> See LANMAN 515.

<sup>6</sup> On this suffix cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 26, 329—377.

<sup>7</sup> On the formation of this perfect stem, see above 181 and below 491.

<sup>8</sup> This form was transferred to the N. A. sing. n. in which no consonant (-bh or -s) followed; cp. 44 a, 3.

the dual as well as the D. Ab. in the plural. The V. sing. m. is regularly formed with *-vas*<sup>1</sup>. The forms actually occurring, if made from *cakṛvāms-* 'having done', would be the following:

Sing. N. m. *cakṛvān*. A. m. *cakṛvāmsam*, n. *cakṛvāt*. I. *cakṛiṣā*. D. m. *cakṛiṣe*. Ab. *cakṛiṣas*. G. *cakṛiṣas*. V. m. *cakṛvas*. — Du. N. A. m. *cakṛvāmsā*. — Pl. N. m. *cakṛvāmsas*. A. m. *cakṛiṣas*. I. m. *cakṛvādbhis*. G. m. *cakṛiṣām*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *ā-cikivān*<sup>2</sup> 'not knowing', *ā-proṣivān* 'not gone away'<sup>3</sup>, *ā-rarivān* 'not liberal', *ā-vidvān*<sup>4</sup> 'not knowing', *cakṛvān* 'having done', *cikivān* 'having noticed', *jaganvān* 'having gone', *jaghanvān* 'having slain', *jajñivān*<sup>5</sup> 'having recognized', *jigtvān*<sup>6</sup> 'having conquered', *fujurvān* 'having grown old', *fujusvān* 'having enjoyed', *jūjuvān* 'having sped', *tatanvān* 'having stretched', *tasthivān* 'having stood', *dadaśvān*<sup>7</sup> 'having bitten', *dadasvān* 'become exhausted', *dadrśvān* 'having seen', *dadvān* 'having given', *dadhanvān*<sup>8</sup> 'having streamed', *dadhṛsvān* 'having become bold', *dāśvān*<sup>4</sup> 'worshipping', *didivān* 'having shone', *nir-jagmivān* (TS. iv. 2. 1<sup>4</sup>) 'having gone out', *papivān* 'having drunk'<sup>9</sup>, *pupuśvān* 'having made abundant', *babhūvān* 'having become', *bibhṛvān* 'having feared', *mamṛvān* 'having died', *mūḍhvān*<sup>4</sup> 'bountiful', *yayivān* 'having gone', *rarivān* 'having given', *rurukvān* 'having shone', *vavanvān* 'having accepted', *vidvān*<sup>4</sup> 'knowing', *vivikvān*<sup>10</sup> 'having divided', *vividvān* 'having found', *vividhvān*<sup>11</sup> 'having wounded', *śuśukvān*<sup>12</sup> 'having shone', *śuśruvān* 'having heard', *sasavān* 'having won', *sāśhvān* 'having conquered', *sāhvān*<sup>4</sup> 'having overcome'.

A. m. *tyivāmsam*<sup>13</sup> 'having gone', *cakṛvāmsam*, *cakhvāmsam*<sup>14</sup> 'stretching out', *cikivāmsam*, *jāgrvāmsam* 'waking', *jūjuvāmsam*, *tastabhvāmsam* 'having held fast', *tasthivāmsam*, *dāśvāmsam*<sup>4</sup>, *didivāmsam*, *dūr-vidvāmsam* 'ill-disposed', *papivāmsam*<sup>15</sup>, *paptivāmsam* 'having flown', *pṛptivāmsam* 'having swelled', *mamṛvāmsam*, *ririhvāmsam* 'having licked', *vavṛvāmsam* 'having enclosed', *vāvṛdhvāmsam* 'having grown strong', *vidvāmsam*<sup>4</sup>, (*pra*)-*viviśhvāmsam* (TS. iv. 7. 15<sup>1</sup>), *śuśuvāmsam* 'having increased', *sasavāmsam*, *sasṛvāmsam* 'having sped', *sāśhvāmsam*, *sū-vidvāmsam*<sup>4</sup> 'knowing well', *suśuvāmsam* 'having slept', *suśuvāmsam* 'having pressed (Soma)'. — Weak forms for strong: *cakṛiṣam* (x. 137<sup>1</sup>) for *cakṛvāmsam*; *emuśam* (VIII. 66<sup>10</sup>)<sup>16</sup> 'dangerous'.

A. n. *tatanvāt* 'extending far', *saṃ-vavṛtvāt* 'enveloping'.

I. m. *ā-bibhyuṣā* 'fearless', *cikitiṣā* 'wise', *vidiṣā*<sup>4</sup>. — n. *ā-bibhyuṣā*, *bibhyuṣā*.

D. m. *ā-raruṣe*, *ūciṣe*<sup>17</sup> 'pleased', *cakṛiṣe*, *cikitiṣe*, *jagmūṣe* 'having gone', *jigyūṣe*, *dadaśiṣe* 'worshipping', *dāśiṣe*<sup>18</sup>, *bibhyūṣe*, *mīḥiṣe*<sup>18</sup>, *vidiṣe*<sup>18</sup>, *sedūṣe*<sup>19</sup> 'having sat down'.

Ab. m. *ā-raruṣas*, *fujuriṣas*. — n. *tasthūṣas*<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the *-mant* and *-vant* stems (316) and the *-yāms* stems (346).

<sup>2</sup> On the Sandhi of these nominatives see LANMAN 512.

<sup>3</sup> From *pra* and *vas* 'dwell'.

<sup>4</sup> Without reduplication.

<sup>5</sup> From *jñā* 'know'.

<sup>6</sup> From *ji-* 'conquer'.

<sup>7</sup> From *daś-* 'bite'.

<sup>8</sup> From *dhanu-* 'run'.

<sup>9</sup> LANMAN adds *paprivān*(?).

<sup>10</sup> From *vic-* 'separate'.

<sup>11</sup> From *vyadh-* 'pierce'.

<sup>12</sup> From *śuc-* 'shine'.

<sup>13</sup> From *i-* 'go'.

<sup>14</sup> From a root *khā-*.

<sup>15</sup> LANMAN adds *paprivāmsam*(?).

<sup>16</sup> From *am-* 'be injurious', with weak stem, together with anomalous accent, for *\*em-i-vāmsam*; cp. LANMAN 512<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> From *uc-* 'find pleasure'.

<sup>18</sup> Unreduplicated form.

<sup>19</sup> From *sad-* 'sit down'.

<sup>20</sup> This may be A. pl. m.

**G. m.** *á-dāśuśas* 'not worshipping', *á-raruśas*, *iyūśas*, *cikithūśas*, *jagmūśas*, *jaghnūśas*, *jānūśas*<sup>1</sup> 'knowing', *jigyūśas*, *tatarūśas* 'having crossed', *tasthūśas*, *dadūśas*, *dāśūśas*<sup>2</sup>, *didīyūśas*, *papūśas*, *bibhyūśas*, *mamrūśas* (AV.), *mīlūśas*<sup>3</sup>, *vividūśas* 'having found', *sedūśas*, *suśuvūśas*. — **n.** *vavavruśas*<sup>2</sup> 'enveloping'.

**V. m.** *cikitvas* 'seeing', *titirvas* 'having crossed', *didivas* 'shining', *mīdhvas*<sup>5</sup>. — With *-van*: *cikitvan*<sup>3</sup> (AV.).

**Du. N. A. m.** *okīrvāmsā*<sup>4</sup> 'accustomed to', *jaganvāmsā*, *jāgrvāmsā*, *tasthivāmsā*, *didivāmsā*, *papivāmsā*, *vavanvāmsā*, *vidvāmsā*<sup>5</sup>, *śuśuvāmsā*, *śuśruvāmsā*. — With *au*: *vidvāmsau*<sup>5</sup>.

**Pl. N. m.** *á-vidvāmsas*, *cakrīvāmsas*, *cikitvāmsas*, *jaksivāmsas* (TS. I. 4. 44<sup>2</sup>) 'having eaten', *jaganvāmsas*, *jāgrvāmsas*, *jigrvāmsas*, *tasthivāmsas*, *titirvāmsas*, *tuštuvāmsas* 'having praised', *dadrvāmsas* 'having burst', *dāśvāmsas*<sup>5</sup>, *papivāmsas* (TS. I. 4. 44<sup>2</sup>), *paptivāmsas*, *mīlhvāmsas*<sup>5</sup>, *ririkvāmsas*<sup>6</sup> 'having abandoned', *vidvāmsas*<sup>5</sup>, *śuśukvāmsas*, *śuśuvāmsas*, *sasavāmsas*, *sasrvāmsas*, *sāsavāmsas*, *sāshvāmsas*<sup>5</sup>, *śi-vidvāmsas* (TS. IV. 6. 5<sup>2</sup>), *śuśupvāmsas*. — Weak form for strong: *á-bibhyūśas*<sup>7</sup> (I. 11<sup>5</sup>). The AV. has the hybrid form *bhaktivāmsas*<sup>8</sup>.

**A. m.** *cikithūśas*, *jagmūśas*, *jigyūśas*, *tasthūśas*, *dāśūśas*<sup>5</sup>, *mīlūśas*<sup>5</sup>, *vidūśas*<sup>5</sup>, *sedūśas*.

**I. m.** *jāgrvādbhis*. — **G. m.** *á-dāśuśām*<sup>5</sup>, *jigyūśām*, *dadūśām*, *mīlūśām*<sup>5</sup>, *vidūśām*<sup>5</sup>.

## 2. Radical Stems in -ś.

349. This declension comprises only radical stems, both monosyllabic and compound, formed from some dozen roots, numbering altogether about sixty. Some forty of these occur in the m., nearly thirty in the f., and half a dozen in the n. Nine monosyllabic stems are f., viz. *dāś-* 'worship', *dīś-* 'direction', *dīś-* 'look', *nāś-* 'night', *pāś-* 'sight', *pīś-* 'ornament', *prāś-*<sup>9</sup> 'dispute', *vīś-* 'settlement', *vīś-* 'finger'; but only two m., viz. *īś-* 'lord' and *spāś-* 'spy'; all the rest are compounds, about 20 of which are formed from *dīś-*. The inflexion is the same in all genders: the only n. forms which would differ from the m. and f. (N. A. du. and pl.) do not occur.

a. The only trace of the distinction of strong and weak forms appears in the nasalization of the stem in the N. sing. m. of some half dozen compounds of *-dīś-* 'look'<sup>10</sup>.

b. As the *ś* represents an old palatal (40), it normally becomes the cerebral *ḍ* before terminations beginning with *bh*, as *vid-bhis*; but in *dīś-* and *-dīś-* it becomes a guttural, owing doubtless to the influence of the *k* in the N. sing. and L. pl. It regularly becomes *k* before the *-su* of the L. pl., where it is phonetic (43 b 2); it usually also becomes *k* in the N. sing. (which originally ended in *-s*). But in four stems it is represented by the cerebral *ḍ*, e. g. *vīś*, owing to the influence of forms in which the cerebral is phonetic. In *puro-dāś* 'sacrificial cake', the palatal is displaced by the *-s* of the N.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Unreduplicated form from *jñā-* 'know'.

<sup>2</sup> With anomalous additional reduplicative syllable.

<sup>3</sup> AV. VII. 97<sup>1</sup> for *cikitvas* of the corresponding verse of the RV. (III. 29<sup>16</sup>), as if from a *-vant* stem.

<sup>4</sup> From *uc-* 'be wont'.

<sup>5</sup> Without reduplication.

<sup>6</sup> From *vic-* 'leave'.

<sup>7</sup> See LANMAN §13<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> In AV. VI. 79<sup>3</sup> for the reading of the edition *bhaktivāmsas* *śyāma* the Paipp. has *bhaktīmahi*.

<sup>9</sup> From *praś-* 'question'. LANMAN would correct the reading of AV. II. 27<sup>7</sup> to *prāśi*, explaining the word as a compound (*pra-as-*), where the accent *prāśi* would be regular.

<sup>10</sup> That is, *-dīś-*, which in its three occurrences in the RV. appears before vowels and doubles the *ī*: *-dīśī*.

<sup>11</sup> It cannot, however, have been directly ousted by the N. *-s* (the former existence of which in consonant stems must have been long forgotten), but was doubtless due to the influence of *ā-* stems, such as *draviṇo-dā-s*.

c. There are two transition forms to the *a*-declension from *puro-dās-*: *puro-dāsena* (VS. XIX. 85) and *puro-dāsā-vatsā* (AV. XII. 4<sup>35</sup>) 'having a sacrificial cake as a calf'. The D. infinitive *drśāye* is a transition to the *i*-declension, for *drś-é-ī*.

### Inflexion.

350. The normal forms actually occurring, if made from *viś-* f. 'settlement', would be as follows:

Sing. N. V. *viś*. A. *viśam*. I. *viśā*. D. *viśé*. Ab. *viśás*. G. *viśás*. L. *viśí*. — Du. N. A. *viśā* and *viśau*. — Pl. N. *viśas*. A. *viśas*. I. *viśbhís*. D. Ab. *viśbhýds*. G. *viśám*. L. *viśśí*.

Forms which actually occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. 1. with nasalized stem: *kṛ-dṛñ*<sup>2</sup> 'of what kind?', *sa-dṛñ*<sup>3</sup> 'resembling'; in VS. XVII. 81: *anyā-dṛñ* 'of another kind', *ī-dṛñ* 'such', *prāti-sadṛñ* 'similar'. — 2. ending in *-k*: *ī-dṛk* (AV.), *etā-dṛk* 'such', *tā-dṛk* 'such', *divi-spṛk* 'touching heaven', *nī-spṛk*<sup>5</sup> 'caressing', *yā-dṛk* 'of what kind', *raṇvā-saṇḍṛk* 'appearing beautiful', *svar-dṛk* 'seeing light', *hīranya-saṇḍṛk* 'resembling gold', *hṛdī-spṛk* 'touching the heart'. — 3. ending in *-t*: *spāt*; *vi-spāt* 'spy'. — 4. ending in *-s*: *puro-dās* 'sacrificial cake' (occurs twice).

f. 2. ending in *-k*: *dik* (VS. AV.), *nák*; *án-apa-spṛk* (AV.) 'not refusing', *upa-dṛk* 'aspect', *raṇvā-saṇḍṛk*, *saṇ-dṛk* 'appearance', *su-dṛśika-saṇḍṛk* 'having a beautiful appearance'. — 3. ending in *-t*: *viś*; *vi-pāt* ('fetterless') N. of a river.

N. A. n. *etā-dṛk*<sup>6</sup>, *su-saṇḍṛk* 'handsome'; *tā-dṛk* may be a neuter in v. 44<sup>6</sup>.

A. m. *spāsam*; *puro-dāsam*; *upari-spṛsam* 'reaching above', *divi-spṛsam*, *hṛdī-spṛsam*; *tveṣā-saṇḍṛsam* 'of brilliant appearance', *piśānga-saṇḍṛsam* 'of reddish appearance', *raṇvā-saṇḍṛsam*, *su-saṇḍṛsam*; *dūre-dṛsam* 'visible far and wide', *su-dṛsam* 'well-looking', *svar-dṛsam*; *dūrā-ādīsam*<sup>7</sup> 'announcing far and wide'. — f. *dīsam*, *prāsam* (AV.), *viśam*; *ā-dīsam* 'intention', *ṛta-spṛsam* 'connected with pious works', *piśānga-saṇḍṛsam* (AV.), *pra-dīsam* 'direction', *vi-pāsam*, *śukra-pīśam* 'radiantly adorned', *saṇ-dṛsam*.

I. m. *viśva-pīśā* 'all-adorned', *su-saṇḍṛśā*<sup>8</sup>. — f. *dāśā*<sup>9</sup>, *diśā*, *piśā*, *viśā*; *pra-dīśā*. — n. *divi-spṛśā*, *dūre-dṛśā*.

D. m. *ánar-vīśe* 'seated on the car', *ī-dṛśe*, *divi-spṛśe*, *dū-dāśe* (AV.) 'irreligious', *dūre-dṛśe*. — f. *diśé* (AV. VS.), *viśé*; *saṇ-dṛśé*<sup>10</sup>.

Ab. m. *svar-dṛśas*. — f. *diśás* (AV.), *viśás*; *saṇ-dṛśas*, *saṇ-spṛśas* (VS. XXXVIII. 11).

G. m. *upa-spṛśas* (AV.) 'touching', *divi-spṛśas*, *prāti-prāsas*<sup>11</sup> (AV.) 'counter-disputant', *su-dṛśas*, *svar-dṛśas*, *hīranya-saṇḍṛśas*, *hṛdī-spṛśas*. — f. *diśás* (AV.), *viśás*. — n. *sādāna-spṛśas* 'coming into one's house'.

L. m. *divi-spṛśí*. — f. *diśí* (AV.), *drśí*, *prāśí* (AV.), *viśí*; *pra-diśí*, *vi-pāśí*, *saṇ-dṛśí*. — V. m. *tveṣa-saṇḍṛk*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *ṛta-spṛśā*, *divi-spṛśā* and *divi-spṛśā*, *mithū-dṛśā* 'appearing alternately', *svar-dṛśā*. — f. *mithū-dṛśā*. — With *-au*: *viśau*.

Pl. N. m. *spāsas*; *upari-spṛśas* (AV.), *ṛta-spṛśas*, *divi-spṛśas*, *mandi-ni-spṛśas* 'fond of Soma', *ratha-spṛśas* 'touching the chariot', *hṛdī-spṛśas*; *dūre-*

<sup>1</sup> Cp. LANMAN 490<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *kṛdṛñ* i- (X. 108<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> *sadṛñ* always before *a*- in RV. In TS. II. 2. 8<sup>5</sup> (B) the final *k* is preserved before *s*: *sadṛñk samāndis*.

<sup>4</sup> Also *sadṛñ*: all four before *ca*. Cp. LANMAN 456<sup>1</sup> and 463<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> From *ni-spṛś-*, BR., GRASSMANN, LANMAN; from *ni-spṛś-* 'desirous of' (loc.), BÖHTLINGK (pw.).

<sup>6</sup> The form *manāndk* (X. 616), perhaps the same as *manāk* 'a little', is explained by GRASSMANN as *manā-nás* 'dispelling wrath'.

<sup>7</sup> For *dūrē-ā-dīsam*.

<sup>8</sup> In the *Īśā Upaniṣad* (VS. XL. 1) also occurs *īśā*.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. LANMAN 490 (bottom).

<sup>10</sup> There is also the transition form *drśāye*.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. II. 27<sup>1</sup>. The accent should be *prāti-prāsas*.

*dīśas*, *yakṣa-dīśas* 'having the appearance of a Yakṣa', *su-dīśas*, *svar-dīśas*; *treṣa-saṃdīśas*, *su-saṃdīśas*; *viśva-pīśas*, *su-pīśas* 'well adorned'; *śiḥ-sadrśas* 'handsome'. — **f.** *dīśas*, *vīśas*; *ā-dīśas*, *ud-dīśas* (VS. VI. 19) 'upper quarters', *upa-spīśas*, *pra-dīśas*, *vi-dīśas* (VS. VI. 19) 'intermediate quarters', *saṃ-dīśas*.

**A. m.** *spīśas*; *ahar-dīśas* 'beholding the day', *bhīmad-saṃdīśas* 'of terrible appearance', *svar-dīśas*, *hiraṇya-saṃdīśas*. — **f.** *dīśas*, *vīśas*, *vīśas*; *ā-dīśas*, *pra-dīśas*, *saṃ-dīśas*.

**I. m.** *su-saṃdīśgbhis*. — **f.** *paḍbhīs*<sup>1</sup> (IV. 2<sup>12</sup>) 'with looks', *viḍbhīs*. — **D. f.** *digbhyās* (VS. VI. 19). — **Ab. f.** *digbhyās*, *viḍbhyās*. — **G. f.** *diśām*, *viśām*; *ā-diśām*. — **L. f.** *dikṣū* (AV. VS.), *vikṣū*.

## 6. Radical stems in -h.

**351.** This declension comprises some 80 stems formed from about a dozen roots. All three genders appear in its inflexion; but the neuter is rare, being found in only two stems and never in the plural. Of monosyllabic stems six or seven are **f.**, one **m.**, and one **n.** All the remaining stems are compounds, about three-fourths of which are formed from the three roots *druh-*, *vah-* and *sah-* (over 30 from the last). The origin of the two stems *uṣṇīh-* (AV.) a metre, and *sardh-*<sup>2</sup> 'bee' is obscure.

**a.** The distinction of strong and weak appears in compounds of *vah-* and *sah-*<sup>3</sup>, the vowel being lengthened in the N. A. sing. and N. pl. **m.**; also in the N. A. du. **m.** forms *indra-vāhā*, *indra-vāhan*, *anaḍ-vāhan*; and in the **f.** sing. N. *dakṣiṇā-vāṭ* and *A. haviya-vāham*. The strong stem *vāh-* twice appears in weak cases, while it is metrically shortened 18 times in strong cases<sup>4</sup>. The word *anaḍ-vāh-* 'ox' (lit. 'cart-drawer') distinguishes three stems, the strong one being *anaḍ-vāh-*, and the weak *anaḍ-ūh-* before vowels and *anaḍ-ūt-*<sup>5</sup> before consonants.

**b.** As *h* represents both the old guttural aspirate *gh* and the old palatal *jh*, it should phonetically become *g* and *ḡ* respectively before *bh*. But the cerebral appears for both in the only two case-forms that occur with a *-bh* ending: *sarāḍgbhyas* from *sarāh-*, and *anaḍ-ūḍgbhyas* (AV.) from *anaḍ-vāh-*, where the dental *d* takes the place of the cerebral by dissimilation. Before the *-su* of the L. pl., *h* would be phonetic; but here again, in the only form occurring, the cerebral appears: *anaḍutsu*<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand the phonetic *h* appears in the N. sing. in the six forms *-dhak*, *-dhūk*, *-dhruk*<sup>7</sup>, *-rūk*, *-spṛh*, *uṣṇīh* (AV.)<sup>8</sup>; while the unphonetic *ḥ* appears in the two forms *-vāṭ* and *-ṣāt*<sup>9</sup>. The word *anaḍ-vāh-* forms, instead of *\*anaḍ-vāṭ*, the anomalous *anaḍvān* as if from a stem in *-vant*.

**c.** The stem *mahā-* is perhaps a transfer to the *a*-declension from the far more frequent but defective *māh-* 'great'. Several cases are formed from it: sing. N. *mahā-s*, G. *mahāsya*, L. *mahē*; pl. N. *mahā* and *mahāni*, n., G. *mahānām*. The D. sing. *mahāye*, used as an infinitive, is a transfer to the *i*-declension from *māh-*.

## Inflection.

**352.** The forms actually occurring, if made from *sāh-* 'victorious', would be as follows:

<sup>1</sup> BLOOMFIELD is of opinion that here, as well as in the 5 other passages in which this form occurs in the RV., it means 'with feet': Johns Hopkins University Circular, 1906, p. 15—19.

<sup>2</sup> That the *h* here represents an original guttural is shown by the N. pl. *sarāghas* (SB.) and the derivatives *sarāghā-* and *sārāgha-* (TB.).

<sup>3</sup> The Pada text has always *vāh-* on the one hand, but *sāh-* on the other.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. LANMAN 498 (middle).

<sup>5</sup> For *anaḍ-ūt-* by dissimilation.

<sup>6</sup> The dental again by dissimilation for the cerebral *t*.

<sup>7</sup> Occurring respectively in *uśā-dhak* 'burning with eagerness', in three compounds of *duh-* 'milk', and in five compounds of *druh-* 'injure'. These three forms, together with *uṣar-bhūt*, are the only examples of the restoration of initial aspiration in the declension of the RV.

<sup>8</sup> The derivation of this word (AV. VS.), is uncertain; it occurs in the RV. only in the extended form of *uṣṇīhā-*.

<sup>9</sup> When the final *h* becomes *ḥ*, the initial *s* is cerebralized.



Sing. N. *śāt*. V. m. f. *śāt*. A. m. f. *sāham*. I. *sahā*. D. *sahē*. Ab. *sahās*. G. *sahās*. L. *sahī*. — Du. N. A. V. m. f. *sāhā* and *sāhau*. N. A. n. *sahī*. — Pl. N. V. m. f. *sāhas*. A. m. *sāhas* and *sahās*, f. *sāhas*. D. m. f. *śaḍ-bhyās*<sup>1</sup>. G. m. *sahām*. L. m. *śaṭsū*<sup>1</sup>.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. 1. with **-k**: *uśā-dhāk* 'burning with eagerness'; *go-dhūk* 'milkman', *prati-dhūk*<sup>2</sup> (AV. TS.) 'fresh milk'; *akṣṇaya-dhruk* 'injuring wrongly', *a-dhruk* 'free from malice', *antaka-dhruk* 'demon of death', *abhi-dhruk* 'inimical', *asma-dhruk* 'inimical to us'.

2. with **-t**: *śāt*; *abhī-śāt* 'overpowering', *ṛsi-śāt* 'overcoming the seer', *janā-śāt* 'overcoming men', *turā-śāt* 'overpowering quickly', *niś-śāt* 'overpowering', *nī-śāt*<sup>3</sup> (AV.) 'overcoming', *purā-śāt* 'victorious from of old', *pṛtanā-śāt* 'conquering hostile armies', *prāśu-śāt* 'finishing swiftly', *bhūri-śāt*<sup>4</sup> 'bearing much', *rayi-śāt* 'ruling over wealth', *vane-śāt* 'prevailing in woods', *vīra-śāt*<sup>5</sup> 'ruling men', *viśvā-śāt*<sup>6</sup> (AV.) 'all-conquering', *vṛthā-śāt* 'conquering easily', *śatru-śāt*<sup>7</sup> (AV.) 'overcoming foes', *satrā-śāt* 'always conquering'; *turya-vāt* (TS. iv. 3. 3<sup>2</sup>) 'four-year-old ox', *ditya-vāt*<sup>8</sup> (VS. xiv. 10; TS. iv. 7. 10<sup>1</sup>) 'two-year-old ox', *paśṭha-vāt* (VS. xiv. 9) 'four-year-old ox'<sup>9</sup>, *madhyama-vāt* 'driving at middling speed', *havir-vāt* 'conveying the oblation', *havya-vāt* 'conveying the offering'. — Irregular form: *anaḍ-vān* (AV. TS. VS.) 'ox'<sup>10</sup>.

f. 1. *uṣṇik* (VS. AV.) a metre, *gartā-rūk*<sup>11</sup> 'ascending the car-seat', *sabar-dhūk* 'yielding nectar'. — 2. *dakṣiṇā-vāt* 'borne to the right'<sup>12</sup>. — n. 1. *puru-spīk* 'much desired'.

A. m. 1. Strong forms with **-vāham** and **-sāham** (after *ā*) or **-śāham** (after *i* or *r*): *anaḍ-vāham*, *turya-vāham* (VS. xxviii. 28), *ditya-vāham* (VS. xxviii. 25), *paśṭha-vāham* (VS. xxviii. 29), *vīra-vāham* 'conveying men', *svasti-vāham* 'bringing welfare', *havya-vāham* (also f.); *pra-sāham* 'victorious', *yajñā-sāham*<sup>13</sup> 'mighty in sacrifice', *viśvā-sāham*, *satrā-sāham*; *abhimāti-sāham* 'conquering adversaries', *ṛti-sāham* 'subduing assailants', *nṛ-sāham* 'overcoming men', *pṛtanā-sāham*<sup>14</sup>. — With metrical shortening of **-sāh-** or **-śāh-**: *ṛti-sāham*, *pṛtanā-sāham*<sup>14</sup>; *carṣaṇt-sāham*<sup>15</sup> 'ruling over men', *prā-sāham*, *vibhva-sāham* 'overcoming the rich', *sadā-sāham* 'always holding out'. — 2. *a-drūham*, *puru-spīham*. — f. *gūham* 'hiding-place', *drūham* 'fiend', *mīham* 'mist'; *uṣṇīham* (VS. xxviii. 25); *parī-vāham* 'enclosure'.

I. m. *dhanvā-sāhā* 'skilled in archery', *puru-spīhā*, *viṣu-drūhā* 'injuring in various parts'. — f. *guhā*<sup>16</sup>, *drūhā*, *mahā* 'great'; *uṣṇīhā* (VS. xxi. 13); *prā-sāhā*<sup>17</sup> 'might', *vi-srūhā* 'plant'. — n. *māhā*.

D. m. *druhā*<sup>18</sup>, *mahé*; *a-drūhe*, *abhi-drūhe*, *abhimāti-sāhe*<sup>19</sup> (TS. v. 2. 7<sup>3</sup>), *carṣaṇt-sāhe*<sup>15</sup>, *satrā-sāhe*<sup>20</sup>. — f. *mahé*; *uṣṇīhe* (VS. xxiv. 12); *go-dūhe*<sup>21</sup>. — n. *māhē*.

<sup>1</sup> To be inferred from *anaḍudbhyaś* and *anaḍūsu*.

<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence to show the gender of this word.

<sup>3</sup> For *nī-śāt*.

<sup>4</sup> For *bhūri-śāt*.

<sup>5</sup> For *vīra-śāt*.

<sup>6</sup> For *viśva-śāt*.

<sup>7</sup> For *śatru-śāt*.

<sup>8</sup> Here *ditya-* seems to be = *dvītiya-*.

<sup>9</sup> Probably from *paśṭha-* = *prṣṭha-* 'back'. The TS. (iv. 3. 3<sup>2</sup> etc.) has *paśṭha-vāt* with dental *t* for cerebral *t*.

<sup>10</sup> There is also the transfer form *mahā-s*, supplying the place of a N. of *māh-*.

<sup>11</sup> For *gartā-rūk*.

<sup>12</sup> The N. of *sarāh-* 'bee', occurs as *sarāt* in TS. v. 3. 12<sup>2</sup> (B) and in ŚB. xiii. 3. 1<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> For *yajñā-sāham*.

<sup>14</sup> With unphonetic cerebral after *ā* owing to the influence of the N. *pṛtanā-śāt*.

<sup>15</sup> The *s* is here not cerebralized after *i*.

<sup>16</sup> *guhā* which occurs 53 times (beside *guhā*, once) is used adverbially, 'in secret', with retracted accent.

<sup>17</sup> From *prā-sāh*, beside *pra-sāh-*.

<sup>18</sup> This form is perhaps f.

<sup>19</sup> Strong form for weak.

<sup>20</sup> Strong form for weak (II. 21<sup>2</sup>), but the Pada text has *satrā-sāhe*.

<sup>21</sup> There is also a transfer to the *i*-declension: *māhāye* (as an infinitive).

Ab. m. *druháś*, *mahás*; *ṛtī-śáhas*. — f. *druháś*<sup>1</sup>. — n. *mahás*.

G. m. *druháś*, *mahás*<sup>2</sup>; *a-drúhas*, *anaḍúhas* (AV.), *ṛtanā-śáhas*; with strong form: *abhimāti-śáhas*<sup>3</sup>. — f. *druháś*, *mihás*; *prā-śáhas*. — n. *mahás*; *puru-spṛhas*.

L. m. *anaḍúhi* (AV.)<sup>4</sup>. — f. *upā-náhi* (AV.) 'shoe', *pari-náhi* (AV.).

V. 1. m. *turā-śāt* (VS. x. 22), *ṛtanā-śāt* (AV.), *havya-vāt*. — 2. m. *godhuk* (AV.). — f. *ā-dhruk*<sup>5</sup>.

Du. N. A. V. 1. m. *anaḍ-vāhau*, *indra-vāhā* and *indra-vāhau* 'conveying Indra', *dhūr-śāhau* (VS. IV. 33) 'bearing the yoke'; shortened: *carṣaṇī-sahā*, *rathā-sāhā* 'drawing the chariot'. — 2. m. *a-drúhā*, *an-abhidrukā* 'not inimical', *puru-spṛhā*. — f. *a-drúhā*, *a-druhā*. — n. *mahī*.

Pl. N. V. 1. m. *anaḍ-vāhas* (AV.), *indra-vāhas*, *turya-vāhas* (VS. XXIV. 12), *ditya-vāhas* (VS.), *paśtha-vāhas* (VS.), *prṣṭi-vāhas* (AV.) 'carrying on the sides', *vajra-vāhas* 'wielding a thunderbolt', *vīra-vāhas*, *saha-vāhas* 'drawing together', *susṭhu-vāhas* 'carrying well', *havya-vāhas*; *abhimāti-śáhas*, *śatrū-śáhas*; shortened: V. *carṣaṇī-sahas*. — 2. m. *drúhas*, *mahás*<sup>6</sup>; *a-drúhas*, V. *a-druhas*, *go-dúhas*, *puru-spṛhas*, V. *puru-spṛhas*.

f.<sup>7</sup> *mīhas*, *rīhas* 'sprouts'; *a-drúhas*, *ā-rúhas* (AV.) 'shoots', *ghṛta-dúhas* 'giving ghee', *puru-drúhas* 'injuring greatly', *puru-spṛhas*, *pra-rúhas* (AV.) 'shoots', *mano-mīhas* (AV.) 'bewildering the mind', *vi-srīhas*.

A. m. *druháś*<sup>8</sup>, *mahás*<sup>8</sup>, *a-drúhas*, *anaḍúhas* (AV.), *puru-spṛhas*. — f. *drúhas*, *nīhas*<sup>9</sup> (AV. VS.) 'destroyers', *mīhas*, *rīhas* (AV.); *akṣā-nāhas* 'tied to the axle', *a-drúhas*, *upā-rúhas* 'shoots', *pra-rúhas* (AV.), *saṃ-dīhas* 'mounds'.

D. m. *anaḍiddhyas* (AV.) — f. *sarāḍbhyas* 'bees'. — G. m. *mahām*<sup>10</sup>, *carṣaṇī-sāhām* (VS. XXVIII. 1). — L. m. *anaḍútsu*.

## 7. Stems in semivowels: *r*, *y*, *v*.

353. This group forms a transition from the consonant to the vowel declension inasmuch as the stem often assumes a vocalic form before endings with initial consonant, and in some cases takes endings which otherwise appear in the vowel declension only. The *-r* stems are nearest the consonant declension as their radical division conforms almost without exception to that type; their derivative division, however, has several points in common with the inflexion of vowel stems.

### 1. Stems ending in *-r*.

354. A. Radical stems. Here the stems ending in radical *r* must be distinguished from those in which the *r* belongs to a suffix. The radical stems numbering over 50 are formed from some sixteen roots, the vowel of which is nearly always *i* or *u*. Only three of these stems contain *a* and only two *ā*. Nearly a dozen are monosyllabic, but the rest (numbering over 40) are compounds, almost a dozen of which are formed with *-tur*.

<sup>1</sup> *ámhas* (VI. 3<sup>1</sup>) is probably not an Ab. of *ámh-* 'distress' (which does not occur elsewhere), but by haplology for *ámhas-as*, which is very frequent.

<sup>2</sup> There is also the transition form *mahásya*.

<sup>3</sup> The Pada text has *-śáhas*.

<sup>4</sup> There is also the transition form *mahé* (m. n.).

<sup>5</sup> See WHITNEY's note on AV. VII. 73<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> With irregular accent.

<sup>7</sup> There are no neuters except the transition forms *mahā* and *mahāni*.

<sup>8</sup> With irregular accent as if weak forms. Cp. above 94, note <sup>6</sup> and LANMAN 501 (middle).

<sup>9</sup> The derivation of this word is uncertain: it is explained by Mahidhara as = *nihantr-*. WHITNEY (AV. II. 6<sup>5</sup>) would emend to *nidas*.

<sup>10</sup> There is also the transition form *mahānām*.

The inflexion is the same in all genders except the N. A. neuter. A peculiarity is the lengthening of the radical *i* and *u* when a consonant ending follows or originally followed<sup>1</sup>.

a. The distinction of strong and weak appears in *dvār*- f. 'door', which is reduced to *dūr*- in weak cases; in *tār*- and *stār*- 'star', from which are made *tāras* and *stf̥bhis*; and in the n. *svār* 'light' two weak cases, the D. and G. sing., are formed from the contracted stem *sūr*-.

b. There are here a few transitions to the *a*-declension: *śatā-durasya* and *śatā-dureṣu* 'having a hundred doors', which started from weak cases like *dūras*; *su-dhūra-s*, N. sing. m. 'well-yoked', due to the A. *su-dhūr-am*; perhaps also the A. sing. f. *ān-apa-sphūrā-m* 'not pushing away', which occurs beside the N. pl. *ān-apa-sphur-as*<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand the N. pl. m. *vandhūr-as* 'car-seats' seems to be a transition from the *a*-declension, as *vandhūna-* is probably the older stem.

c. The form *yan-tūr-am* 'guide', which occurs twice for *yan-tār-am* has been formed as if from *-tūr* owing to the parallelism with *ap-tīram* which once appears beside it<sup>3</sup>.

### Inflection.

355. The forms actually occurring, if made from *pūr*- f. 'stronghold', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *pūr*. A. *pūram*. I. *purā*. D. *purā*. Ab. *purās*. G. *purās*. L. *puri*. — Du. N. A. *pūrā* and *pūrau*. — Pl. N. V. *pūras*. A. *pūras*. I. *pūrbhīs*. D. *pūrbhīś* (VS.). G. *purām*. L. *pūrśū*.

The forms actually occurring are as follows:

Sing. N. m. *gīr* 'praising', *vār*<sup>4</sup> 'protector'; *muhur-gīr* 'swallowing suddenly'; *dhūr-āśtr* 'badly mixed'; *rajas-tūr* 'traversing the air', *ratha-tūr* 'drawing a chariot', *viśva-tūr* 'all-surpassing', *su-pra-tūr* 'very victorious'<sup>5</sup>. — f. *gīr* 'praise', *dvār* (AV.) 'door', *dhūr* 'burden', *pūr*; *amā-jūr* 'aging at home', *ā-śīr*<sup>6</sup> (AV. TS.) 'mixture'.

N. A. n. *vār* 'water', *śīar*<sup>7</sup> 'light'<sup>8</sup>, *śīvar* (TS. II. 2. 12<sup>1</sup>).

A. m. *tīram* 'promoter'; *ap-tīram*<sup>9</sup> 'active', *āji-tīram* 'victorious in battles', *rajas-tīram*, *ratha-tīram*, *vītra-tīram* 'conquering enemies'; *a-jīram* 'unaging', *apa-sphūram* 'bounding forth', *ṛta-jīram* 'grown old in (observing) the law', *gāvāśīram* 'mixed with milk', *yāvāśīram* 'mixed with corn', *śahāsra-dvāram* 'having a thousand doors', *su-dhūram* 'well yoked'<sup>10</sup>. — f. *gīram*, *dvāram* (AV.), *dhūram*, *pīram*; *ā-śīram*, *upa-śīram* 'cover', *saṃ-gīram* 'assent'.

I. m. *bāndhūrā*<sup>11</sup> (AV.) 'binder'(?). — f. *gīrā*, *dhūrā*, *purā*; *abhi-pra-mīrā* 'crushing', *abhi-svārā* 'invocation', *ā-śīrā*. — n. *viśva-tūrā*.

D. m. *gīrē*; *niṣ-ṭīre* 'overthrowing'. — f. *upa-śīre*. — n. *sūrē*.

Ab. f. *dhūrās*; *ni-jūras* 'consuming by fire'.

G. m. *gāvāśīras*, *yāvāśīras*, *radhra-tīras* 'encouraging the obedient'. — f. *amā-jūras*. — n. *sūras*<sup>12</sup>; *rāsāśīras* 'mixed with juice'.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the *-s* of the N. sing. m. and f. This rule also applies in *vār* (I. 132<sup>3</sup>) if GRASSMANN is right in explaining this form as a N. sing. m. meaning 'protector', from *vār*- (*vr*- 'cover'); but BR., s. v. *vār*-, regard this form as a corruption.

<sup>2</sup> In the later language *dvār*- f. and *pūr*- f. went over to the *a*-declension as *dvāra*- n. and *pūra*- n., while *vār*- n. went over to the *i*-declension as *vāri*-.

<sup>3</sup> See LANMAN 486 (bottom).

<sup>4</sup> If this form is not a corruption.

<sup>5</sup> There is also the transition form *su-dhūra-s*.

<sup>6</sup> From *śy*- 'mix'.

<sup>7</sup> This is the only declensional form of this word occurring in the AV.

<sup>8</sup> Neuter compounds ending in *-r* are avoided; thus the AV. has the transition form *nāva-dvāra-m*, N. n.

<sup>9</sup> For *ap-(a)-s-tīram* 'getting over work'.

<sup>10</sup> There is also the anomalous form *yanthīram* for *yantāram*.

<sup>11</sup> Probably a transfer from the *a*-declension.

<sup>12</sup> With the accentuation of a dissyllabic stem (*śīar*). In VIII. 61<sup>17</sup> for *śīra ā* the Pada text has *śīre ā*, but it is probably the G. *śīras*. In I. 66<sup>10</sup>, 69<sup>10</sup> the uninflected form *śīar* seems to be used in a G. sense.

L. f. *dhūrī*, *purī*. — n. *sūar*<sup>1</sup>.

Du. N. A. m. *vr̥tra-tūrā*, *sanā-jūrā* 'long grown old', *su-dhūrā*. — f. *dvārā*; *mīthas-tūrā* 'alternating'; with *au*: *dvārau*, *dhūrau*.

Pl. N. V. m. *gīras*, *gīras*, *mīras* 'destroyers'; *ap-tīras*, *ā-mīras* 'destroyers'; *gāvāśīras*, *try-āśīras* 'mixed with three (products of milk)', *dīdhy-āśīras* 'mixed with curds'; *dur-dhīras* 'badly yoked', *dhīyā-jīras* 'grown old in devotion', *niṣ-tīras*, *bandhīras* (AV.), *vandhīras* 'seat of the chariot', *vr̥tra-tūras* (VS. VI. 34). — f. *gīras*, *gīras* (AV.), *tīras* 'stars'<sup>2</sup>, *dvāras*<sup>3</sup>, *dvāras*, *pīras*; *an-āpasphuras* 'not struggling', *amā-jīras*, *mīthas-tīras*.

A. m. *gīras*; *ā-mīras*, *gāvāśīras*, *mīthas-tīras*, *yāvāśīras*, *saṃ-gīras*, *su-dhūras*. — f. *gīras*, *dīras*<sup>4</sup>, *dhīras*, *pīras*, *pśīras*<sup>5</sup> 'victuals'; *nī-pīras*<sup>6</sup> (VS. AV.), *parā-pīras*<sup>6</sup> (VS. AV.), *vī-śīras* 'expansion', *saṃ-śīras* 'contraction'.

I. m. *ratha-tūrbhis*. — f. *gūrbhis*, *pūrbhis*<sup>7</sup>, *stībhis*<sup>8</sup> 'stars'. — D. n. *vār̥bhīyas* (VS.). — G. m. *sām-āśīram* 'mixed'. — f. *gīrām*, *purām*. — L. m. *tūr̥ṣū*. — f. *gūr̥ṣū*, *dhūr̥ṣū*, *pūr̥ṣū*. — n. *pṛtsu-tūr̥ṣu*<sup>9</sup> 'victorious in battle'.

356. B. Derivative stems. — Derivative stems ending in *r* consist of two groups, the one formed with the suffix *-ar*, the other with *-tar*. The former is a small group containing only eight stems, the latter is a very large one with more than 150 stems. Both groups agree in regularly distinguishing strong and weak cases. The strong stem ends in *-ar* or *-ār*, which in the weak forms is reduced to *r* before vowels and *r̥* before consonants. Both groups further agree in dropping the final of the stem in the N. sing. n. f., which case always ends in *-ā*<sup>10</sup>. They resemble the vowel declension in adding the ending *-n* in the A. pl. m., and *-s* in the A. pl. f. and in inserting *n* before the *-ām* of the G. pl. They have the peculiar, ending *-ur* in the G. sing.<sup>11</sup>.

#### a. Stems in *-ar*.

357. There are only five simple m. and f. stems in *-ar*, viz. *uṣ-ār* f. 'dawn', *dev-ār* m. 'husband's brother', *nānānd-ār* f. 'husband's sister', *nār*<sup>12</sup> m. 'man', *svāsar*<sup>13</sup> f. 'sister'; and the two compounds *svār-ṇar* m. 'lord of heaven' and *saptā-svasar* 'having seven sisters'. Of these, *uṣār* shows only case-forms according to the consonant declension, while *nār* and *svāsar* have some according to the vowel declension also. Of *nānāndar* only the G. and L. sing. and of *devār* only the A. sing. and the N. and L. pl. occur. Nearly all case-forms are represented by these five stems taken together. There are also the three neuters *āh-ar* 'day', *ūdḥ-ar* 'udder', and *vādḥ-ar* 'weapon', which occur in the N. A. sing. only. The first two supplement the *-an* stems *āh-an* and *ūdḥ-an* in those cases.

<sup>1</sup> This form is used 5 times as a L. sing. dropping the *-i* like the *-au* stems, as *āhan* beside *āhani*.

<sup>2</sup> Strong form of *tār* = *stār* 'star'. The gender is uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> Once the weak form *dvāras*.

<sup>4</sup> The strong form *dvāras* is once used. The accentuation of a weak case, *durās*, occurs once.

<sup>5</sup> Occurring only in x. 26<sup>3</sup>; it is a n. sing. according to BR.

<sup>6</sup> The meaning and derivation of these two words is uncertain; see WHITNEY's note on AV. XVIII. 22<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> From *pūr* 'stronghold' and *pūr* 'abundance'.

<sup>8</sup> Weak form, accented like a dissyllabic stem. In Kh. I. 11<sup>6</sup> normally accented, but spelt with *ri* as *stībhis*.

<sup>9</sup> With L. pl. ending kept in the first member.

<sup>10</sup> In this they resemble the N. m. of nouns of the *-an* declension.

<sup>11</sup> Except *nār-as* and *uṣr-ās*.

<sup>12</sup> This word is probably derived with the suffix *-ar*; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 359.

<sup>13</sup> Here *-sar* is probably a root; cp. BRUGMANN, op. cit., 2, p. 8, footnote.

## Inflexion.

358. Sing. N. m. *hatā-svasā* (AV.) 'whose sisters have been slain'. — f. *svāsā*; *saptā-svasā* 'having seven sisters'. — n. *dhar*, *ūdhar*, *vādhar*.

A. m. *devāram*, *nāram*. — f. *svāsāram*. — I. f. *svāsrā*. — D. m. *nāre*; *svār-nare*. — f. *svāsrē*. — Ab. f. *svāsur*<sup>1</sup>. — G. m. *nāras*. — f. *usrās*, *nānāndur* (Aṽ.), *svāsur*. — L. m. *nāri*. — f. *usrī*<sup>2</sup> and *usrām*<sup>3</sup>, *nānāndari*<sup>4</sup>. — V. f. *uṣar*.

Du. N. A. m. *nārā*, V. *narā* and *narau*. — f. *svāsārā* and *svāsārau*. — L. f. *svāsrōs*.

Pl. N. m. *devāras*, *nāras*, V. *naras*, *suar-naras*. — f. *svāsāras*. — A. m. *nṛ̥n*<sup>5</sup>. — f. *usrās*, *svāsr̥s*. — I. m. *nṛ̥bhis*. — f. *svāsr̥bhis*. — D. m. *nṛ̥bhyas*. — Ab. m. *nṛ̥bhyas*. — G. m. *narām*<sup>6</sup> and *nṛ̥nām*<sup>7</sup>. — f. *svāsrām*<sup>6</sup> and *svāsr̥nām*. — L. *dev̥su*, *nṛ̥su*.

## b. Stems in -tar.

359. This group includes two subdivisions, the one forming its strong stem in -tar, the other in -tār. The former consists of a small class of five names of relationship: three masculines, *pī-tār* 'father', *bhrā-tār* 'brother', *nāp-tār*<sup>8</sup> 'grandson', and two feminines, *duhi-tār* 'daughter', and *mā-tār* 'mother'; and the m. and f. compounds formed from them. The second class consists of more than 150 stems (including compounds), which are either agent nouns accented chiefly on the suffix, or participles accented chiefly on the root. These are never used in the f., which is formed with -ī from the weak stem of the m., e. g. *jānitṛ-ī* 'mother' (377).

a. This declension is almost restricted to the m. and f. gender. The only n. stems are *dhar-tār* 'prop', *dhmā-tār* 'smithy', *sthā-tār* 'stationary', *vi-dhar-tār* 'meting out'; and from these only about half a dozen forms occur. The only oblique cases met with are the G. *sthātīr* and the L. *dhmātārī* (Pada-tārī). The N. A. sing. which might be expected to appear as -tār, seems to have attained to no fixity of form, as it was of extremely rare occurrence. It seems to be represented by the following variations: *sthātār* (VI. 496), *sthātṛn* (I. 726), *sthātīr* (I. 585, 681, 707), *dhartārī* (IX. 864<sup>2</sup>; II. 2317), *vi-dhartārī* (VIII. 592; IX. 474)<sup>9</sup>.

## Inflexion.

360. The inflexion is exactly the same in the m. and f. except that the A. pl. m. ends in -tṛ̥n, but the f. in -tṛ̥s.

The forms actually occurring, if made from *mātār* f. 'mother', as representing a name of relationship, and from *janitār* m. 'begetter', as representing an agent noun, would be as follows:

Sing. N. *mātā*; *janitā*. A. *mātāram*; *janitāram*. I. *mātrā*; *janitrā*. D. *mātrē*; *janitrē*. Ab. *mātīr*; *janitīr*. G. *mātīr*; *janitīr*. L. *mātārī*; *janitārī*. V. *mātar*; *janitar*.

Du. N. A. *mātārā* and *mātārau*; *janitārā* and *janitārau*. I. *janitṛ̥bhyām* (VS.). D. *janitṛ̥bhyām*. G. *mātrōs*; *janitrōs*. L. *mātrōs*; *janitrōs*.

<sup>1</sup> The ending -ur in this declension appears to represent original -r̥s through -r̥r; cp. LANMAN 426, BRUGMANN, KG. p. 381 (middle).

<sup>2</sup> The metre requires *uṣāri*. As to the *sr* cp. 57, I α.

<sup>3</sup> The ending -ām is a transfer from the ī- declension. The metre requires *uṣārām* in which -ām is added direct to the stem.

<sup>4</sup> The metre requires *nānāndri* (X. 8546).

<sup>5</sup> On *nṛ̥n* as a metrically shortened form for other cases see FISCHER, VS. I, p. 42f.

<sup>6</sup> The only two forms in the derivative -(t)ar declension in which -ām is added direct to the stem.

<sup>7</sup> Often to be read as *nṛ̥nām*; see LANMAN 43.

<sup>8</sup> In the RV. this stem occurs in weak forms only, being supplemented in the strong by *nāpāt*. The TS. (I 3. 41) however has the strong form *nāptāram* with long vowel, like *svāsrām*.

<sup>9</sup> See LANMAN 422 f.

Pl. N. *mātīras*; *janitīras*. A. *mātīs*; *janitīn*. I. *mātībhis*; *janitībhis*. D. *mātībhyas*; *janitībhyas*. Ab. *mātībhyas*; *janitībhyas*. G. *mātīṇām*; *janitīṇām*. L. *mātīṣu*; *janitīṣu*. V. *mātaras*; *janitīras*.

Forms actually occurring are the following:

**Sing. N. i. m.** *pitā*, *bhrātā*; *dākṣa-pitā* (TS. IV. 3. 4<sup>1</sup>; VS. XIV. 3) 'having Dakṣa as father', *tri-mātā* 'having three mothers', *devi-mātā* 'having two mothers', *hatā-bhrātā* (AV.) 'whose brothers have been slain', *hatā-mātā* (AV.) 'whose mother has been slain'. — f. *duhitā*, *mātā*; *a-bhrātā* 'brotherless', *sindhu-mātā*<sup>2</sup> 'having a stream as mother'.

**2. m.** *anu-ā-gantā* (VS. XVIII. 59)<sup>3</sup>, *avitā* 'protector', *upa-sattā* (TS. VS. AV.) 'attendant', *kroṣṭā* 'jackal' ('yeller'), *janitā*, *jaritā* 'praiser', *trātā* 'protector', *tvāṣṭā* 'fashioner', *dātā* 'giver', *dhartā* 'supporter', *netā* 'leader', *prati-grahitā* (VS. VII. 48) 'receiver', *prati-dhartā* (VS. XV. 10) 'one who keeps back', *pravaṅktā* (Kh. IV. 8<sup>3</sup>) 'speaker', *vodhā* and *vādhā* 'driving'; etc.

**A. i. m.** *pitāram*, *bhrātāram*; *ādri-mātāram* 'having a rock for a mother', *jā-mātāram* 'son-in-law', *sindhu-mātāram*. — f. *duhitāram*, *mātāram*, *saptā-mātāram* 'having seven mothers'.

**2. m.** *adhi-vaktāram* 'advocate', *anu-ksattāram* (VS. XXX. 11) 'doorkeeper's mate', *abhi-ṣektāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'consecrator', *abhi-sartāram* (VS.) 'assistant', *ava-sattāram* 'liberator', *avitāram*, *dstāram* 'shooter', *ā-yantāram* 'restrainer', *iṣ-kartāram* 'arranging', *upa-manthitāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'churner', *upa-ṣektāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'pouder-out', *kartāram* 'agent', *ksattāram* (VS. XXX. 13) 'door-keeper', *gintāram* 'going', *goptāram* (Kh. V. 3<sup>3</sup>) 'protector', *cltāram* 'attentive', *janitāram* (VS. XIII. 51), *jaritāram*, *jētāram* 'victorious', *joṣṭāram* (VS. XXVIII. 10) 'cherishing', *tarutāram* 'victor', *trātāram*, *tvāṣṭāram*, *dātāram* 'giver', *dātāram* 'giving', *dhartāram*, *nī-dātāram* 'one who ties up', *nī-kartāram* (TS. IV. 2. 7<sup>3</sup>)<sup>4</sup>, *netāram* 'leader', *panitāram* 'praising', *pari-veṣṭāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'waiter', *paritāram* 'purifier', *pura-etāram* (VS. XXXIII. 60) 'leader', *peṣitāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'carver', *pra-kartāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'sprinkler', *pra-netāram* 'leader', *pra-dātāram* (VS. VII. 46; TS.) 'giver', *prahetāram* 'impeller', *bodhayitāram* 'awakener', *bhetāram* (TS. I. 5. 6<sup>4</sup>) 'breaker', *mandhātāram* 'pious man', *marḍitāram* 'comforter', *yantāram* 'ruler', *yāntāram* 'restraining', *yātāram* 'pursuer', *yoktāram* (VS. XXX. 14) 'exciter', *rakṣitāram* 'protector', *vanditāram* 'praiser', *vi-bhaktāram* 'distributor', *vi-moktāram* (VS. XXX. 14) 'unyoker', *śamitāram* (VS. XXVIII. 10) 'slaughterer', *śṛtaṃ-kartāram* (TS. III. 1. 4<sup>4</sup>) 'cooking thoroughly', *śrotāram* 'hearer', *sanitāram* 'bestower', *sam-cdhātāram*<sup>5</sup> 'kindler', *savitāram* 'stimulator', *stotāram* 'praiser', *hanitāram* 'slayer', *has-kartāram* 'inciter', *hūtāram* 'driver', *hūtāram* 'invoker'.

**I. i. m.** *nāptṛā*, *pitṛā*, *bhrātṛā* (AV.). — f. *duhitṛā*, *mātrā* (VS. AV.). —

**2. m.** *āstrā*, *tvāṣṭṛā* (AV.), *dhātṛā* 'establisher', *pra-savitṛā* (VS. X. 30) 'impeller', *savitṛā*.

**D. i. m.** *nāptre*, *pitṛé*. — f. *duhitṛé*, *mātré*. — **2. m.** *āstre* (AV.), *kartré* (AV.), *kroṣṭṛé* (AV.), *jaritré*, *jōṣṭre* (VS. XVII. 56), *tvāṣṭre* (VS. XXII. 20), *dātré*, *dhartré* (VS. XVII. 56; TS. IV. 6. 3<sup>2</sup>), *dhātṛé* (AV.), *prati-grahitré* (VS. VII. 47), *rakṣitré* (AV.), *vi-dhātṛé* (AV.) 'disposer', *śamitré* (TS. IV. 6. 3<sup>3</sup>), *savitṛé*, *stotré*, *hantré* (VS. XVI. 40), *hōtre*.

**Ab. i. m.** *pitūr*, *bhrātūr*, *vi-jāmātūr* 'son-in-law'. — f. *duhitūr*, *mātūr*. — **2. m.** *āstur*,<sup>1</sup> *tvāṣṭūr* (AV.), *dhātūr*, *savitūr*, *hōtūr*.

<sup>1</sup> On the Sandhi of these nominatives in -ā see LANMAN 423-5.

<sup>2</sup> The nominatives of the m. agent nouns are so numerous (140 in the RV. alone) that examples only can be given here.

<sup>3</sup> Used with the A., an example of in-

ipient use as a periphrastic future: = 'will follow'.

<sup>4</sup> RV. X. 140<sup>5</sup> and VS. XII. 110 have *iṣ-kartāram* in the same passage.

<sup>5</sup> For \**edh-tāram*, from *idh-* 'kindle'.

G. 1. m. *nāptur*, *pitūr*, *bhrātūr*. — f. *duhitūr*, *nānāndūr* (AV.), *mātūr*. — 2. m. *abhi-ksattūr* 'carver', *avitūr*, *dstūr*, *utthātūr* (AV.) 'resolving', *kartūr* (Kh. IV. 5<sup>6</sup>. 10), *cettūr* (AV.), *janitūr*, *jaritūr*, *trātūr*, *vāstūr*, *dātūr*, *dhātūr* (VS. TS. AV.), *ni-dhātūr* 'one who lays down', *netūr*, *neštūr* 'leader', *mandhātūr*, *yantūr* (VS. IX. 30), *vanditūr*, *vāvātūr* 'adherent', *vādhūr*<sup>1</sup> 'draught-horse', *samitūr*, *sanitūr*, *savitūr*, *sotūr* 'presser of Soma', *stotūr*, *hūtūr*.

L. 1. m. *pitāri*. — f. *duhitāri*, *mātāri*. — 2. m. *netūri*, *vaktūri* (AV.) 'speaker', *sotāri*. — With metrically protracted -ī: *etāri*<sup>2</sup>, *kartāri*, *vaktāri*<sup>3</sup>.

V. 1. m. *jāmātar*, *pitar*, *bhrātar*. — f. *duhitar*, *mātar*. — 2. m. *ava-spartar* 'preserver', *avitār*, *janītār*, *jarītār*, *trātār*, *trāṣṭār*, *dartār* 'breaker', *doṣā-vastār* 'illuminer of the dark', *dhartār*, *dhātār*, *netār*, *neṣṭār*, *pra-netār*, *pra-yantār* 'bringer', *yajña-hotār* 'offerer at a sacrifice', *vi-dhartār* 'ruler', *vi-dhātār*, *vi-ṣastār* (AV.) 'slaughterer', *sanītār*, *savitār*, *su-sanītār* 'liberal giver', *sotār*, *stotār* (VS. XXIII. 7; TS. VII. 4. 20), *sthātār* 'guider', *hotār*.

Du. N. A. V. 4. 1. m. *pitārā*, *bhrātārā*; *iheha-mātārā* 'whose mother is here and there', *dākṣa-pitārā*, *mātārā-pitārā*<sup>5</sup> 'father and mother', *sindhu-mātārā*. — f. *duhitārā*, *mātārā*, *sam-mātārā* 'twins'. — With -au: m. *pitārau*, *sam-mātārau* (AV.). — f. *duhitārau* (AV. Kh. III. 15<sup>13</sup>), *mātārau*. — 2. m. *avitārā*, *a-snatārā* 'not (fond of) bathing', *uṣṭārā* 'ploughing bulls', *gāntārā*, *coditārā* 'investigators', *janitārā*, *dhartārā*, *ni-cetārā* 'observers', *preṭārā* 'lovers', *yantārā* 'guides', *rakṣitārā*, *samitārā*, *sthātārā*, *hūtārā*. — With shortened vowel: *manotārā* 'disposers'. — With -au: *anu-ṣṭhātārau* (AV.) 'undertakers', *ksattārau* (AV.) 'carvers', *goptārau* (AV.), *dātārau*, *rakṣitārau*, *hūtārau* (VS. XX. 42), *hotārau* (TS. IV. 1. 8<sup>2</sup>). — With shortened vowel: *dhānutārau*<sup>6</sup> 'running swiftly', *savātārau* (VS. XXVIII. 6) 'having the same calf'<sup>7</sup>.

I. 2. m. *hitrabhyām* (VS. XXI. 53). — D. 1. m. *pitṛbhyām*<sup>8</sup>. — G. 1. m. *pitṛs*. — f. *mātṛs*. — 2. m. *pra-ṣastṛs* (VS.). — L. 1. m. *pitṛs*. — f. *mātṛs*<sup>9</sup>.

Pl. N. 1. m. *pitāras*. V. *pītaras*, *bhrātāras*; *dākṣa-pītaras*, *dākṣa-pitāras*<sup>10</sup> (TS. I. 2. 3<sup>1</sup>), *gō-mātaras* 'having a cow for mother', *pṛṣni-mātaras* 'having Pṛṣni for a mother', *sindhu-mātaras*, *su-mātaras* 'having a beautiful mother'. — f. *duhitāras*, *mātāras*, V. *mātaras*; *a-bhrātāras* and *a-bhrātāras* (AV.). — 2. m. *agni-hotāras* 'having Agni for a priest', *abhi-ksattāras*, *abhi-svartāras* 'invokers', *dstāras*, *upa-kṣetāras* 'dwelling near', *gāntāras*, *cetāras* 'avengers', *jaritāras*, *joṣṭāras*, *trātāras*, *daditāras* (VS. VII. 14) 'keepers', *dātāras*, *dhartāras*, *dhūtāras*, *ni-cetāras* 'observing' and 'observers', *ninditāras* 'scorners', *ni-pātāras* 'protectors of men', *netāras* and *netāras*, *panitāras*, *pari-veṣṭāras* (VS. VI. 13), *pavitāras* 'purifiers', *pura-etāras* (VS. XVII. 14; TS. IV. 6. 1<sup>4</sup>), *pra-jñātāras* 'conductors', *pra-netāras*, *prāvītāras* 'promoters', *preṭāras*, *yantāras*, *rakṣitāras*, *vantāras* 'enjoyers', *vi-dhātāras*, *vi-yotāras* 'separators', *samitāras*, *śrūtāras*, *sanitāras*, *sotāras*, *stotāras*, *sthātāras*, *svaditāras* 'roaring', *hūtāras*, *hītāras*<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For \**vāh-tur*, from *vah-* 'draw'.

<sup>2</sup> GRASSMANN takes this form (V. 4110; VI. 12<sup>4</sup>) as a N. f. of *etār-* 'one who approaches or asks'.

<sup>3</sup> The Pada text has *i* in all these forms. Cp. NEISSER BB. 20, 44.

<sup>4</sup> In the RV. the ending -ā occurs 176 times, -au only 10 times: LANMAN 427 (mid.).

<sup>5</sup> A Dvandva compound in which both members are inflected.

<sup>6</sup> The shortening is probably metrical.

<sup>7</sup> This is the interpretation of the commentator; but the derivation of the word is obscure.

<sup>8</sup> No form in -*bhyām* with the Ab. sense occurs.

<sup>9</sup> These G. L. forms as well as *svāsros* must be pronounced trisyllabically in the RV. except *mātṛs* in VII. 3<sup>9</sup>. See LANMAN 428.

<sup>10</sup> With long grade vowel.

<sup>11</sup> The form *vasu-dhātāras* (AV. v. 27<sup>6</sup>) may be N. pl. with shortened vowel, but WHITNEY regards it as a comparative N. sing. 'greater bestower of wealth'. See his note on AV. v. 27<sup>6</sup>.

A. 1. m. *pitṛñ*<sup>1</sup>; *dhikṣa-pitṛñ*, *piśni-mātṛñ*. — f. *mātṛs*<sup>2</sup>. — 2. m. *āstṛñ*, *a-snātṛñ*, *kartṛñ* (AV.; Kh. iv. 5<sup>30</sup>), *goptṛñ* (AV.), *jaritṛñ*, *trātṛñ*, *dātṛñ*, *pātṛñ* (AV.) 'drinkers', *pra-vodhṛñ* 'carrying off', *stotṛñ*, *stātṛñ*, *hōtṛñ*.

I. 1. m. *nīptṛbhis*, *pitṛbhis*, *bhrātṛbhis*; *saptā-mātṛbhis*. — f. *mātṛbhis*. — 2. m. *āstṛbhis*, *kartṛbhis*, *dhātṛbhis*, *partṛbhis* 'with aids', *setṛbhis* 'bindings', *sotṛbhis* and *sōtṛbhis*, *hotṛbhis*, *hōtṛbhis*.

D. 1. m. *pitṛbhyas*. — f. *mātṛbhyas*. — 2. m. *ksatṛbhyas* (VS. XVI. 26) 'charioteers', *rakṣitṛbhyas* (AV.), *stotṛbhyas*, *saṃ-grahitṛbhyas* (VS. XVI. 26) 'drivers'.

Ab. 1. m. *pitṛbhyas*. — f. *mātṛbhyas*.

G. m. 1. *pitṛñām*<sup>3</sup>. — 2. *unnetṛñām* (VS. VI. 2) kind of Soma priests, *jaritṛñām*, *dātṛñām*<sup>4</sup> (AV.), *dhātṛñām*, *stotṛñām*, *hōtṛñām*. — With *ṛ*: 1. *pitṛñām* (TS. I. 3. 6<sup>1</sup> etc.); 2. *dhātṛñām* (TS. IV. 7. 14<sup>3</sup>), *netṛñām* (TS. I. 3. 6<sup>1</sup>)<sup>5</sup>.

L. 1. m. *pitṛṣu* (AV.). — f. *mātṛṣu*. — 2. m. *hōtṛṣu*.

## 2. Stems in *y* and *v*.

361. These stems, of which there are only five, form a transition to the vowel declension because, while taking the normal endings like the ordinary consonant declension, they add *-s* in the N. sing. m. f. and show a vowel before the endings with initial consonant. There are no neuter forms<sup>6</sup>.

### a. Stem in *-āy* (*-ai*).

362. This type is represented by only one word, usually stated in the form of *rāi-*, which never appears in any case. This word, which is both m. and (rarely) f., means 'wealth', being in origin doubtless connected with the root *rā-* 'give'. The stem appears as *rāy-* before vowels and *rā-* before consonants. The forms occurring are: Sing. A. *rām*. I. *rāyā*. D. *rāyē*. Ab. *rāyās*. G. *rāyās*<sup>7</sup>. — Pl. N. *rāyas*. A. *rāyās*<sup>8</sup>. G. *rāyām*.

a. The inflexion of *rāy-* is supplemented by *rayi-*, m. f., from which occur the additional cases sing. N. *rayis*, A. *rayim*, I. *rayā* and *rayinā*; pl. I. *rayibhis*. G. *rayinām*.

b. There are three forms which seem to be irregular compounds of *rāy-*: sing. G. *ṛdhād-rayas* ('increasing wealth') N. of a man, D. *bṛhād-raye* 'having much wealth', and du. N. *śatā-rī* 'having a hundred goods'. In the first two forms the vowel of the stem has probably been shortened metrically<sup>9</sup>; in the third form, the stem as it appears before consonants has been used.

### b. Stems in *-av* (*-o*) and *-āv* (*-au*).

363. There are two stems in *-ar*, viz. *gāv-* m. 'bull', f. 'cow', and *dyāv-* m. f. 'heaven', 'day'. Both distinguish strong forms, in which the vowel is lengthened; both take *-s* in the N. sing. before which the end of the stem assumes the form of *-au*. Both show various irregularities in their inflexion.

<sup>1</sup> On the Sandhi of these accusatives see LANMAN 429.

<sup>2</sup> Once with m. ending *mātṛñ* (x. 35<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> With *n* before the ending *-ām* as in the vowel declension, and accent shifted to the ending as in the *i-* and *u-* declension when those vowels are accented.

<sup>4</sup> See WHITNEY's note on AV. v. 24<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Also *udgātṛñām* (TS. III. 2. 9<sup>5</sup>) and *bhrā-tṛñām* (TS. II. 6. 6<sup>2</sup>). See BENFEY, *Vedica*, p. 1—38; IS. 13, 101; LANMAN 430.

<sup>6</sup> Except the isolated *dyāvī* occurring once as V. du. of *dyāv-* 'heaven'.

<sup>7</sup> The G. a few times has the irregular accent *rāyas*.

<sup>8</sup> Accented thus 22 times as a weak case in the RV., and four times *rāyas* as a strong case (also VS. II. 24). The SV. I. 4. 1. 4<sup>1</sup> has the A. pl. *rās* in the variant *adhād rāḥ* for *adhātta* of RV. VIII. 96<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> According to BR. and GRASSMANN, they are formed from the stems *bṛhād-ri-* and *ṛdhād-rī-*. Cp. LANMAN 431.



The inflexion of *gáv-*, which is almost complete (the only forms not represented being the weak cases of the dual) is as follows:

**Sing.** N. *gáus*. A. *gám*. I. *gávā*. D. *gáve*. Ab. *gós*. G. *gós*. L. *gávi*. — **Du.** N. A. *gāvā* and *gāvau*. — **Pl.** N. *gāvas*. A. *gās*. I. *gābhis*. D. *gābhyas*. G. *gāvām* and *gāmām*. L. *gāsu*. V. *gāvas*.

a. Three of these forms, *gám*, *gās*, *gós* must, in the RV., be read as dissyllables in a few instances, though this is doubtful in the case of *gās*<sup>1</sup>.

b. The normal G. pl. *gāvām*, which is by far the commoner, occurring 55 times in the RV., is found only 3 times at the end of a Pāda (which in two of these instances ends iambically); the irregular G. *gāmām*<sup>2</sup>, occurring 20 times in the RV., is found at the end of a Pāda only. The use of the latter form thus seems to have arisen from metrical exigencies.

c. It is to be noted that from the point of view of accentuation the stem is not treated as a monosyllable, since the Udātta never shifts to the ending in weak cases.

d. There are three compounds formed from this stem: *á-gos*<sup>3</sup> G. sing. m. 'having no cows'; *pr̥śni-gāvas*<sup>4</sup> N. pl. m. 'having dappled cows'; *r̥śad-gavi* L. sing. f. 'having bright cows'.

364. The strong form of *dyáv-* (in which the *y* has often to be read as *i*) is *dyáv-*, which appears as *dyáiv-* before the *s* of the N., and with loss of the final *u*, in the A. sing. *dyám*<sup>5</sup>. The normal stem *dyáv-* appears in weak cases only, in the contracted Ab. G. *dyís*<sup>6</sup> and the L. *dyívi*; it is otherwise entirely displaced by the Samprasāraṇa form *div-* (from which the accent shifts to the ending in weak cases) before vowels and *dyí-* before consonants.

The weak grade stem *div-* has not only entirely ousted *dyáv-* from the I. D. sing., and largely from the Ab. G. L. sing., but has even encroached on the strong forms: *divām* occurring (21 times) beside *dyám* (79 times), and *divas* (once) beside *dyāvas* (22 times) in the N. pl. Similarly *dyí-*<sup>7</sup> has displaced *dyáv-* in the weak plural forms: A. *dyín* (for *\*dyāvas*) and I. *dyībhis* (for *\*dyóbhis*).

The inflexion of *dyáv-* is less complete than that of *gáv-*, the D. Ab. G. L. pl. being wanting as well as all the weak cases of the dual. The forms occurring are the following:

**Sing.** N. *dyáus*. A. *dyám*; *divam*. I. *divā*. D. *divé*. Ab. *dyós*; *divás*<sup>8</sup>. G. *dyís*; *divás*<sup>9</sup>. L. *dyávi*; *diví*<sup>10</sup>. V. *dyáus* and *dyāus*<sup>11</sup>. — **Du.** N. A. V. *dyāvā*<sup>12</sup>; *dyāvī*<sup>13</sup>. — **Pl.** N. V. *dyāvas*; *divas*<sup>14</sup> (once). A. m. *dyín*; f. *divas*<sup>15</sup> (twice). I. m. *dyībhis*<sup>16</sup>.

a. The A. *dyám* seems to require dissyllabic pronunciation in a few instances. The form *dyáus* occurs once (I. 71<sup>8</sup>) as an Ab. instead of *dyís*. The form *divām* doubtless made its way into the A. sing. owing to the influence of the very frequent weak cases *divás* etc., which taken together occur more than 350 times in the RV.

<sup>1</sup> See LANMAN 431 (bottom). The form *gāvas* is actually used for the A. in Kh. II. 6<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Formed on the analogy of the vowel declension.

<sup>3</sup> This might be formed from the reduced stem *á-gu-*.

<sup>4</sup> There is also from the reduced stem *-gu-* the A. sing. m. *pr̥śni-gum*, as the N. of a man.

<sup>5</sup> For *\*dyā[u]m* like *gám* for *\*gā[u]m*.

<sup>6</sup> Like *gós* for *\*gāvas*.

<sup>7</sup> Based on *dyí-*.

<sup>8</sup> In the RV. *dyós* occurs only twice as Ab., *divás* 50 times.

<sup>9</sup> In the RV. *dyós* occurs 4 times as G., *divás* 180 times.

<sup>10</sup> *dyávi* occurs 12 times, *diví* 118 times in the RV.

<sup>11</sup> *dyáus*, that is, *diaus* occurs only once and is to be read as a dissyllable.

<sup>12</sup> In the G. du. of the Dvandva *divás-pr̥thivyós*, the G. sing. takes the place of the G. du., which would be *divós*.

<sup>13</sup> The neuter form used once for the m.

<sup>14</sup> Also twice in AV.

<sup>15</sup> Also 3 or 4 times in AV.

<sup>16</sup> *dyín* and *dyībhis* occur only in the RV. or in verses borrowed from the RV.

b. Starting from *div-ās* etc. a transition stem *divā-* according to the *a*-declension came into being. From this occur the forms *divā-m* 'heaven' and *divā-dīva* 'every day', and in compounds *tri-divā-m* (AV.) 'third heaven', *tri-dīva*, *su-divā-m* (AV.) 'bright day'.

c. It is to be noted that the accentuation of forms from *div-* follows the rule of monosyllables, while that of forms from *dyāv-* and *dyāv-*, as may be inferred from *dyāvi* and *dyāvibhis*, does not, being the same as that of *gāu-*.

d. The following case-forms of compounds of *dyāv-* occur: sing. N. *pra-dyāus* (AV.) 'highest heaven', I. *pra-dīvā*, Ab. *pra-dīvas*, L. *pra-dīvi*; *āhar-dīvi* 'day by day'; du. N. A. *prthivī-dyāvā* 'earth and heaven', *dyāvā-ksāmā*, *dyāvā-prthivī*, *dyāvā-bhūmī* 'heaven and earth', *vṛṣṭi-dyāvā* 'having a raining sky'; pl. N. *vṛṣṭi-dyāvas*, *su-dīvas*.

365. There are two stems in *-ān-*, viz. *nāv-* (*nāu-*) f. 'ship', and *glāv-* (*glāu-*) m. or f. 'lump'. The inflexion is very incomplete, as no dual and only two plural forms are found; but as far as can be judged from the forms occurring it is quite regular, the accentuation being that of monosyllabic stems. The forms of *nāv-* are:

Sing. N. *nāus*. A. *nāvam*, *su-nāvam* 'good ship' (VS. XXI. 7). I. *nāvā*<sup>1</sup>. G. *nāvās*. L. *nāvī*. — Pl. N. *nāvas*. I. *naubhis*.

From *glāv-* occur only the two forms N. sing. *glāus* (AV.) and I. pl. *glaubhis* (VS. XXV. 8)<sup>2</sup>.

## B. Vowel stems.

366. The vowel declension comprises stems ending in *a*, *i*, *u*, both long and short. These differ considerably in their inflexion according as they are radical or derivative. The radical stems, which virtually all end in the long vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ū*<sup>3</sup>, are allied to the consonant declension in taking the normal endings; but they add *-s* in the N. sing. m. f. The derivative stems, which end in both long and short vowels, modify the normal endings considerably; though they for the most part add *-s* in the N. sing. m. f., those in *-ā* and *-ī* regularly drop it.

### i. a. Stems in radical *-ā*.

367. Radical *ā*-stems are frequent in the RV., but become less common in the later Samhitās where they often shorten the final vowel to *ā* and are then inflected like derivative *a*-stems. The great majority of the forms occurring are nominatives or accusatives, other cases being rare and some not occurring at all. In the RV. the N. sing. forms with *ā* occur ten times oftener than those with the shortened vowel *ā*, and five times oftener than the forms with *ā* in the AV. On the other hand, the AV. has only slightly more forms with *ā* than with *ā*, and no m. forms at all from *ā*-stems in the oblique cases<sup>4</sup>. This tendency to give up the *ā* forms in the later Samhitās may be illustrated by the fact that the forms of the RV. N. sing. *carṣaṇi-prā-s* 'blessing men', *nāma-dhāt-s* 'name-giver', *prathama-jāt-s* 'first-born', V. *soma-pā-s* 'soma-drinker', are replaced in the AV. by *carṣaṇi-prā-s*, *nāma-dhāt-s*, *prathama-jāt-s*<sup>5</sup>, V. *soma-pa* respectively.

This declension includes stems formed from about thirty roots. Of these, four appear as monosyllables in the m.: *jāt-* 'child', *trāt-* 'protector', *dāt-* 'giver', *sthāt-* 'standing'; and seven in the f.: *kṣāt-*<sup>6</sup> 'abode', *-khlāt-* 'well', *gnāt-*<sup>7</sup> 'divine

<sup>1</sup> There is also the transition form according to the *ā*-declension I. sing. *nāvāyā*, the accentuation of which indicates that it started from *nāvā*.

<sup>2</sup> The N. pl. *glāvas* also occurs in the AB.

<sup>3</sup> These, however, by being shortened often appear secondarily as *ā*, *i*, *ū*, when they are inflected like derivative stems. Radical *i* *ū* and *r* stems have joined the

consonant declension by almost always adding the root determinative *-ā*.

<sup>4</sup> See LANMAN 435<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> The form *prathama-jāt-s*, however, also occurs in the AV.

<sup>6</sup> From *kṣā-* = *kṣi-* 'dwell', 'rule'.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps formed with suffixal *ā* from a root *\*gan-* and sometimes to be pronounced as a dissyllable (*ganā-*), but inflected as if a radical stem.

woman', *jā-* 'child', *jyā-* 'bowstring', *mā-* 'measure', *vṛā-*<sup>1</sup> 'troop'; the rest appear only at the end of compounds: *-krā-*<sup>2</sup> 'doing', *-krā-*<sup>3</sup> 'scattering', *-ksā-* 'ruling', *-khā-* 'digging', *-khyā-* 'seeing', *-gā-* 'going', *-gā-* 'singing', *-jā-* 'born', *-jñā-* 'knowing', *-jyā-* 'power', *-tā-* 'stretching', *-dā-* 'giving', *-drā-* 'sleeping', *-dhā-* 'putting', *-dhā-* 'sucking', *-pā-* 'guarding', *-pā-* 'drinking', *-pṛā-* 'filling'<sup>4</sup>, *-bhā-* 'appearing', *-mā-* 'measuring', *-yā-* 'going', *-vā-* 'blowing', *-sā-* 'winning'<sup>5</sup>, *-sthā-* 'standing', *-snā-* 'bathing', *-hā-* 'starting'.

These stems are inflected in the m. and f. only. There are no distinctively n. forms<sup>6</sup>, as the stem shortens the radical vowel to *ā* in that gender and is consequently inflected according to the derivative *a*-declension.

a. Three anomalously formed m. derivative stems in *-ā* follow the analogy of the radical *ā*-stems. 1. From the adverb *tā-thā* 'thus' is formed the N. sing. *ā-tathā-s* 'not saying "yes"'. 2. *usānā-*, N. of a seer, forms its A. *usānām* and D. *usāne*<sup>7</sup>; the N. sing. being irregularly formed without *-s*, has the appearance of a N. sing. f. from a derivative *ā*-stem<sup>8</sup>. 3. The strong stem of *pathi-* 'path' is in the RV. *pānthā-* only: N. sing. *pānthā-s* (+ AV.), A. *pānthā-m* (+ AV.), N. pl. *pānthās*. The AV. also uses the stem *pānthān-*, from which it forms N. sing. *pānthā* (once), A. *pānthānam* (once), and N. pl. *pānthānas*. Though the stem *pānthān-* never occurs in the RV., the evidence of the Avesta points to its having been in use beside *pānthā-* in the Indo-Iranian period<sup>9</sup>. The A. *pānthām*<sup>10</sup>, as a contraction of *pānthānam*, may have been the starting point of the N. sing. *pānthā-s*.

### Inflection.

368. The forms occurring in the oblique cases are so rare that some endings, such as those of the L. sing., G. L. du. and G. pl. are not represented at all. The m. always takes *-s* in the N. sing., but the f. often drops it, doubtless owing to the influence of the f. of derivative *ā*-stems. Excepting the few forms occurring in the D. and G. sing.<sup>11</sup>, the N. sing. with *-s* is the only case in which the inflexion of the radical stems can be distinguished in the f.<sup>12</sup> from that of the derivative *ā*-stems in form<sup>13</sup>. The forms actually occurring would, if made from *jā-* 'offspring', be the following:

Sing. N. m. f. *jā-s*, f. also *jā*. A. m. f. *jā-m*. I. f. *j-ā*. D. m. f. *j-e*.

G. m. *j-ās*. V. m. *jā-s*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *jā*, *jāu*. I. *jā-bhyām*<sup>14</sup>.

Pl. N. m. f. *jās*. A. f. *jās*. I. m. f. *jā-bhis*. D. f. *jā-bhyas*. Ab. m. *jā-bhyas*. L. f. *jā-su*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *jā-s*<sup>15</sup> 'child', *dā-s*<sup>16</sup> 'giver', *sthā-s* 'standing'. — *dadhi-krā-s*<sup>17</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> From an extended form of the root *vy-* 'surround'.

<sup>2</sup> An extension with *-ā* of *kr-* 'do'.

<sup>3</sup> An extension with *-ā* of *kṛ-* 'scatter'.

<sup>4</sup> The root *mlā-* 'soften' occurs in the modified form of *-mūā-* in *carma-mūā-* 'tanner'.

<sup>5</sup> Four of these roots, *khā-*, *gā-*, *jā-*, *sā-*, are collateral forms of others ending in a nasal, *khan-*, *gam-*, *jan-*, *san-*; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum, p. 92 f., LANMAN 442.

<sup>6</sup> Five N. sing. m. forms with *-s* are found in agreement with n. substantives.

<sup>7</sup> There is also a L. sing. *usāne*, which is formed as if from an *a*-stem.

<sup>8</sup> The starting-point of this may have been *usānām* as a contracted A. for *usānasam*.

<sup>9</sup> See LANMAN 441.

<sup>10</sup> The analogy of *pathi-* is followed by *mathi-* 'churning-stick', which once has the A. form *mānthā-m*.

<sup>11</sup> There are otherwise only the f. trans-

ition forms L. sing. *āpayāyām*, N. of a river, and *puro-dhāyām* (AV.).

<sup>12</sup> The N. sing. with *-s* is about as common as that without it in the RV., the latter occurring in late hymns; in the AV. the former are less common.

<sup>13</sup> But on etymological grounds other cases may commonly be distinguished as belonging to either one group or the other; thus A. f. *ā-gopām* 'having no herdsman' must be regarded as a radical *ā*-form, because the m. is almost without exception *go-pā-m*, and not as a derivative f. from *go-pā-*.

<sup>14</sup> Contrary to the rule generally applicable to monosyllable stems, the accent remains on the radical syllable throughout.

<sup>15</sup> LANMAN 443 thinks *gā-s* in x. 127<sup>8</sup> is a N. sing. 'singer' (*gā-* 'sing'), but it is probably the A. pl. of *gā-* 'cow'.

<sup>16</sup> Also *dhā-s* in TS. II. 6. 41.

<sup>17</sup> These compounds are arranged according to the alphabetical order of the roots.

N. of a divine horse. — *rbhu-kṣā-s* 'lord of the Rbhus'. — *bisa-khā-s* 'digging up lotus fibres'. — *agre-gā-s* (VS. XXVII. 31; Kh. v. 6<sup>1</sup>) 'going before', *an-ā-gā-s* 'not coming', *puro-gā-s* 'leader', *samana-gā-s* 'going to the assembly'. — *sāma-gā-s* 'singing chants'. — *adri-jā-s* 'produced from stones', *apsu-jā-s* 'born in the waters', *ab-jā-s* 'born in water', *abhra-jā-s* (AV.) 'born from clouds', *ṛta-jā-s* 'truly born', *ṛte-jā-s* 'produced at the rite', *go-jā-s* 'born from the cow', *taṇo-jā-s* (VS. XXXVII. 16) 'born from heat', *divi-jā-s* 'born in the sky', *deva-jā-s* 'god-born', *divi-jā-s* 'twice-born', *nakṣatra-jā-s* (AV.) 'star-born', *naḥho-jā-s* 'produced from vapour', *nava-jā-s* 'newly born', *purā-jā-s* 'primeval', *pūrva-jā-s* 'born before', *prathama-jā-s* 'first-born', *bahu-pra-jā-s* 'having numerous progeny', *manuṣya-jā-s* 'born of men', *vane-jā-s* 'born in woods', *vāta-jā-s* (AV.) 'arisen from wind', *sana-jā-s* 'born long ago', *saha-jā-s* 'born together', *saho-jā-s* 'produced by strength', *su-pra-jā-s* 'having good offspring', *hiranya-jā-s* (AV.) 'sprung from gold'. — *ṛta-jñā-s* 'knowing the sacred law'. — *parama-jyā-s* 'holding supreme power'. — *apāna-dā-s* (TS. VS.) 'giving the downward air', *ātma-dā-s* 'granting breath', *āyur-dā-s* (TS. VS.) 'granting long life', *āśṛ-dā-s* (VS. XVIII. 56) 'fulfilling a wish', *ojo-dā-s* 'granting power', *go-dā-s* 'giving kine', *caḥsur-dā-s* (TS. IV. 6. 1<sup>5</sup>) 'giving sight', *draviṇo-dā-s* 'giving wealth', *dhana-dā-s* 'giving booty', *prāṇa-dā-s* (VS. TS.) 'life-giving', *bala-dā-s* 'giving power', *bhūri-dā-s* 'giving much', *rāṣṭra-dā-s* (VS. x. 2) 'giving dominion', *varivo-dā-s* (VS. TS.) 'giving space', *varco-dā-s* (VS. TS.) 'giving vigour', *vasu-dā-s* (AV.) 'giving wealth', *vyāna-dā-s* (VS. TS.) 'giving breath', *śahasra-dā-s* 'giving a thousand', *saho-dā-s* 'giving strength', *svasti-dā-s* 'giving happiness', *harir-dā-s* (AV.) 'giving oblations', *hiranya-dā-s* 'yielding gold'. — *abhi-dhā-s* (VS. XII. 3) 'surrounding', *kiye-dhā-s* 'containing much', *cano-dhā-s* (VS. VIII. 7) 'gracious', *dhāma-dhā-s* 'founder of dwellings', *dhiyaṇi-dhā-s* 'devout', *nāma-dhā-s* 'name-giving', *bhāga-dhā-s* (TS. IV. 6. 3<sup>1</sup>) 'paying what is due', *ratna-dhā-s* 'procuring wealth', *reto-dhā-s* 'impregnating', *vayo-dhā-s* 'bestowing strength', *varco-dhā-s* (AV.) 'granting vigour', *viśvā-dhā-s* (VS. I. 2) 'all-preserving', *sarva-dhā-s* 'all-refreshing'. — *adhi-pā-s* 'ruler', *apāna-pā-s* (VS. XX. 34) 'protecting the downward breath', *abhiṣṭi-pā-s* 'defending from imprecations', *abhiṣṭi-pā-s*<sup>1</sup> 'protecting with assistance', *āprīta-pā-s* (VS. VIII. 57) 'guarding when gladdened', *āyus-pā-s* (VS. XXII. 1) 'life-protector', *ṛta-pā-s* 'guarding divine order', *go-pā-s* 'herdsman', *ā-gopā-s* 'lacking a cowherd', *devā-gopā-s* 'having the gods for guardians', *su-gopā-s* 'good protector', *sōma-gopā-s* 'keeper of Soma', *caḥṣus-pā-s*<sup>2</sup> (VS. II. 6) 'protecting the eyesight', *tanū-pā-s* 'protecting the person', *midhi-pā-s* (AV. VS.) 'guardian of treasure', *paras-pā-s*<sup>2</sup> 'protecting afar', *paśu-pā-s* 'keeper of herds', *prāṇa-pā-s* (VS. XX. 34) 'guardian of breath', *vṛata-pā-s* 'observing ordinances', *śevadhi-pā-s* 'guarding treasure', *sti-pā-s* 'protecting dependents', *sva-pā-s*<sup>3</sup> (AV.) 'protector of his own'. — *an-ṛtu-pā-s* 'not drinking in time', *ṛtu-pā-s* 'drinking at the right season', *pūrva-pā-s* 'drinking first', *suta-pā-s* 'drinking the Soma-juice', *soma-pā-s* 'drinking Soma', *hari-pā-s* 'drinking the yellow (Soma)'. — *antarikṣa-prā-s* 'traversing the air', *kratu-prā-s* 'granting power', *carṣaṇi-prā-s* 'satisfying men', *rodasi-prā-s*<sup>4</sup> 'filling heaven and earth'. — *ṛṇa-yā-s* 'exacting obligations', *eva-yā-s* 'going quickly', *tura-yā-s* 'going swiftly', *deva-yā-s* 'going to the gods'. — *ap-sā-s* 'giving water', *aśva-sā-s* 'giving horses', *dhana-sā-s* 'winning wealth', *vāja-sā-s* 'winning booty', *śata-sā-s* 'gaining a hundred', *śahasra-sā-s* 'gaining a thousand', *go-śā-s* 'acquiring cattle', *nṛ-śā-s* 'procuring men', *su-śā-s* 'gaining

<sup>1</sup> In *abhiṣṭipāsi* (II. 20<sup>2</sup>), where the Pada text reads *abhiṣṭi-pā asi*. See LANMAN 443 (bottom).

<sup>2</sup> On the Sandhi in this compound cp. 78 c.

<sup>3</sup> The Pada text of AV. III. 3<sup>1</sup> divides *sva-pāh*; but the correct division may be *su-apāh*; see WHITNEY's note.

<sup>4</sup> For *rodasi-prā-s*.

easily', *svar-śā-s* 'winning light'. — *ādharma-sthā-s*<sup>1</sup> (Kh. II. 8<sup>2</sup>) 'subordinate', *ṛta-sthā-s* (AV.) 'standing right', *rocana-sthā-s* 'abiding in light', *sūpa-sthā-s*<sup>2</sup> (VS. XXI. 60; TS. I. 2. 2<sup>3</sup>) 'forming a good lap'; *āṅge-śthā-s* (AV.) 'situated in a member of the body', *adhvare-śthā-s* 'standing at the sacrifice', *giri-śthā-s* 'mountain-dwelling', *nī-śthā-s* 'excelling', *puru-nī-śthā-s* 'excelling among many', *bluvane-śthā-s*<sup>3</sup> (AV.) 'being in the world', *manthane-śthā-s* 'liberal', *madhyame-śthā-s* (AV. VS. TS.) 'standing in the middle', *rathe-śthā-s* 'standing on a car', *vandane-śthā-s* 'mindful of praises', *vandhure-śthā-s* 'standing on the car-seat', *savya-śthā-s*<sup>4</sup> (AV.), *hari-śthā-s* 'borne by bay horses'. — *ghṛta-snā-s* 'sprinkling ghee'. — Also the abnormal forms *ā-tathā-s* 'not saying "yes"', *pānthā-s* 'path'.

f. *kṣā-s* 'abode', *gnā-s* 'divine woman', *vṛā-s*<sup>5</sup> (I. 124<sup>8</sup>) 'troop'. — *ṛta-pā-s*, *ṛte-jā-s*, *kula-pā-s* (AV.) 'chief of a family', *go-dhū-s*<sup>6</sup> 'sinew', *go-pā-s* (AV.) 'female guardian', *go-sā-s*, *divi-jā-s*, *divo-jā-s* 'born from heaven', *vane-jā-s*, *vayo-dhū-s* (AV.), *vasu-dā-s* (AV.), *śata-sā-s*, *samana-gā-s*, *sahasra-sā-s*<sup>7</sup>. — Without -s in the Pada but with hiatus in the Samhitā<sup>8</sup>: *jyā* 'bowstring'; *nī-drā* 'sleep', *pra-pā* 'place for watering', *śrad-dhā* 'faith', *sva-dhā*<sup>9</sup> 'self-power'; *un-mā* (TS.) 'measure of height', *prati-mā* (TS.) 'counter-measure', *pra-mā* (TS.) 'fore-measure', *vi-mā* (TS.) 'through-measure'<sup>10</sup>. — Without -s as in the derivative ā-declension: *jā* (AV.), *mā* (TS. IV. 3. 7<sup>1</sup>) 'measure'. — *āpa-gā*<sup>11</sup> (AV.) 'going away', *abhi-bhā* 'apparition', *ā-samjñā* (AV.) 'discord', *upā-jā* (AV.) 'distant posterity', *go-dhā*<sup>12</sup>, *dur-gā* (AV.) 'hard to go upon', *devā-gopā*, *dyu-kṣā* 'heavenly', *pra-jā* 'offspring', *prati-mā* 'image', *pra-pā* (AV. III. 30<sup>6</sup>), *pra-mā* 'measure', *madhu-dhā*<sup>13</sup> 'dispensing sweetness', *śrad-dhā* (AV.), *sana-jā*, *svā-gopā* 'guarding oneself', *sva-dhā*.

n. With -s and agreeing with n. substantives: *sthā-s* 'stationary'; *indra-jā-s* (AV.) 'descended from Indra', *śata-sā-s*, *su-pra-yā-s* 'pleasant to tread on', *soma-jā-s*<sup>14</sup> (AV.) 'Soma-born'.

A. m. *jām*, *trām* 'protector', *sthām*. — *dadhi-krām*, *rudhi-krām* N. of a demon. — *tamo-gām* 'roaming in the darkness', *tavā-gām* 'moving mightily', *svasti-gām* 'leading to prosperity'. — *sāma-gām*. — *agra-jām* 'first-born', *ab-jām*, *nabho-jām*, *purā-jām*, *prathama-jām*, *bhāreṣu-jām* 'existing in battles'. — *ān-āśva-dām* 'not giving horses', *ān-āśir-dām* 'not giving a blessing', *a-bhikṣa-dām*<sup>15</sup> 'giving without being asked', *upā-dām* (VS. XXX. 9) 'giving a present', *jani-dām* 'giving a wife', *draviṇo-dām*, *dhana-dām*, *rabho-dām* 'bestowing strength', *vasu-dām*, *saho-dām*, *haviṛ-dām* (AV.). — *ratna-dhām* (AV., VS. IV. 25), *reto-dhām* (VS. VIII. 10), *vayo-dhām*, *varivo-dhām* 'granting space', *varco-dhām* (VS. IV. 11), *vipo-dhām* 'inspiring'. — *abhiśasti-pām*, *go-pām*, *tanū-pām*, *nī-śikta-pām* 'protecting the infused (semen)', *vṛata-pām*. — *āñjas-pām* 'drinking instantly', *śṛta-pām* 'drinking boiled milk', *soma-pām*. — *antarikṣa-prām*, *kakṣya-prām* 'filling out the girth',

<sup>1</sup> The Ms. reads *ādhi-ra-sthā nīmaśat*.

<sup>2</sup> That is, *su-upa-sthā-s*.

<sup>3</sup> While Kh. III. 22<sup>2</sup> has in the same verse *bhūmane-śthāh* (sic).

<sup>4</sup> The Pada reads *savya-sthāh*; see APR. II. 95, and cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. VIII. 8<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> N. sing. GRASSMANN and LANMAN, N. pl. ROTH and SĀYANA.

<sup>6</sup> The derivation is uncertain.

<sup>7</sup> The above are the only N. sing. f. forms written with -s in the Pada text.

<sup>8</sup> It may therefore be assumed that the N. was formed with -s.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. RPr. II. 29. With regard to *sva-dhā*, the Samhitā text is inconsistent, writing it contracted with a following vowel in *svadhāśil*

(I. 165<sup>6</sup>) and *svadhāmitā* (V. 34<sup>1</sup>), where it must be pronounced with hiatus.

<sup>10</sup> All these four compounds of *mā* 'measure' occur in TS. IV. 4. 11<sup>3</sup>; see TPr. X. 13, IS. 13, 104, note 2.

<sup>11</sup> BR. would accentuate *āpa-gā*; cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. I. 34<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Probably *go-dhās* in X. 28<sup>12</sup>; cp. LANMAN 445.

<sup>13</sup> Also *maryādā* 'limit' if *maryādā*, but the derivation is doubtful.

<sup>14</sup> These forms must be regarded as m. used as n. Cp. the -ās forms of -as stems used as n. (344).

<sup>15</sup> According to the Pada text *abhi-kṣa-dām* ('destroying').

*carṣaṇi-prām*, *ratha-prām* 'filling a car', *rodasi-prām*<sup>1</sup>. — *ap-sām*, *urvara-sām* 'granting fertile land', *kṣetra-sām* 'procuring land', *dhana-sām*, *sadā-sām* 'always gaining', *sahasra-sām*; *go-sām*, *sva-sām*. — *rocana-sthām*, *sv-āsa-sthām* (VS. II. 2) 'offering a good seat'; *giri-sthām*, *nare-sthām* 'serving for a man<sup>2</sup> to stand on', *ni-sthām*, *karma-ni-sthām* 'diligent in religious acts', *pathi-sthām* (AV.) 'being on the way', *pathe-sthām*<sup>3</sup> 'standing in the way', *pari-sthām* 'surrounding', *parvate-sthām* 'dwelling on the heights', *barhi-sthām*<sup>4</sup> 'standing on the sacrificial grass', *rathe-sthām*, *rayi-sthām* (AV.) 'possessed of wealth', *hari-sthām*. — Also the abnormal derivative forms *pānthām*, *mānthām* 'churning-stick'.

f. *kṣām*, *khām* 'well', *gnām*, *jām*, *jyām*, *vām*. — *ā-gopām*, *antarikṣa-prām*, *ava-sām* 'liberation', *dśva-sām*, *upa-vām* (AV.) 'act of blowing upon', *uru-sām* 'granting much', *ṛta-jñām*, *tiro-dhām* (AV.) 'concealment', *dur-dhām* 'disarrangement', *dhana-sām*, *pra-jām*, *prati-dhām* (AV.) 'draught', *prati-sthām* 'standpoint', *pra-vām* (AV.) 'blowing forth', *pra-hām* 'advantage', *yakṣmo-dhām*<sup>5</sup> (AV.) 'maker of disease', *vāja-sām*, *śrad-dhām*, *sabhām*<sup>6</sup> 'assembly', *su-prajām*, *sva-jām* 'self-born', *sva-dhām*, *sva-sām*.

I. f. *apa-dhā* 'concealment', *abhi-khyā* 'splendour', *a-sthā* 'without standing'<sup>7</sup>, *āśīr-dā* (VS.) 'fulfilment of a wish', *prati-dhā*, *prati-sthā*<sup>8</sup>, *sva-dhā*.

D. m. *dē*; *kīlāla-pē* 'drinking (the beverage called) *kīlāla*', *dhiyaṇ-dhē* 'devout', *paśu-sē* 'bestowing cattle', *rāyas-pośa-dē* (VS. v. 1) 'granting increase of wealth', *śuci-pē* 'drinking the clear (Soma)', *śubhaṇ-yē* 'flying swiftly along', *haviṛ-dē*.

f. *kṣē*; *śrad-dhē*<sup>9</sup>. — Also the infinitives *pra-khyāi* 'to see', *vi-khyāi* 'to look about', *parā-dāi* 'to give up', *vayo-dhāi* 'to strengthen', *prati-māi*<sup>10</sup> 'to imitate', *ava-yāi* 'to go away', *ā-yāi* 'to approach', *upa-yāi* 'to come near', *pra-yāi* 'to go forward', *ava-sāi*<sup>11</sup> 'to rest'<sup>12</sup>.

G. m. *kṛṣṭi-prās* 'pervading the human race', *paśu-śās*<sup>13</sup>.

V. m. *ṛta-pā-s* (TS. III. 2. 8<sup>1</sup>), *ṛtu-pā-s*, *puro-gā-s* (TS. V. 1. 11<sup>4</sup>), *bhūri-dā-s*, *śukra-pūta-pā-s* 'drinking bright and purified (Soma)', *śuci-pā-s*, *śrotra-pā-s* (VS. XX. 34) 'protecting the ear', *suta-pā-s*, *soma-pā-s*<sup>14</sup>.

Du. N. A. V. m. *kakṣya-prā*, *go-pā*, *gharṇyē-śhā* 'being in a house', *charāṣ-pā* 'protecting a house', *jagat-pā* 'protecting the living', *tanū-pā*, *tapuṣ-pā* 'drinking warm beverage', *draviṇo-dā*<sup>15</sup>, *paras-pā*, *purā-jā*, *pūru-trā* 'protecting much', *vāja-dā* 'bestowing vigour', *śuci-pā*, *su-gopā*, *soma-pā*, *stī-pā*. — With -au: *ā-krau*<sup>16</sup> 'inactive', *a-doma-dhāu* (AV.) 'not causing inconvenience', *adhva-gāu* 'travelling', *go-pāu*, *go-pau*, *madhu-pau* 'drinking Soma', *rayi-dāu* 'bestowing wealth', *suta-pau*<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For *rodasi-prām*.

<sup>2</sup> The D. case-form of *ṛt-* 'man' being retained in the compound.

<sup>3</sup> The L. of the stem *patha-* = *pathi-* being retained in the compound.

<sup>4</sup> *barhi-* for *barhiṣ-*: see 62.

<sup>5</sup> With the N. case-form retained in the compound; see WHITNEY's note on AV. IX. 8<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> The derivation of this word is uncertain.

<sup>7</sup> Used adverbially = 'at once'.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. LANMAN 447<sup>1</sup>. There are also the transition forms *jyāyā*, *prajāyā*.

<sup>9</sup> Also the transition form *prajāyāi*.

<sup>10</sup> The infinitive *prati-mē* is probably a locative.

<sup>11</sup> These dative infinitives are formed by combining the full root with the ending -e, while in the ordinary datives the radical ā is dropped before the ending.

<sup>12</sup> See below, the Dative Infinitive, 584.

<sup>13</sup> The form *jās-* in *jās-pati-* (I. 185<sup>8</sup>) 'lord of the family' is probably a f. G. of *jā-*; and *gnās* probably G. of *gnā-* in *gnās-pati-* 'husband of a divine woman'. There are also the transition forms *jyāyās* and *prajāyās*.

<sup>14</sup> There are also in the f. the transition forms *gaṅge*, *śrad-dhe*, *tiro-dhe* (AV.) 'concealment'.

<sup>15</sup> The Pada text reads *draviṇo-dāu*.

<sup>16</sup> Some of these duals in -au may be formed from radical stems with shortened -ā; cp. LANMAN 450<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> There are also the f. transition forms *gādū-pē* 'drinking what is sweet', *pūruva-jē* 'born before', *sv-āsa-sthē* 'sitting on a good seat'.

I. Only four compounds of *-pā* in TS. III. 2. 10<sup>1</sup>: *kratu-pābhyām* 'watching one's intentions', *cakṣuṣ-pābhyām*, *vāk-pābhyām* 'protecting speech', *śrotra-pābhyām*<sup>1</sup>.

PI. N. V. m. *rblu-kṣās*. — *agni-jās* (AV.) 'fire-born', *ā-pra-jās* 'childless', *apsu-jās* (AV.), *oṣadhi-jās* (AV.) 'born among herbs', *khalā-jās* (AV.) 'produced on a threshing-floor', *deva-jās*, *purā-jās*, *prathama-jās*, *pravāte-jās* 'grown in an airy place', *raghu-jās* 'produced from a racer', *śaka-dhūma-jās* (AV.) 'produced from cow-dung', *su-pra-jās*, *sva-jās*. — *ṛta-jñās*, *ṛta-jñās*, *pada-jñās* 'knowing the track'. — *aśva-dās* 'giving horses', *āśir-dās* (VS. VIII. 5), *go-dās*, *draviṇo-dās*, *dhana-dās*, *vara-dās* (AV.) 'granting boons', *vastra-dās* and *vāso-dās* 'giving garments', *hiranya-dās*. — *jani-dhās*<sup>2</sup> (X. 29<sup>3</sup>), *dhiyaṃ-dhās*, *ratna-dhās*, *reto-dhās*, *vayo-dhās*. — *payo-dhās* 'sucking milk'. — *kula-pās* 'heads of the family', *go-pās*, *indra-gopās* 'protected by Indra', *devā-gopās*, *vāyū-gopās* 'protected by Wind', *su-gopās*; *tanū-pās*, *pasu-pās*, *vrata-pās*. — *agre-pās* 'drinking first', *añjas-pās*, *payas-pās* 'drinking milk', *manthi-pās*<sup>3</sup> (VS. VII. 17) 'drinking the stirred Soma', *soma-pās*, *soma-pās* (AV.), *haviṣ-pās* 'drinking offerings'. — *carma-mnās*<sup>4</sup> 'tanners'. — *jma-yās* 'going on the earth'. — *dhana-sās*, *sadā-sās*, *sahasra-sās*. — *prthivi-śhās*<sup>5</sup> 'standing on the earth', *rathe-śhās*<sup>6</sup>, *harmye-śhās*<sup>6</sup> 'dwelling in the house'. — *ghṛta-snās* 'sprinkling ghee'. — Also the abnormal derivative *pānthās*<sup>7</sup>.

f. *gnās*, *vās*. — *ā-gopās*, *ava-śhās* 'female organs', *dhi-gopās* 'guarded by the dragon', *ā-tās* 'frames', *ṛta-jñās* (AV.), *giri-jās* 'mountain-born', *jāraṇi-prās*<sup>2</sup>, *devā-gopās*, *deva-yās*, *pada-jñās* (AV.), *pra-jās*, *prathama-jās*, *pra-yās* 'advance', *manuṣya-jās* (AV.), *vakṣane-śhās* 'being in Agni' (?), *vāja-dās*, *śuṣma-dās* 'bestowing strength', *su-gopās*, *soma-pās*, *svayaṃ-jās*<sup>8</sup> 'self-born'.

A. m. There is no certain example: *vane-jās* (X. 79<sup>7</sup>) is possibly one<sup>9</sup>.

f. *ṣās*, *gnās*, *jās*. — *ān-agni-trās* 'not maintaining the sacred fire', *anu-śhās* 'following in succession', *aśva-dās*, *deva-yās*, *pari-jās* (AV.) 'places of origin', *pari-śhās* 'impediments', *pra-jās*, *manuṣya-jās*, *vi-śhās* 'positions', *sahā-gopās* 'accompanied by herdsmen', *su-ṣās* 'easy to traverse', *sva-dhās*.

I. m. *agre-pābhis*. — f. *gnābhis*; *ṛtu-pābhis*, *ratna-dhābhis*, *prajābhis*, *śrad-dhābhis*, *sva-dhābhis*.

D. f. *pra-jābhyas*. — Ab. m. *bhūri-dābhyas*<sup>10</sup>.

L. f. *ṣāsū*, *gnāsū*, *jāsū*; *ā-tāsū*<sup>11</sup>, *pra-jāsū*, *sabhāsū*.

### 1 b. Stems in Radical -a.

369. These consist almost entirely of stems in radical *ā* which has been shortened to *ā*. With the exception of *kḥā*<sup>12</sup> 'aperture' they occur at the end of compounds only. They are: *-kṣā* 'dwelling', *kḥā*, *-gā* 'going', *-gā* 'singing', *-jā* 'born', *-jya* 'bowstring', *-ta* 'stretching', *-tra*<sup>13</sup> 'protecting', *-dā* 'giving', *-dā* 'binding', *-dhā* 'putting', *-pā* 'guarding', *-pā* 'drinking', *-prā* 'filling', *-mnā*

<sup>1</sup> In the L. du. there also occur the f. transition forms *jaṅghāyos* (AV.) and *sva-dhāyos*.

<sup>2</sup> Of doubtful meaning.

<sup>3</sup> The stem is *manthi-pā* according to BR.

<sup>4</sup> From *ṃlā*: 'softening hides'.

<sup>5</sup> *Prthivi* = *prthivī*.

<sup>6</sup> With the L. ending retained in the first member of the compound.

<sup>7</sup> The form *pānthās* also occurs once. It is doubtful whether the plurals *dyu-kṣāsas* and *prīya-sāsas* are to be regarded as formed from *ā*-stems. Such plurals are probably made from *a*-stems.

<sup>8</sup> There is also the f. transition form *nāva-gvās*.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. LANMAN 451<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> In the G. occur the f. transition forms *pra-jñānām* (AV.) 'fore-knowing', *vi-bhānām* 'radiant'.

<sup>11</sup> Probably from *tā* = *tan* 'stretch'.

<sup>12</sup> The nominatives *drās* and *vṛās* in AV. XI. 73 (also *nyās*, 74) are of unknown meaning (see WHITNEY's note).

<sup>13</sup> Cp. GARBE in KZ. 23, 476, 480.

<sup>14</sup> Perhaps also *dra* 'running' in *krṣṇa-drā-m* (AV.).

'thinking', *-mla*<sup>1</sup> 'softening', *-sá* 'winning', *-sthá* 'standing'; also *-grá*<sup>2</sup> 'swallowing', *-gva*<sup>3</sup> 'going', *-hát*<sup>4</sup> 'slaying'.

These stems are inflected in the m. and n. only. This is the form assumed in the n. by all radical *ā*-stems (367).

### Inflexion.

370. The inflexion of the radical *a*-stems is identical with that of the derivative *a*-stems (371). The forms which occur are the following:

**Sing. N. m.** *dyu-kṣd-s* 'dwelling in heaven'. — *su-khá-s* 'having a good (axle) hole'. — *agre-gá-s* 'going in front', *āsun-gá-s* (AV.) 'swift-going', *ṛju-gá-s* (AV.) 'going straight on', *patan-gá-s*<sup>5</sup> 'going by flight', *vala-gá-s* (AV.) 'hidden in a cave'<sup>6</sup>, *sitiṇ-gá-s* (AV. XI. 5<sup>12</sup>) 'white-goer', *su-gá-s* 'easy to traverse'. — *dāśa-gva-s*<sup>7</sup> 'going in tens', *nāda-gva-s*<sup>7</sup> 'going in nines'<sup>8</sup>. — *a-já-s* 'unborn', *adhrt-ja-s* 'irresistible', *eka-já-s* (AV.) 'produced alone', *jarāyu-já-s* (AV.) 'viviparous', *ni-já-s* (AV.) 'familiar'<sup>9</sup>, *prathama-já-s* (AV.) 'first-born', *samudra-já-s* (AV.) 'sea-born', *stamba-já-s* (AV.) 'shaggy'(?). — *an-ānu-dá-s* 'not giving way', *dānu-dá-s* 'dripping', *dāyā-dá-s* (AV.) 'receiving (*ā-da*-) inheritance (*dāya*-)', *prāṇa-dá-s* 'life-giving'. — *nāma-dhá-s* (AV.) 'name-giver'. — *ākūti-prá-s* (AV.) 'fulfilling wishes', *kāma-prá-s* (AV.) 'fulfilling desire', *carṣaṇi-prá-s* (AV.) 'satisfying men', *ṛthiṇi-prá-s* (AV.) 'earth-filling'<sup>10</sup>. — *apnaḥ-sthú-s* 'possessor', *go-sthú-s* (AV.) 'cow-pen', *puru-niṣthá-s* 'excelling among many'. — *śatru-hú-s* (AV.) 'slaying enemies', *sahasra-há-s* (AV.) 'slaying a thousand'.

**N. A. n.** *khám* 'aperture'. — *a-doma-dám* (AV.) 'not causing inconvenience', *antāri-kṣam* 'air', *kṣṇa-drám* (AV.) 'black runner'(?)<sup>11</sup>, *tuvi-kṣám* 'destroying many', *dur-gám* 'impassable', *dyu-kṣám*, *prathama-jám* (AV. VS.), *vāta-gopam* (AV.) 'guarded by the wind', *vṛtra-hám* 'slaying foes', *śatrū-hám* 'always destroying', *sadhá-stham* 'abode', *su-gám*, *su-mnám* 'benevolent'.

**A. m.** *atithi-gdám* ('to whom guests go') N. of a man, *an-ānu-dám*, *arāti-hám* (AV.) 'destroying adversity', *aśva-pám* (VS. xxx. 11) 'groom', *á-sva-gam* (AV.) 'homeless', *eka-jám*, *garbha-dhám* (VS. TS.) 'impregnator', *grha-pám* (VS. xxx. 11) 'guardian of a house', *go-pám* 'herdsman', *carma-mnám* (VS.) 'tanner', *tri-sthám* 'having three seats', *dāśa-gvam*, *dāva-pám* (VS. xxx. 19) 'forest-fire guard', *āyu-kṣám*, *patan-gám*, *prathama-jám* (VS. xxxiv. 51), *madhu-pám* 'honey-drinker', *vana-pám* (VS. xxx. 19) 'wood-ranger', *vala-gám* (AV.), *vitta-dhám* (VS. xxx. 11) 'possessing wealth', *su-khám*, *su-gám* (AV.), *hasti-pám* (VS. xxx. 11) 'elephant-keeper'.

**I. m.** *rathe-ṣthéna* 'standing on a car'. — **n.** *antāri-kṣéna*, *ṛtā-ṣyena* 'whose bowstring is truth', *kāma-préna*, *su-géna* (AV.), *su-mnéna*.

**D. m.** *atithi-gvāya*, *dyu-kṣāya*, *patan-gāya*, *rathe-ṣthāya*<sup>12</sup>. — **n.** *parás-pāya* (VS.) 'protecting from afar', *su-mnāya*. — **Ab. m.** *ṛśya-dāt* (x. 39<sup>8</sup>) 'pit for antelopes'. — **n.** *antāri-kṣāt*<sup>13</sup>, *dur-gāt*, *sadhá-sthāt*.

<sup>1</sup> In the form of *-mna* in *carma-mnā* 'tanner'.

<sup>2</sup> An extension of *gr-* 'swallow'; cp. *krā* and *vṛā* among the radical *ā*-stems.

<sup>3</sup> In its original form perhaps *-gva*; a reduced form *-gu* appears in *vanur-gū* 'forest-roaming'.

<sup>4</sup> A reduced form of *han-* 'slay'.

<sup>5</sup> See BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 34 and cp. BB. 18, 12.

<sup>6</sup> The etymology and meaning are somewhat doubtful; cp. IS. 4, 304.

<sup>7</sup> These two compounds as well as *atithi-gvā* and *ita-gva*, are with more probability derived from a reduced form of *go* 'cow' by

BLOOMFIELD, AJPh. 17, 422—27; cp. above p. 153 (mid.).

<sup>8</sup> The compound *puro-gvā-s* 'leader' possibly = *\*puro-gvā-s*; but it is probably a governing compound; cp. above, p. 176<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> See WHITNEY's note on AV. III. 5<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Also *paśu-gá-s* (v. 41<sup>1</sup>) if it is N. sing. and not a G. of *paśu-gā*.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. IX. 7<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> *svajāya* (AV.) is analyzed by the Commentator as *sva-jāya* 'self-born', but is explained by WHITNEY (AV. VI. 56<sup>2</sup>) as 'constrictor' (from *svaj-* 'embrace').

<sup>13</sup> See LANMAN 337.



**G. m.** *a-jāsya*, *atithi-gvāsya*<sup>1</sup>. — **n.** *antāri-kṣasya*, *asthi-jāsya* (AV.) 'produced in the bones', *tanū-jāsya* (AV.) 'produced from the body', *su-mnāsya*.

**L. m.** *dāsa-gve*, *nāva-gve*, *ratha-saṃgē* 'encounter of war-cars', *saṃ-sthé* 'presence', *saṃ-gē* 'conflict', *su-khé*, *sva-gē* 'going to heaven'. — **n.** *antāri-kṣe*, *khé*. — *karañja-hé* 'pernicious to the Karañja tree', *dur-gē*, *bhayā-sthe* 'perilous situation', *sadhā-sthe*, *su-mnē*. — **V. m.** *eka-ja*, *dyu-kṣa*, *patan-ga* (AV.), *soma-pa* (AV.) 'drinking Soma'.

**Du. N. A. m.**<sup>2</sup> *ṭa-gvā* 'going swiftly'. — **A. n.** *sadhā-sthe*.

**Pl. N. V. m.** *ājya-pās* (VS. XXI. 40) 'drinking clarified butter', *ṭa-gvās*, *tanū-jās* (AV.), *tapo-jās* (AV.) 'produced by austerity', *dāsa-gvās*, *nāva-gvās*, *patan-gās*, *vala-gās* (AV.), *su-gās*. — Also four forms with *āsas*: *dāsa-gvāsas*, *dyu-kṣāsas*, *nāva-gvāsas*, *priya-sāsas*<sup>3</sup> 'granting desired objects'.

**N. A. n. i.** *āṃsa-trā* 'armour protecting the shoulder', *antāri-kṣā*, *dur-gā*, *prathama-jā*<sup>4</sup> (AV.), *sadhā-sthā*, *su-gā*, *su-mnā*. — **2.** *khāni*. — *antāri-kṣāni*, *ararin-dāni*<sup>5</sup>, *dur-gāni*, *sadhā-sthāni*, *su-gāni*, *su-mnāni*.

**A. m.** *go-pān*, *tapo-jān*, *dur-gān* (AV.), *patan-gān*, *pūrva-jān* (TS.) 'born before', *śyā-pān* 'drinking boiled milk', *saha-jān* (TS.) 'born at the same time', *su-gān*, *soma-pān* (AV.).

**I. m. i.** *tuvi-grēbhis* 'swallowing much', *mithā-avadya-pēbhis* 'mutually averting calamities', *ratna-dēbhis* 'preserving wealth', *sāma-gēbhis* (AV.) 'reciting chants', *su-gēbhis*. — **2.** *ā-tāis*<sup>6</sup> 'frames', *dāsa-gvais*, *nāva-gvais*, *dhana-sāis* 'winning wealth', *nāva-gvais*, *patan-gāis*, *su-khāis*. — **n. i.** *madhu-pēbhis*, *su-gēbhis*, *su-mnēbhis*. — **2.** *su-mnāis*.

**D. m.** *pūrva-jēbhyas*. — **G. m.** *dvī-jānām* (AV.) 'twice-born', *sākam-jānām* 'being born together'. — **L. m.** *draviṇo-dēsu* 'giving wealth', *su-khēsu*. — **n.** *dur-gēsu*, *sadhā-stheṣu*, *su-gēsu*, *su-mnēsu*.

## 2a. Derivative stems in -ā.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 293—317. — WHITNEY, Grammar 326—334 (p. 112—116). — LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 329—354.

371. This is the most important of the declensions as it embraces more than one-half of all nominal stems. It is also the most irregular inasmuch as its ending diverge from the normal ones more than is elsewhere the case. This is the only declension in which the N. A. n. has an ending in the singular. Here the I. D. Ab. G. sing. are peculiar; and in the plural, the A., the G., one of the forms of the I. and of the N. A. n. do not take the normal endings. The final vowel of the stem is also modified before the endings with initial consonant in the du. and pl. Three of the peculiar case-endings of the sing. (I. Ab. G.) are borrowed from the pronominal declension, while in the pl. two of the case-endings (G. and N. A. n.) are due to the influence of the stems in -n. This is the only declension in which the Ab. sing., as a result of taking the pronominal ending, is distinguished from the G. As elsewhere in the vowel declension, the N. sing. m. here adds the ending -s throughout; but the V. sing. shows the bare stem unmodified. This declension includes

<sup>1</sup> *svajāsya* in AV. X. 4<sup>10</sup>, 15 is according to WHITNEY 'constrictor', not *sva-jāsya* 'self-born'; cp. p. 254, note 12.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the m. duals given under the radical ā-declension ought possibly to be placed here.

<sup>3</sup> There is no reason to suppose that any of these are plurals of ā- stems, since the first three appear as ā- stems only and *priya-sā* does not otherwise occur. The pl.

*pānthāsas*, occurring once beside the ordinary *pānthās* formed from the anomalous derivative ā- stem *pānthā*, proves nothing regarding radical ā- stems.

<sup>4</sup> This is the reading of the Pada text, the Samhitā having -jā r- (70 a).

<sup>5</sup> A word of uncertain meaning.

<sup>6</sup> Two other forms, *ātās* and *ātāsu* are formed from the f. stem of this word, *ā-tā*, which is probably a radical ā- stem.

m. and n. stems only, as the corresponding f. follows the derivative *ā*-declension. There is here no irregularity in the accent, which remains on the same syllable in every case except the V., where it of course shifts to the first.

### Inflexion.

372. The inflexion of the n. differs from that of the m. in the N. sing. and the N. A. du. and pl. only. In the G. L. du. *y* is inserted between the final *-a* of the stem and the ending *-os*. The forms actually occurring, if made from *priyā*- 'dear', would be the following:

Sing. N. m. *priyā-s*, n. *priyā-m*. A. *priyā-m*. I. *priyēṇa* and *priyā*. D. *priyāya*. Ab. *priyāt*. G. *priyāsyā*. L. *priyē*. V. *priyā*.

Du. N. A. m. *priyā* and *priyāu*, n. *priyē*. V. m. *priyā* and *priyau*. I. D. Ab. *priyābhyām*. G. L. *priyāyos*.

Pl. N. m. *priyās* and *priyāsas*, n. *priyā* and *priyāni*. A. m. *priyān*, n. *priyā* and *priyāni*. I. *priyāis* and *priyābhis*. D. Ab. *priyābhyas*. G. *priyānām*. L. *priyēsu*. V. *priyās* and *priyāsas*.

Owing to the enormous number of words belonging to this declension, only forms of commonest occurrence will be given below as examples under each case.

Sing. N. m. This case is formed in the RV. by 1845 *a*-stems and occurs more than 10000 times. The most frequent substantive is *Indras* N. of a god, found more than 500 times; next in order come *sūmas* (220) N. of a plant, *devās* (203) 'god', *mitrās* (132) N. of a god, *vārunas* (94) N. of a god.

A. m. After the N. sing. m., the A. sing. m. is the commonest declensional form in the RV., being made from 1357 stems<sup>1</sup> and occurring nearly 7000 times. The nouns most frequently found in this case are *Indram* (335), *sūmam*, (212), *yajñām* (183) 'sacrifice', *vājām* (123) 'vigour', *sūryam* (90) 'sun', *hāvam* (88) 'invocation', *vṛtrām* (82) N. of a demon, *stōmam* (77) 'praise'<sup>2</sup>.

N. A. n. This is the only declension in which these cases take an ending. They here add *-m*, being thus identical in form with the A. sing. m.<sup>3</sup>. They are very frequently used, being formed from about 950 stems and occurring, taken together, more than 4000 times. Examples are: *ṛtīm* (70) 'sacred order', *ghṛtīm* (47) 'clarified butter', *padām* (46) 'step', *rātnam* (44) 'wealth', *sakhyām* (43) 'friendship', *drāvīṇām* (41) 'wealth', *satyām* (40) 'truth'<sup>4</sup>.

I. m. n. i. The usual form of this case ending in *-ena* is very frequent, being formed from more than 300 stems nearly equally divided between m. and n. The commonest forms are: m. *sūryeṇa* (37), *Indreṇa* (34), *vājreṇa* (33) 'thunderbolt', *yajñeṇa* (13). — n. *ghṛteṇa* (31)<sup>5</sup>.

a. The final vowel appears lengthened in about twenty-five forms: *amṛtenā* (AV.) 'ambrosia', *āśīvenā* 'malevolent', *ājyenā* 'melted butter', *ṛtēnā*, *kāvyenā* 'wisdom', *kūlīṣenā* 'axe', *pṛṭvenā* 'ram', *taviṣṇenā* 'strong', *dākṣiṇenā* 'right', *dāvīyenā* 'divine', *bākureṇā* 'bagpipe', *bhadrēṇā* (AV.) 'excellent', *mārtyenā* 'mortal', *mārutenā* 'consisting of storm-gods', *ravāthenā* 'roar', *vāruṇenā*, *viṭhureṇā* 'staggering', *vi-ravēṇā* 'roar', *vīryeṇā* 'heroic power', *vṛjānenā* 'might', *vṛṣabhēṇā* 'bull', *sahasyēnā* 'mighty', *sāyakenā* 'missile', *sūryeṇā*, *skāmbhanenā*

<sup>1</sup> The pronominal forms *tām* and *yām* occur 509 and 259 times respectively in the RV.

<sup>2</sup> On the occasional elision of the *-m* before *īva* and subsequent contraction, see LANMAN 331.

<sup>3</sup> For this reason there is in some instances not sufficient evidence for deter-

mining whether a word is m. or n.; cp. LANMAN 331 (middle).

<sup>4</sup> On occasional elision of the final *-m* and subsequent contraction, see LANMAN 331.

<sup>5</sup> The final vowel is twice nasalized: *ghanēṇām* *ēkas* (I. 334) and *tējanenām* *ēkam* (I. 110<sup>5</sup>).

'support'. These forms regularly occur where the metre at the end of a Pāda favours a long vowel; e. g. *skāmbhanenā jānitrī* (III. 31<sup>12</sup>), but *kāmbhanena skābhīyān* (X. 111<sup>13</sup>); on the other hand, the long vowel appears to be used arbitrarily at the beginning of a Pāda, though the short vowel here is much more frequent. Hence the *ā* seems to be a survival and not to be due to metrical exigencies.

2. There are also more than a dozen forms made with the nominal ending *-ā*. In the m. there are no quite certain examples beyond *yajñā*; possibly also *krāñā* 'acting', *ghāñā* 'club', *dīñā* 'gift', *camasā*<sup>3</sup> 'cup'. The n. forms are *kavitvā* and *kavitvanā* 'by wisdom', *tarānitvā* 'by energy', *mahitvā* and *mahitvanā* 'by greatness', *ratna-dhīyā* 'by distribution of wealth', *rāthīyā* 'belonging to a car', *vīryā* 'with heroism', *sakhīyā* 'with friendship', *sarva-rathā* 'with the whole line of chariots', *su-dāvā* 'with good invocation'. — This ending is also preserved in a few instrumental adverbs: *anā* 'hereby', *uccā* 'above', *paścā* 'behind', *sūnī* 'from of old'<sup>4</sup>.

D. m. n. This case, which has the abnormal ending *-āya*, is of very frequent occurrence, being formed in the RV. from over 300 stems in the m. and from nearly 150 in the n. The commonest forms are: m. *īndrāya* (188), *mādīya* (76) 'exhilaration', *devāya* (26), *mārtyāya* (25), *mitrāya* (23), *vāruṇīya* (23), *yajamānāya* 'sacrificing', *sūryāya* (11); n. *suavitāya* (34) 'wellfare', *sakhīyāya* (29), *tokāya* (21) 'offspring', *tānāya* (18) 'line of descendants'<sup>5</sup>.

a. The normal form would have been for example \**yajñāi* = *yajñā-e*<sup>7</sup>. This would in Sandhi have become \**yajñāy*, which was ultimately extended with *-a*, owing to the frequent combination with a following *a* in Sandhi (e. g. *yajñāy-a pi* for *yajñāy api*), or with the shortened form of the preposition *ā*<sup>8</sup>.

Ab. m. n. These are the only nominal stems in which the Ab. is formally distinguished from the G. Instead of the normal ending *-as*, they take the *-d* which appears in the pronominal declension (e. g. *mā-d* 'from me'), lengthening the *-a* of the stem before it<sup>9</sup>. This Ab. in *-ād* is formed in the RV. from over 200 stems, nearly equally divided between m. and n. Some of the n. forms are used as adverbs. Forms of common occurrence are: m. *samudrāt* (15) 'sea', *upasthāt* (9) 'lap', *īndrāt* (8); n. *antīri-kṣāt*<sup>10</sup> (15) 'air', *dūrāt* (19) 'from a distance', *paścāt* (26).

G. m. n. These are the only nominal stems in which the G. sing. does not end in *-s*<sup>11</sup>. Instead of the normal ending *-as*, they add *-sya*<sup>12</sup> which is

<sup>1</sup> In all these forms the Pāda text has the short final vowel *ā*; see RPr. VIII. 21 and cp. APr. III. 16. The pronominal forms *tēnā*, *yēnā*, *svēnā* also appear, and always with the short vowel in the Pāda text; on the other hand, *enā* is always *enā* in the Pāda, while the unaccented *enā*, beside *ena*, has the short vowel in the Pāda. See LANMAN 332 (bottom).

<sup>2</sup> See LANMAN 334 (middle).

<sup>3</sup> Nasalized in *camasāñi iva* (X. 254), Pāda *camasāñi*. On these forms see LANMAN 335.

<sup>4</sup> This form of the instrumental also appears a few times in the pronoun *tvā* beside the usual *tvāyā*; it also occurs in a few compounds, as *tvā-datta* and *tvā-dāta* 'given by thee'; cp. LANMAN 334 (middle).

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps also *utā* 'below', cp. *utāis*; but it may be the I. of *nyāñe*.

<sup>6</sup> Such D. forms are twice nasalized before vowels: *tad-vasāyāñi eṣā* (II. 142) and *śavāyāñi evā* (I. 1137).

<sup>7</sup> The normal ending *-e* is actually used in the pronominal declension, e. g. *tāsmai* = *tāsma-e*.

<sup>8</sup> See JOHANSSON, BB. 20, 96 ff. and Bartholomae, *Arische Forschungen* 2, 69; 3, 63.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. JOHANSSON, lB. 16, 136 and BRUGMANN, *Grundriss* 2, 588.

<sup>10</sup> This is really a radical *a*-stem; see above, 370.

<sup>11</sup> In the G. sing. of stems in *-ar* and *-tar*, the final *r* seems to represent original *-s*; see above 358, note on *svāsur*.

<sup>12</sup> The *y* is never to be read as *i*; possibly however about five times in the pronominal *asya*. The final *-a* in two or three instances undergoes protraction of a purely metrical character: see LANMAN 338<sup>3</sup>.

otherwise found in the pronominal declension only. This case is very common, being formed in the RV. from over 500 stems in the m. and 175 in the n., occurring altogether over 3300 times<sup>1</sup>. Among the frequent forms<sup>2</sup> are: m. *indrasya* (123), *sūryasya* (93), *somasya* (88), *devāsya* (60), *yajñāsya* (55), *sutāsya* (53) 'pressed'; n. *ṛtāsya* (187), *bhūvanasya* (39) 'world', *amṛtasya* (35)<sup>3</sup>.

**L. m. n.** This case is formed with the normal ending -i, which combines with the final -a of the stem to -e. It is formed in the RV. from 373 stems in the m., and over 300 in the n., occurring altogether about 2500 times. Among the frequent forms are: m. *adhvarī* (68) 'sacrifice', *sutē* (53), *upāsthe* (49), *māde* (48), *dāme* (40) 'house', *indre* (33), *yajñē* (28), *jāne* (26) 'man', *grhē* (23) 'house'; n. *vidāthe* (49) 'assembly', *āgre* (43) 'front', *sūdane* (35) 'seat', *padē* (33), *durōṇē* (31) 'abode', *mādhye* 'middle' (29).

**V. m. n.** In this case the bare stem (always accented on the first syllable) is employed. It is formed in the RV. from about 260 stems, occurring about 2500 times in the m.; but in the n. there is no undoubted example<sup>4</sup>. The AV. however has four or five n. vocatives. Among the commonest forms are: m. *sōma* and *soma* (240), *deva* (132), *sūra* (94) 'hero', *pavamāna* (63) 'bright Soma', *puru-hūta* (49) 'much invoked', *varuṇa* (45), *mitra* (35), *yaviṣṭha* (29) 'youngest', *vṛṣabha* (27) 'bull', *ugra* (23) 'mighty', *amṛta* (12)<sup>5</sup>; n. *antarikṣa*<sup>6</sup> (AV. VI. 1301), *trīṅgakuda* 'coming from the three-peaked (mountain)' and *dēvāñjana* (AV. XIX. 44<sup>6</sup>) 'divine ointment', *talpa* (AV. XII. 249) 'couch', *viṣa* (AV. IV. 63) 'poison'<sup>7</sup>.

**Du. N. A. V. m.** The ending of these cases in the RV. is ordinarily -ā, much less frequently -au<sup>8</sup>. The former is taken by over 360 stems occurring about 1150 times, the latter by fewer than 90 stems occurring about 170 times. The ending -ā is therefore more than seven times as common as -au. The rule is that -ā appears before consonants<sup>9</sup>, in pausa at the end of a Pāda<sup>10</sup>, or within a Pāda in coalescence with a following vowel; while -au<sup>11</sup> occurs in the older parts of the RV. only before vowels in the Sandhi form of -āv, within a Pāda. Examples of this rule are *tā vām* (I. 184<sup>1</sup>); *ṛtāv dhā* | (I. 473<sup>b</sup>); *dasrāt*<sup>12</sup> (I. 116<sup>10c</sup>) for *dasrā āt*; *mitrāgnīm* (I. 143<sup>3</sup>) for *mitrā agnim*; but *tāv*<sup>13</sup> *aparām* (I. 184<sup>1</sup>). Hiatus, when the metre requires two

<sup>1</sup> The pronominal genitives *asya* and *asyā*, *tāsya*, *yāsya*, *viśvasya* occur over 900 times in the RV.; cp. LANMAN 338.

<sup>2</sup> The commonest G. in -sya is the pronominal *asyā* which (accented or unaccented) occurs nearly 600 times in the RV.

<sup>3</sup> The final vowel is once nasalized at the end of a Pāda in *ṛtāsyañ ēkam* (VIII. 89<sup>5</sup>); cp. RPr. II. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. LANMAN 339.

<sup>5</sup> There are two instances of the final -a being nasalized: *ugrañ ōkas* (VII. 254) and *puru-ṣṭuñ ēko* (VIII. 153. 11); cp. RPr. XIV. 20. There is a purely metrical lengthening of the final vowel in *vṛṣabhā* (VIII. 452. 38), *simā* (VIII. 41), and *hāriyojanā* (I. 6116); perhaps also *maryā* (I. 63); cp. LANMAN 339.

<sup>6</sup> Properly a radical a- stem.

<sup>7</sup> By a syntactical peculiarity the N. *indrāś ca* is some ten times coupled with a vocative *vāyo*, *āgne* etc. See LANMAN 340 (top).

<sup>8</sup> In the AV. -au is more than twice as common as in the RV.; it is there some-

times a various reading for -ā of the RV. In the independent Mantra portions of the TS. there are at least seven forms in -ā and fourteen in -au. In the Khilas -ā is nearly three times (32) as common as -au (12).

<sup>9</sup> -au occurs 23 times before a consonant within a Pāda; mostly in passages showing signs of lateness. Cp. LANMAN 576.

<sup>10</sup> -au occurs 5 times at the end of an odd Pāda before a consonant; and 4 times as -āv at the end of an odd Pāda before a vowel. At the end of an even Pāda -au occurs 4 times.

<sup>11</sup> LANMAN 343 enumerates the forms in -au which occur in the RV.

<sup>12</sup> At the end of an odd Pāda -ā is always written in the Samhitā contracted with a following vowel, but must always be read with hiatus.

<sup>13</sup> This is the normal use of -au, which in 70 per cent of its occurrences is found as -āv before a vowel within a Pāda; in the AV. the percentage is only 26.

syllables, is thus removed<sup>1</sup> by the use of *-āu*, except when *u* or *ū* follows<sup>2</sup>. In the latter case the Samhitā text writes *-ā u-*<sup>3</sup>, e. g. *ubhā upāṁśū* (x. 83<sup>7</sup>), though the Pada always has *-au u-*.

There are seven or eight passages of the RV. in which *-ā* is written with hiatus before other vowels (*a-i-o-*)<sup>4</sup>, but those passages are all obscure or corrupt<sup>5</sup>.

a. About a dozen forms, occurring altogether some 20 times, shorten the dual *-ā* to *a*, mostly owing to the metre, but in a few instances against the metre. In the forms *asura*, *āditya*, *deva*, *dhṛta-vrata*, *mitra*, *varuṇa*, *mārā-varuṇa*, *mitrā-varuṇa*<sup>6</sup> the Pada text has *-ā*; but in *pāura* (v. 74<sup>4</sup>) and *vīra* (vi. 63<sup>10</sup>) the short vowel appears in the Pada also<sup>7</sup>. A similar shortening occurs in the first member of the dual compounds *indr-ā-vīryā* (i. 2<sup>4</sup>) and *mitrā-rājānā* (v. 62<sup>3</sup>).

N. A. n. This form takes the normal ending *-ī*, which combines with the final *-a* of the stem to *-e*. It is made in the RV. from about 30 nominal stems. The vocative does not occur. Only seven of these n. forms are found more than once, *śṛṅge* 'two horns' being the commonest (5)<sup>8</sup>.

a. The n. *nākta* 'night' is irregular in forming its du. N. as a m. in the compound *nāśās-nāktā* 'dawn and night', in agreement with which a f. adjective is used, owing doubtless to the predominance of 'Dawn', in the combination. In ii. 39<sup>4</sup>, *yugēva nābhyeva* 'like two yokes, like two naves', though analyzed by the Pada as *yugā iva* and *nābhyā iva*, must be explained as regular n. forms *yugē* and *nābhye+va*.

I. D. Ab. Before the normal ending *-bhyām*<sup>9</sup> which forms these cases, the final *-a* of the stems is lengthened, e. g. *nāsatyābhyām*. In the RV. this form is made from only about a dozen nominal stems in the m. and three in the n. The cases can of course only be distinguished exegetically.

I. m. *kárnābhyām* (AV.) 'ears', *dāṁṣṭrābhyām* (TS. AV.) 'teeth', *dakṣiṇa-savyābhyām* (AV.) 'right and left', *dāśa-śakhabhyām* 'having ten fingers', *mitrā-varuṇābhyām*<sup>10</sup>, *yuktābhyām* 'yoked', *vr̥thi-yavābhyām* (AV.) 'rice and barley', *śubhrābhyām* 'shining', *sūryā-candramāśābhyām* (AV.)<sup>10</sup> 'sun and moon', *hastābhyām* 'hands', *haryatābhyām* 'desirable'. — n. *ṛk-sāmābhyām* 'hymn and chant', *śṛṅgābhyām* (AV.).

D. m. *tveṣābhyām* 'violent', *nāsatyābhyām* 'truthful', *nicirābhyām* 'attentive'.

Ab. m. *dhṛsābhyām* 'shoulders', *kárnābhyām*. — n. *pārsvābhyām* (AV.) 'sides', *prā-padābhyām* 'tips of the feet', *māta-snābhyām* certain internal organs.

G. L. These cases take the normal ending *-os*, between which and the stem *y* is inserted. In the RV. only eight nominal<sup>11</sup> forms occur with the genitive sense, and twelve with the locative sense. One form, *dhvasráyos* (ix. 58<sup>3</sup>), seems to be used as an Ab. There are one or two others which anomalously drop the final *-a* of the stem, instead of inserting *y*, before the ending *-os*<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In two instances hiatus is removed by nasalization: *upāsthām*<sup>1</sup> *ekā* (i. 35<sup>6</sup>) and *jānām* *dsamā* (vi. 67<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> There are 40 instances of this in the RV.; see LANMAN 575.

<sup>3</sup> This is also the practice of the Brāhmaṇas; see AUFRECHT, AB. 427; cp. Sarvānukramaṇi, ed. MACDONELL, p. x. In the AV. (as in the later language) *-āu u-* is regularly written (except *muṣkā upāvadhūt*, xx. 136<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> See LANMAN 341<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Except vii. 70<sup>4</sup> where *devā* *ṣadhiṣu* (Pada *devau*) is written, *o-* being treated like *u-*, perhaps owing to its labial character.

<sup>6</sup> See RPr. iv. 39, 40.

<sup>7</sup> The shortening of the du. *-ā* at the end of odd Pādas before *r*, occurring in four passages (ii. 37; vi. 68<sup>2</sup>; viii. 66<sup>11</sup>; x. 66<sup>13</sup>) is due to Sandhi; see 70.

<sup>8</sup> These neuter duals are enumerated by LANMAN 343.

<sup>9</sup> To be read *-bhīām* in two or three forms.

<sup>10</sup> In this compound only the second dual takes the proper case-ending.

<sup>11</sup> There are also the pronominal forms G. L. m. *ayós*, *ubháyos*, *táyos*, *yáyos*; *táyos* also as G. n.

<sup>12</sup> Also the pronominal forms *av-ós*, *en-ós*, *y-ós*. Cp. LANMAN 344.

The forms occurring are:

**G. m.** *indrā-varuṇayos*, *śāndīyos* 'ruling', *devīyos*, *mitrīyos*, *mitrā-varuṇayos*, *yamīyos* 'twins', *vāruṇayos*, *vaikarṇīyos* 'descendants of Vikarṇa'. — **n.** *pāsy-ās* (for \**pāsyā-y-os*) 'pressing stones', *purāṇī-y-ās*<sup>1</sup> (for \**purāṇī-y-os*) 'ancient'.

**L. m.** *āṃsayos*, *āśṇayos*, *upākāyos* 'closely connected', *kārṇayos* (AV.), *jāmbhayos* (TS. iv. 1. 10<sup>1</sup>) 'jaws', *tuvī-jātīyos* 'of powerful nature', *dāṃśṭrayos* (AV.), *nadīyos* 'roarers', *mitrīyos*, *muśkīyos* 'testicles', *vāruṇayos*, *vāhiṣṭhayos* 'drawing best', *vī-vratayos* 'refractory', *sthūrīyos* 'strong', *hīstayos*.

**Pl. N. V. m.** Here there are **two forms**. In the more common form the normal ending *-as* coalesces with the final of the stem to *-ās*, e. g. *devās*. The less common form appears to be made by adding the normal ending *-as* over again<sup>2</sup>, e. g. *devās-as*. The form in *-ās* is about twice as frequent in the RV. as that in *-āsas*<sup>3</sup>, the former being made from 808 stems, the latter from 403. In the original parts of the AV. *-ās* is 24 times as frequent as *-āsas*, the former occurring 1366 times, the latter only 57 times<sup>4</sup>. Both forms frequently occur side by side, the choice of the one or the other being often no doubt determined simply by the metre; e. g. *bṛhā vādema vidīthe suvīrāḥ* (II. 1<sup>16</sup>) 'abounding in heroes we would speak aloud in the assembly', but *suvīrāso vidītham ā vādema* (II. 12<sup>15</sup>) 'abounding in heroes we would speak to the assembly'.

Examples of the most frequent forms made with the two endings are: 1. *devās* (86), *jānāsas* (41), *sómāsas* (41), *sutāsas* (29), *ādityāsas* (24) 'Ādityas', *yajñīyāsas* (21) 'holy', *amītāsas* (11). — 2. *dāśas* and *devās* (311), *sómās* (42), *ādityās* (39), *sutās* (27), *jānās* (24), *amītās* (22), *yajñīyās* (10).

**N. A. n.**<sup>5</sup> Here, as in the N. m. there are **two forms**, a shorter and a longer, the former being the older and original, as well as the more frequent one. The older form is made not by adding the normal ending *-ī*, but by lengthening the final *-a* of the stem, e. g. *havyā* 'oblations'<sup>6</sup>. The later form ends in *-āni* and is doubtless due to transitions from the stems in *-an*<sup>7</sup> which form the n. pl. N. A. with both *-ā* and *-āni*, e. g. *nāmā* and *nāmāni*. The form in *-ā* is in the RV. made from 394 stems, that in *-āni* from 280, the proportion of the occurrences of the former being roughly three to every two of the latter. The proportion in the AV. is almost exactly reversed, the form in *-ā* being there made from 102 stems, that in *-āni* from 158<sup>8</sup>. The two forms are so common side by side that when two n. plurals occur in the same Pāda, the one generally ends in *-āni* and the other in *-ā*<sup>9</sup>; e. g. *yā te bhīmāni āyudhā* (IX. 61<sup>30</sup>) 'thy terrible weapons'. This phenomenon

<sup>1</sup> With *y* inserted though *-a* is dropped.

<sup>2</sup> See BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 661, where several examples are given of endings being repeated in other languages.

<sup>3</sup> The form in *-āsas* seems to be an Indo-Iranian innovation, as there are no certain traces of it in other Indo-European languages; cp. BRUGMANN l. c.

<sup>4</sup> In the original Mantra portions of the TS. the pl. in *-ās* is very numerous, but I have noted only 11 forms in *-āsas*. In the Khilas, forms in *-ās* are three times (30) as numerous as in *-āsas* (10).

<sup>5</sup> There is no example of a V. in the RV., and only one, *cittāni* (III. 2<sup>1</sup>), in the AV. where the Mss. have *cittāni*.

<sup>6</sup> This form in *-ā* is commonly supposed to have started from a N. sing. f. in *-ā* as

a collective; this would account for the agreement of the singular verb with this pl. in Greek; cp. also *sāvā tā . . . astu* (RV. I. 162<sup>28</sup>); see BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 682.

<sup>7</sup> The G. *āhānām* is an example of the transference of another case from an *-an* stem.

<sup>8</sup> In the independent Mantra portions of the TS. the forms in *-ā* seem to outnumber those in *-āni* in about the same proportion as in the RV.: there are at least 20 forms of the former and 14 of the latter. In the Khilas the two forms are almost equally divided, as 10 examples of *-ā* and 12 of *-āni* occur.

<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the form in *-ī* appears beside n. pl. forms in *-īni*, *-ūni* or even *-āmsī*, *-īmṣī*, *-ūmṣī*; e. g. *bhūrīni bhadrā* (I. 166<sup>10</sup>);

is clearly due to the influence of metre. The *-ā* here seems never to be shortened to *-i*, as is so frequently the case in the N. A. n. pl. of *-an* stems<sup>1</sup>. Nor does it avoid hiatus (like the *-ā* of the N. A. du. m.), though coalescence with a following vowel sometimes takes place<sup>2</sup>.

Examples of the commonest forms are: 1. *havyā* (44), *bhūvanā* (36), *duritā* (31) 'distresses', *sāvanā* (30), *ukthā* (25) 'praises'. — 2. *bhūvanāni* (57), *vratāni* (36) 'foes', *vratāni* (34) 'laws', *havyāni* (25), *kṛtāni* (20) 'done'.

**A. m.** The ending of this case is not the normal *-as*, but *-n*, before which the final vowel of the stem is lengthened<sup>3</sup>, e. g. *āsvā-n*. The form is frequent, being made from more than 250 stems in the RV. That the ending was originally *-ns* is shown by the treatment of *-ān* in Sandhi, where it becomes *-āṁ* before vowels and the sibilant itself occasionally survives before *c-* and *t-*<sup>4</sup>.

**I. m. n.** In this case there are two forms, the one adding the normal ending *-bhis* (before which the final vowel of the stem becomes *-e*), while the other ends in *-ais* (which does not appear in any other declension). The form in *-ais* is only slightly commoner in the RV., being made from 221 stems, while that in *-bhis* is made from 211. In the AV., however, the former is 5 times as frequent as the latter<sup>5</sup>. The two forms<sup>6</sup> often appear in the same Pāda; e. g. *upamebhir arkāis* (I. 33<sup>2</sup>) 'with highest songs'. The choice is often due to the metre; e. g. *yātīm āsvēbhir āsvinā* (VIII. 57) 'come with your steeds, O Āsvins', and *ādityāir yātam āsvinā* (VIII. 35<sup>13</sup>) 'with the Ādityas come, O Āsvins'.

In the RV. the m. forms are roughly twice as numerous as the n. Examples of the most frequent forms are: 1. *arkāis* (43), *ukthāis* (35), *yajñāis* (34), *devāis* (31), *āsvāis* (30), *stṛimāis* (25). — 2. *devēbhis* (52), *stṛimebhis* (26), *vājēbhis* (21).

**D. m. n.** This case is formed with the normal ending *-bhyas*, before which the final *-a* of the stem appears as *-e*. In the RV. it is made from over 40 stems in the m., but from only one in the n. In about half the forms occurring the ending has to be read as a dissyllable *-bhias*. The forms occurring are: *ajārebhyas* 'unaging', *āmavattarebhyas* 'mightier', *āraṇebhyas* (Kh. v. 1<sup>2</sup>) 'foreign', *arbhakēbhyas* 'small', *ādityēbhyas*, *āśinēbhyas* 'aged', *āśv-āpas-tarebhyas* 'working more quickly', *āmēbhyas* 'helpers', *gārbhēbhyas* 'infants', *grhēbhyas*, *jānēbhyas*, *jīvēbhyas* 'living', *jñātēbhyas* (Kh. III. 16<sup>1</sup>) 'known', *tāvakēbhyas* 'thy', *dāśa-kakṣyēbhyas* 'having ten girths', *dāśa-yoktrebhyas* 'having ten traces', *dāśa-yojanēbhyas* 'having ten teams', *devēbhyas*, *pājrebhyas* 'strong', *pārivatebhyas* 'mountains', *pasprdhānēbhyas* 'striving', *pitu-kṣittarebhyas* 'procuring more nourishment', *pīśunēbhyas* 'treacherous', *putrebhyas* 'sons', *pīruṣēbhyas* 'men', *pūrvebhyas* 'former', *bādhiṭēbhyas* 'oppressed', *bharatēbhyas* 'descendants of Bharata', *mārtiye-*

*sāvanā puruṣi* (III. 36<sup>8</sup>); *āi dhvā śocimṣi prāsthītā rājāmsi* (III. 44); *rabhasā vāpimṣi* (III. 18).

<sup>1</sup> There seems no sufficient reason to assume that in *viśvād āha* (I. 92<sup>3</sup>) as compared with *āhā viśvā* (I. 130<sup>2</sup>), *āha* is formed from the transition stem *āha-* rather than from *āhan-*; cp. LANMAN p. 348.

<sup>2</sup> On some probable mistakes made by the Pada in contracted forms see LANMAN 348.

<sup>3</sup> This lengthening is at least Indo-Iranian: BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 672<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> See above 77; and cp. LANMAN 346 on the Sandhi of *-ān* in general.

<sup>5</sup> In the independent Mantra portions of the TS. the proportion is about the same as in the AV. The following four forms with *-bhis* occur: *ētasebhis* (I. 2. 4<sup>1</sup>), *devēbhis* (III. 1. 4<sup>3</sup>), *rudrēbhis* (II. I. 11<sup>2</sup>), *su-yāmebhis* (IV. 7. 15<sup>3</sup>). In the Khilas 5 forms in *-ais* to 7 in *-ebhis* occur. The latter are: *amīva-cātanebhis* (I. 11<sup>7</sup>), *ārtavebhis* (II. 16<sup>6</sup>), *ukthēbhis* (V. 6<sup>3</sup>), *ṛṣvēbhis* (III. 1<sup>7</sup>), *kārvarebhis* (I. 5<sup>1</sup>), *rāthebhis* (I. 11<sup>7</sup>), *sāvaghēbhis* (I. 11<sup>7</sup>). In the later language the form in *-bhis* survives in the pronominal *ebhis* alone.

<sup>6</sup> On the origin of the two forms cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 717.

*bhyas*, *mānarebhyas* 'men', *mānusebhyas* 'men', *mānebhyaś* 'descendants of Māna', *yajatebhyas* 'adorable', *yajñibhyas*, *rāthebhyas* 'chariots', *vidiṣtarebhyas* 'very wise', *viṣrebhyaś* 'seers', *vy-iṣvebhyaś* 'horseless', *śaśamānebhyaś* 'toiling', *suvidatṛibhyas* 'bountiful', *sīma-rabhaṣtarebhyas* 'intoxicated with Soma', *somyebhyas* 'preparers of Soma', *steṇebhyas* 'thieves'. — *n. bhīvanebhyas* 'beings'.

**Ab. m. n.** This case is formed like the D. with the normal ending *-bhyas* from nearly two dozen stems in the RV. about equally divided between the m. and n. In more than half of these forms the ending must be pronounced as a dissyllable. The forms occurring are: *m. āntebhyas* 'ends', *āsurebhyaś* 'divine spirits', *ugrebhyas*, *grhebhyaś*, *jānebhyaś*, *jīvebhyaś* 'living beings', *devēbhyaś*, *pārivatebhyaś*, *makhēbhyaś* 'vigorous', *viṣrebhyaś*, *śārebhyaś*, *śyenēbhyaś* 'eagles'. — *n. anyi-kṛtebhyaś* 'done by others', *āntrebhyaś* 'entrails', *dhṛitebhyaś*, *nakhebhyaś* 'nails', *padēbhyaś*, *pārthivebhyaś* 'terrestrial spaces', *bhīvanebhyas*, *mṛdhrēbhyaś* 'contempt', *vānebhyaś* 'forest trees', *harvyebhyas* 'houses'.

**G. m. n.** Instead of the normal ending *-ām* these stems almost invariably add the ending *-nām*, before which the final vowel is lengthened as in the *-i*, *-u* and *-r* stems. This ending (like *-āni* in the n. pl.) must have been due to the influence of the *-n* stems<sup>1</sup>. The case is thus formed in the RV. from over 100 stems in the m. and over 20 in the n. In nearly half these forms the final syllable may be metrically read as *aam*<sup>2</sup>. Two-thirds of these resolutions are, however, not necessary as they occur at the end of octosyllabic Pādas which may be catalectic; but many undoubted resolutions are required within the Pāda<sup>3</sup>. Among the forms of most frequent occurrence are *m. devānām* (148), *jānānām* (34), *yajñiyanām* (12), *ādityānām* (11), *adhvarānām* (10). — *n. dhānānām* (13).

**a.** The organic form e. g. from *devā-* would have been *devām* (= *devā-ām*). Not more than three or four examples of this survive in the RV, and only two of these seem undoubted: *yūthyām dzoānām* (VIII. 56<sup>4</sup>) 'of horses belonging to the herd' and *carāthām in gārghaś ca śhātām gārghaś carāthām* (I. 70<sup>3</sup>) 'offspring of things that are stationary, offspring of things that move'<sup>4</sup>. There are further some half dozen forms written with final *-ān* or *-āñ* which seem to stand for the G. pl. in *-ām*: *devāñ jānma* (I. 71<sup>3</sup>; VI. 11<sup>3</sup>) 'the race of the gods' (Pāda *devāñ*); *devāñ jānmanā* (X. 64<sup>14</sup>) 'with the race of the gods' (Pāda *devāñ*); *viśa ā ca mātān* (IV. 2<sup>3</sup>) 'and hither to the dwellings of mortals' (= *mātām*); *coṣkṛyāte viśa īndro manuṣyān* (VI. 47<sup>16</sup>) 'Indra protects the tribes of men'.

**L. m. n.** This case adds the normal ending *-su* before which (as before *-bhis* and *-bhyas*) *-e* takes the place of the final vowel of the stem and cerebrazes the following sibilant. It is formed from some 123 stems in the m. and some 92 in the n.<sup>5</sup> It is almost invariably<sup>6</sup> to be read with hiatus, even before *u*-<sup>7</sup>.

Among the most frequently occurring forms are: *m. devēsu* (99), *vāṇṇesu* (41), *yajñesu* (35), *adhvarēsu* (27), *mārtṛesu* (25), *sutēsu* (16). — *n. vidātheṣu* (33), *vāneṣu* (20), *sāvaneṣu* (14), *bhīvaneṣu* (12), *uktheṣu* (10).

<sup>1</sup> See LANMAN 352 c; BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 691.

<sup>2</sup> LANMAN (352, bottom) enumerates the forms in which resolution takes place.

<sup>3</sup> LANMAN 352<sup>4</sup>, gives a list of the forms in which resolution is required; cp. ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 143 (p. 92).

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps also *himsānām* (X. 142<sup>1</sup>) if G. pl. of a participle *himsāna-*, and *śāsām* if G. of *śāśa-* 'ruler' (II. 23<sup>12</sup>). *vanām* (X. 46<sup>5</sup>) is G. pl. of *vān-* rather than *vāna-*. Cp. LANMAN 353.

<sup>5</sup> The gender is doubtful in some instances.

<sup>6</sup> The only undoubted exception to this rule in the RV. occurs in a late hymn (X. 121<sup>8</sup>), where *deviṣu ādhi* must be read. Cp. LANMAN 354.

<sup>7</sup> On the probable origin of the ending *-su* cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 700.



2 b. Derivative Stems in *-ā*.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 335—365. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 131—137. — Cp. COLLITZ, die herkunft der *ā*-deklination, BB. 29, p. 81—114.

373. The derivative *ā*-declension corresponds to the derivative *a*-declension, for the m. adjectives of which it furnishes the f. stems. It includes more feminines than any other declension. Like the *a*-declension it has many irregularities of inflexion, every case in the singular, except the A., and two cases in the plural showing some abnormal feature. The N. sing. shares with the derivative *i*-declension the peculiarity of not adding the ending *-s*; the I. sing. has an alternative form borrowed from the pronominal declension; the D. Ab. G. L. sing. are formed under the influence of the derivative *i*-stems; and the V. sing. ends in *-e* instead of appearing in the form of the bare stem. In the plural the N. has to a limited extent the same alternative form in *-āsas* as the m. of the *a*-declension, and the G. is similarly formed with *-nām*.

As in the *a*-declension, the accent remains in the same position throughout except the V., where it of course shifts to the first syllable.

## Inflexion.

374. The forms actually occurring, if made from *priyā*- 'dear', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *priyā*. A. *priyām*. I. *priyā* and *priyayā*. D. *priyāyai*. Ab. G. *priyāyās*. L. *priyāyām*. V. *priye*.

Du. N. A. *priyā*. I. Ab. *priyābhyām*. G. L. *priyāyos*.

Pl. N. *priyās* and *priyāsas*. V. *priyās*. A. *priyās*. I. *priyābhis*. D. Ab. *priyābhyas*. G. *priyānām*. L. *priyāsu*.

Sing. N. This case never adds the normal ending *-s*<sup>1</sup>. It is formed in the RV. from 424 stems and occurs more than 1000 times. Examples of the most frequent forms are: *yūṣā* (24) 'maiden', *dāksīṇā* (24) 'good milch cow', *līlā* (17) 'refreshment', *jāyā* (17) 'wife', *su-bhāgā* (13) 'beautiful', *sūnṛtā* (10) 'joyful', *citrā* (9) 'brilliant'.

a. At the end of odd Pādas the final *-ā* of this N. is regularly written with Sandhi, but must always be read with hiatus; coalescence with *-e* and *-r* is, however, twice avoided by nasalization<sup>2</sup>, while twice<sup>3</sup> the *-ā* is shortened before *-r*.

b. Within a Pāda the *-ā* is written with Sandhi in 160 instances in the RV., but is pronounced (unlike the *-ā* of the N. A. du. m.) with hiatus in 23 of these instances; while the nominatives *iṣā* 'car-pole' and *manīṣā* 'devotion' are written as well as pronounced with hiatus<sup>4</sup>, the former once, the latter four times.

A. This case, which is formed with the normal ending *-m*, is in the RV. made from over 200 nominal stems occurring more than 400 times. Examples of the most frequent forms are: *manīṣām* (21), *jāyām* (11), *āmṛvām* (9) 'distress', *yūṣām* (7), *yūṣaṇām* (6) 'maiden'.

a. This case is often identical in form with the L. sing. f. of stems in *-ī*; thus *pūrvyām* may be the A. of *pūrvyā*- 'previous' or L. of *pūrvī*- 'much'. In one instance at least elision of the *-m*, followed by contraction, takes place<sup>5</sup>: *śatātāmāvivṛcāḥ* (VII. 19<sup>5</sup>) for

<sup>1</sup> The stem *gnā*- 'woman', though originally dissyllabic, came to be regarded as a radical *ā*-stem and accordingly forms its N. sing. *gnā-s* (IV. 9<sup>4</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> *śāśadānām* 'ēṣi (I. 123<sup>10</sup>) and *yāñ* 'ṛṇamcayē (V. 30<sup>14</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> *priyā* 'r- (I. 151<sup>4</sup>), *ṛju-hāsta* 'r- (V. 41<sup>15</sup>). Cp. 70.

<sup>4</sup> *iṣā* *ākṣo* (VIII. 529); *manīṣā* *abhi* (I. 101<sup>7</sup>);

*manīṣā* *iyām* (V. 11<sup>5</sup>; VII. 70<sup>7</sup>); *manīṣā* *asmāt* (VII. 34<sup>1</sup>); cp. RPr. II. 29. LANMAN 356 suggests that the comparative frequency of this hiatus justifies the restoration of the augment in Pādas short of a syllable; e.g. *prāśā* [a]vāci (VII. 58<sup>9</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> On some contractions in which *-m* has probably been elided but explained wrongly by the Pāda as containing nominatives in *-ā*, see LANMAN 356.

*śatatamām avicēṣīh*. In two or three instances the metre seems to require *-ām* to be read as *-aam*<sup>1</sup>.

I. There are two forms of this case. In the one, the normal ending *-ā* is added directly to the stem and, by contracting with its final *-ā*, produces a form identical in appearance with the N., e. g. *jihvā* (= *jihvā-ā*) 'tongue'. In the other, *y* is interposed between the ending *-ā* and the final *-ā* of the stem, which is shortened, e. g. *jihvā-y-ā*. The latter form is due to the influence of the regular pronominal I. sing. f., e. g. *tāyā*<sup>2</sup>. This form is already slightly the more common in the RV.<sup>3</sup>, being made from 113 stems<sup>4</sup> as compared with 95 which take the older form with *-ā*. In the later Samhitās the I. in *-ā* is very rare in original passages, the AV. using only five such forms independently<sup>5</sup>. Both forms are (unlike the N. pl. m. in *-āsas* and *-ās*) comparatively seldom made from the same stem, as *jihvā* and *jihvāyā*. Two thirds of the total number of 95 stems which have the older form, end in the suffixes *-tī* and *-yā*, as *puruṣā-tī* 'after the manner of men', *hiranyayā* 'golden'. The choice of the alternative forms is, as elsewhere, often determined by the metre<sup>6</sup>.

Examples of the commonest forms are: 1. *doṣā* (13) 'evening', *barhūnā* (13) 'might', *manīṣā* (13), *manhūnā* (11) 'willingness', *śrāṣyā* (7) 'desire to praise'<sup>7</sup>. — Also *āśir-dāyā* (TS. III. 2. 8<sup>1</sup>) 'fulfilment of blessing', *viśvā-ṣṣnyā* (TS. I. 5. 3<sup>3</sup>; VS. XII. 10) 'omniform'. — 2. *dhūrayā* (53) 'stream', *jihvāyā* (24), *māyāyā* (20) 'craft'.

a. There are some instrumentals sing. f. formed from derivative *a-* stems, which are used as adverbs with shift of accent to the ending. Such are: *a-datrayā* 'without a gift' (*a-datra-*), *ubhayā* 'in both ways' (*ubhāya-*), *ṛtāyā* 'in the right way' (*ṛtā-*), *dakṣiṇā* 'on the right' (*dākṣiṇa-*), *naktayā* 'by night' (*nākta-*), *madhyā* 'in the middle' (*mādhyā-*), *samanā* 'together' (*sāmāna-*), *śvapnayā* (AV.) 'in dream' (*śvāpna-*)<sup>8</sup>.

D. This case is anomalously formed by adding *-yai* to the stem, e. g. *jarā-yai*<sup>9</sup>. It is not of common occurrence, being made from only 14 nominal<sup>10</sup> stems in the RV. The forms occurring are: *a-g'tāyāi* 'lack of cows', *a-vīratāyāi* 'lack of sons', *ukhūyāi* (TS. IV. 1. 9<sup>3</sup>) 'pot', *uttānīyāi* (TS. IV. 1. 4<sup>1</sup>; Kh. v. 16<sup>4</sup>) 'supine', *ghīṣāyāi* N. of a woman, *carāyāi* 'for going', *jarīyāi* (AV.) 'old age', *tvd-yatāyāi* 'presented by thee', *duccchināyāi* 'mischievous demon', *putrā-kāmāyāi* (Kh. IV. 13<sup>1</sup>) 'desiring sons', *pūtā-kratāyāi* N. of a woman, *manāyāi* 'eagerness', *viśpālāyāi* N. of a woman, *śivāyāi* 'auspicious', *śvetanāyāi* 'dawn', *sūnīyāi* 'joy', *sūryāyāi* 'sun-goddess'.

a. Two forms have been preserved in which the D. is made by adding the normal ending *-e* directly to the stem with the *-ā* of which it coalesces to *-ai*: *mahīyāi* (I. 113<sup>6</sup>) 'greatness', *sv-apatyāi*<sup>11</sup> (I. 54<sup>11</sup>) 'accompanied with fair offspring'. These are formed like the D. infinitives from radical *ā*-stems such as *vī-khyāi* (584).

b. In one passage (VII. 119) the form *a-vīrate*, for *a-vīratāyāi* 'lack of sons',

<sup>1</sup> See LANMAN 357 (top).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 629, 783.

<sup>3</sup> The corresponding later form in the Avesta is much commoner than the older: BRUGMANN 2, p. 629.

<sup>4</sup> This number given by LANMAN 357 includes some pronominal stems. BRUGMANN's statement (2, p. 629) that the form in *-ayā* is less common than the form in *-ā* in Vedic, is not applicable even to the RV.

<sup>5</sup> The forms are *dakṣiṇā*, *devātā*, *doṣā*, *sumnayā*, *vitta-kāmāyā*; only the last is peculiar to the AV.

<sup>6</sup> Euphony also has some influence; thus *hiranyayayā* does not occur.

<sup>7</sup> LANMAN 358 enumerates the homophorous instrumentals.

<sup>8</sup> These forms may have been due to the influence of the pronominal adverb *a-yā* 'in this way' (with adverbial shift of accent, cp. *tāyā* etc.); see J. SCHMIDT, Pluralbildung 212 ff., and BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 629; otherwise BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 20 f.

<sup>9</sup> Formed in the Indo-Iranian period, probably under the influence of the derivative stems in *-ī* originally *-yā*, i. e. *-yai* for *-yā-e*.

<sup>10</sup> Also *svāyāi* from the possessive pronoun *svā-*.

<sup>11</sup> BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 600, thinks this form may be shortened for *sv-apatyāyāi*.

takes the ending *-e* direct, but with elision of the stem vowel, as in the radical *ā*-declension.<sup>1</sup>

**Ab.** This case is formed anomalously by adding the ending *-yās* to the stem.<sup>2</sup> It is rare, being made in the RV. from only seven stems, the AV. having three additional examples. The forms occurring are: *ardhvāyās* (AV.) 'upright', *kanīyās* 'maiden', *jihvāyās*, *dīkṣīṇyās*, *dur-dvāyās* 'ill-disposed', *dur-hīṇyās* 'mischief'. *dīvyāyās* 'divine', *dhruvāyās* (AV.) 'firm', *nīdyās* 'disgrace', *vy-adhvāyās* (AV.)<sup>3</sup> 'lying half-way'.

**G.** This case is formed in the same way as the Ab., but is much more frequent, being made from 26 stems in the RV. The forms occurring are: *aghnyāyās* and *aghnīyāyās* 'cow (not to be killed)', *līyās*, *ukhāyās*, *usriyāyās* 'ruddy cow', *ūrmyāyās* 'night', *kanīyās*, *kāśhāyās* 'course', *jihvāyās*, *dīkṣīṇyās*, *darsatīyās* 'conspicuous', *dīrvāyās* 'Dūrvā grass', *dhiṣṇyāyās* 'offering', *dhiṣamāyāyās*<sup>4</sup> 'longing', *pājrayās* 'vigorous', *pāri-takmyāyās* 'wandering', *māhinīyās* 'mighty', *rasīyās* a mythical river, *vayīyās* 'branch', *viśpālīyās*, *sasvattamīyās* 'most recent', *śīphīyās* N. of a river, *śucīyās* 'pure', *sabar-dīghīyās* 'yielding nectar', *śchīnīyās*<sup>5</sup> 'victorious', *śīrīyās* 'intoxicating liquor', *suryāyās*.

**L.** This case is formed by adding the anomalous ending *-yām* to the stem, e. g. *bhadrá-yām*. It is not common, being formed from only 16 or 17 stems in the RV. The forms occurring are: *āpayīyām*<sup>6</sup> N. of a river, *āmīyām* 'raw', *uttānūyām* 'outstretched', *usriyīyām*, (*ā*)-*gatīyām* 'come', *grīvīyām* 'neck', *jūrñīyām* 'ancient', *nāvīyām* 'new', *pāri-takmyīyām*, *bhadráyām* 'beneficent', *yamūnīyām* N. of a river, *varatrīyām* 'thong', *vāsīyām* (Kh. II. 105) 'cow', *śimśāpīyām* N. of a tree, *śrīṇīyām* 'night', *sabhīyām* (TS. I. 8. 31) 'assembly', *śīrīyām*, *su-śīmāyām*<sup>7</sup> N. of a river, *hariyūpīyām* N. of a locality.

**V.** This case has the abnormal ending *-e*<sup>8</sup> and is in the RV. formed from over 50 stems; e. g. *āśve*. The original form must have been the bare stem with the final vowel shortened; e. g. \**āśva*, but of this there is no certain survival. The form *amba* which occurs in the RV. three times (unaccented) may originally have been an exclamation, and it can have this sense alone in one of the three passages of the RV. (x. 97<sup>2</sup>), where it is used with a plural. In the two other passages it may very well mean 'O mother' (II. 41<sup>16</sup>; x. 867). The VS. (XXIII. 18) and the TS. (VII. 4. 19<sup>1</sup>) have the V. *āmbe* as from a stem *āmbī* 'mother'.<sup>9</sup>

The forms occurring are: *aghnyāsyē*<sup>10</sup> (Kh. IV. 5<sup>26. 32</sup>) 'cow-faced', *aghnye*, *apve* N. of a disease, *amartye* 'immortal', *āmbike* (TS. VS.) 'mother', *ambitame* 'most motherly', *āśve* 'mare', *āśva-sūrte* 'rich in horses', *ādītya-varṇe*<sup>11</sup> (Kh. II. 6<sup>6</sup>) 'sun-coloured', *ārjikiyē* N. of a river, *īḷe* goddess of devotion, *iṣṭake* (TS. IV. 2. 9<sup>2</sup>) 'brick', *ugra-putre* 'having mighty sons', *uttare* 'mightier', *uttāna-parṇe* 'having extended leaves', *uru-vraṇe* 'extending afar', *ūrmye*, *ṛṣve* 'exalted', *kadhā-priye* 'ever pleased', *kāṇe* 'one-eyed', *kāma-dughē* (TS. IV. 2. 9<sup>6</sup>) 'cow of plenty', *kṛtye* (Kh. IV. 5<sup>25</sup>) 'magic', *ghōra-rāpe* (Kh. IV. 5<sup>26</sup>) 'of awful form', *gaṅge* 'Ganges', *ghore* 'awful', *citre*, *citrā-maghe* 'having brilliant gifts', *jāye*, *dūrve* (TS. IV. 2. 9<sup>2</sup>), *deva-jūte* 'impelled by the gods'

<sup>1</sup> This forms a transition to the consonant declension like *devātāte* beside *devātātaye*; cp. LANMAN 359<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Like the D. it is due to the influence of the stems in derivative *-ī* to the fuller form of which, *-yā*, the normal ending *-as* was added.

<sup>3</sup> Also the pronominal *svāyās* 'own'.

<sup>4</sup> Participle, perhaps desiderative, of *dhi-* 'think'.

<sup>5</sup> Perfect participle middle of *sah-* 'conquer'.

<sup>6</sup> A transition form from the radical *ā*-declension, see p. 249, note 11.

<sup>7</sup> Also the pronominal form *svāyām*.

<sup>8</sup> The origin of this ending is uncertain; cp. BRUGMANN 2, 541.

<sup>9</sup> This is a common stem in post-Vedic Sanskrit.

<sup>10</sup> The ed. has *aghnyāsyē*.

<sup>11</sup> The ed. has *ādītya-varṇe*.

*devi-tame*<sup>1</sup> 'most divine', *dhiṣane* 'goddess of devotion', *nadī-tame* 'best of rivers', *pathye* 'path' (as goddess), *pastye* 'goddess of the house', *putra-kāme*, *puru-priye* 'much beloved', *pṛthu-jāghane* 'broad-hipped', *pṛthu-ṣṭuke* 'having broad braids of hair', *priye* (TS. vii. 1. 6<sup>8</sup>), *brahma-saṁśite* 'sharpened by prayer', *marud-vṛdhe* N. of a river, *yamune*, *rāke* N. of a goddess, *vapuṣtame* (Kh. iv. 7<sup>7</sup>) 'most beautiful', *vīra-rūpe* (Kh. iv. 5<sup>26</sup>) 'of excellent form', *vi-kāte* 'monstrous', *vīvasvad-vāte* (TS. iv. 4. 12<sup>4</sup>) 'desired by Vivasvat', *viśva-rūpe* (TS. iv. 2. 5<sup>2</sup>) 'omniform', *viśva-vāre* 'possessed of all goods', *śaravye* 'arrow', *śīlike* 'cool', *śūnge* (Kh. v. 15<sup>8</sup>) N. of a goddess, *śubhre* 'shining', *sa-dāme* 'associated with demons', *sarame* N. of a goddess, *sīte* 'furrow', *su-jāte* 'well-born', *su-putre* 'having good sons', *su-bhage*, *su-lābhike* 'easy to win', *su-smuṣe* 'having fair daughters-in-law', *sū-nṛte*, *sūrya-varṇe* (Kh. iv. 7<sup>7</sup>) 'sun-coloured', *sūrye*, *śkīma-trayastrimṣe* (TS. iv. 4. 12<sup>4</sup>), *hṛīklike* (Kh. v. 15<sup>1</sup>) 'yellowish', *hiraṇya-parṇe* (Kh. iv. 7<sup>7</sup>) 'gold-winged', *hlāḍike* 'refreshing'.

**Du. N. A. V.** These cases are identical in form, having final *-e* which doubtless contains the same dual ending *-ī* as N. A. V. du. of the *a*-declension<sup>2</sup>. They are of frequent occurrence, being made from over 130 stems in the RV. The ending *-e* is Pragrhya, being distinguished by the Pada text with an appended *iti* from the *e* of the V. sing. f.; e. g. V. du. f. *śubhre iti*, but V. sing. f. *śubhre*.

Examples of the most frequent forms are: *ubhē* (66) 'both', *su-mēke*<sup>3</sup> (8) 'well-established', *devā-putre* (7) 'having gods as sons', *vī-rūpe* (7) 'of different forms', *śīpre* (5) 'cheeks'. The compound *sītāśīte* 'black and white' occurs in a Khila (p. 171<sup>5</sup>).

**I. Ab.** These cases, made with the ending *-bhyām*, are identical in form with the I. D. Ab. m. n. of the *a*-declension. They are represented by only two forms in the RV.: *śīprābhyām* (x. 105<sup>5</sup>) which seems to be I.<sup>4</sup>, and *nāsikābhyām* (x. 163<sup>1</sup>) 'nostrils', Ab. No form with a D. sense occurs.

**G. L.** Both these cases add, with interposing *-y-*, the normal ending *-os* to the final *-ā* of the stem, which is shortened. They are thus identical in form with the G. L. du. m. n. of the *a*-declension. There are only four nominal forms in the RV. and AV.: in the G. sense *jāṅghayos* (AV.) 'legs', *yamāyos* 'twins'; and in the L. sense *uttānāyos*, *svadhāyos* 'homestead'<sup>5</sup>.

**Pl. N. V.** The regular form ends in *-ās* and is very common, being formed from nearly 260 stems in the RV. Examples of the commonest forms are: *bhadrās* (19), *dhārās* (16), *manīṣās* (10)<sup>6</sup>.

There is, however, a **second form in *-āsas*** which occurs nearly 20 times in the RV. Considering the rarity of this form here, while it is the commoner as N. pl. m. in the *a*-declension, the probability is that its introduction was due to those very numerous masculines. The forms occurring are: *ā-tandrāsas* 'indefatigable', *a-mṛtāsas* (AV.) 'immortal', *dur-mitrāsas* 'unfriendly', *paśpṛdhānāsas* 'vying'<sup>7</sup>, *pārthivāsas*<sup>8</sup> 'terrestrial', *pāvakāsas* 'pure', *bhejānāsas*<sup>9</sup> 'having obtained', *vanvānāsas*<sup>10</sup> (SV.) 'having obtained', *vaśāsas*,

<sup>1</sup> Superlative of *devī*, the final being shortened as in the simple vocative *devi*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 286 (p. 643).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. WINDISCH in Festgruss an O. v. BÖHTLINGK 114 f.

<sup>4</sup> The pronominal form *ubhāyām* (x. 88<sup>15</sup>) has a locative meaning.

<sup>5</sup> There are also the pronominal forms *ayās* and *yāyos*. In III. 54<sup>2</sup> the Pada text reads *āyās* probably for *ayās*.

<sup>6</sup> In two or three passages the Pada text seems to confuse forms in *-ās* with others in *-ā*; see LANMAN 362.

<sup>7</sup> Perfect participle middle of *√spṛdh-*.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. LANMAN 362.

<sup>9</sup> Perfect participle middle of *bhaja-* 'share'.

<sup>10</sup> The variant of the SV. for *bhejānāsas* of the RV.

*vāsrīśas* 'roaring', *vidānīśas*<sup>1</sup> 'being found', *vrđhīśas* 'helping', *ā-susānīśas*<sup>2</sup> 'stimulating', *śūghandīśas*<sup>3</sup> 'swift', *sāmmitīśas* (AV.) 'corresponding', *smīyamānīśas* 'smiling', *hīvamānīśas* 'calling'<sup>4</sup>.

A. This case is formed with the normal ending *-as* which coalesces with the final of the stem to *-ās*, e.g. *sūnītās*. It is very frequent, being made from more than 160 stems in the RV. Examples of the commonest forms are: *mṛyās* (22), *pṛtanās* (13) 'battles', *usrās* (12) 'dawns', *dhārās* (11), *usrīyās* (10)<sup>5</sup>. Two instances occur of forms in *-āsas* being wrongly used as A. pl. f.: *samvidānīśas* (X. 30<sup>14</sup>) 'united' and *aram-gamīśas* (AV. XIII. 2<sup>13</sup>) 'ready to help'.

I. This case is always formed by adding the ending *-bhis* directly to the stem, e.g. *sūnītābhis*. It is made from over 80 stems in the RV. Examples of the most frequent forms are: *mṛyābhis* (13), *citrābhis* (8), *dhārābhis* (7), *hītrābhis* (7) 'libations', *lābhis* (6). The form *drāghīṣṭhābhis* (III. 62<sup>17</sup>) 'for longest times'<sup>6</sup> is used adverbially.

D. Ab. These cases are formed with the same ending *-bhyas* (sometimes to be read as two syllables) added directly to the stem. In the RV. only 4 datives and 11 ablatives occur from nominal stems<sup>7</sup>. The forms occurring are: D. *aghnyābhyas*, *usrīyābhyas*, *duccchīnābhyas*, *devātābhyas* (TS. IV. 2. 9<sup>6</sup>) 'deities', *vṛtābhyas* 'movements'. — Ab. *ādharābhyas* 'lower', *āsābhyas* 'regions', *ūtārābhyas*, *uṣṇthābhyas* 'nape of the neck', *kīkasābhyas* 'cartilages of the breast-bone', *gīdābhyas* 'intestines', *grīvābhyas*, *damsānābhyas* 'wondrous powers', *dhiśānābhyas* 'Soma bowls', *vakṣānābhyas* 'bellies', *śyāvyābhyas* 'darkness'.

G. This case being made with the abnormal ending *-nām* is identical in form with the G. pl. m. of the *a*-declension. It is formed in the RV. from 22 stems. There is no certain example here of forms with the normal ending *-ām* which is found in a few genitives of the *a*-declension (372). There are only a couple of instances in which the resolution of the final syllable as *-aam* seems required by the metre<sup>8</sup>. The G. of *kanyā* 'girl' always appears in the contracted form of *kanīnām*<sup>9</sup> (occurring five times) in the RV.<sup>10</sup>

The forms actually occurring are: *ākṣarānām* 'speech', *āghnyānām*, *a-nīśanānām* 'affording no place of rest', *ā-bhayānām* 'free from danger', *āśma-vrajānām* 'whose pen is a rock', *āsānām* (TS. IV. 4. 12<sup>3</sup>), *urudrānām* 'arable fields', *usrānām*, *usrīyānām*, *kṣṭhānām*, *kṛtyānām* (Kh. IV. 5<sup>30</sup>), *jihmānām* 'transverse', *divyānām* 'heavenly', *dīghānām* 'milch kine', *devātānām* (Kh. II. 4<sup>1</sup>), *deva-senānām* 'hosts of the gods', *dhiśānānām*, *nāvānām*, *navyānām* 'navigable rivers', *pastyānām* 'abodes', *manīśānām*, *rāmyānām* 'nights', *sāmānām* 'years', *sūnītānām* 'songs of joy', *sthyānām* 'still waters'.

L. This case is formed by adding the ending *-su* directly to the stem. The final *-u* though always combined with a following vowel both at the end of an internal Pāda or within a Pāda, is invariably to be read with hiatus

<sup>1</sup> Participle middle, with passive sense, of *vid-* 'find'.

<sup>2</sup> Participle middle of *√vas-*.

<sup>3</sup> This word (AV.) is of uncertain derivation.

<sup>4</sup> There are besides two or three doubtful instances which may be m.; see LANMAN 362.

<sup>5</sup> In several instances *-ās* is most probably to be read where the Pāda text has *-ī*, see LANMAN 363. In a few forms the resolution of *-ās* as *-aas* or *-aās* seems necessary; LANMAN I. c.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. *aparābhyas* 'for future times'.

<sup>7</sup> There are also the pronominal forms *ābhyās* and *ābhyas*, *ūbhyas*, *yābhyas*.

<sup>8</sup> *dhānānām* in VIII. 59<sup>12</sup> and *pṛtanānām* in VIII. 59<sup>1</sup>. In *sūnītānām* (I. 3<sup>12</sup>) the metre seems to require the shortening of the final of the stem: *sūnītānām*; LANMAN 364.

<sup>9</sup> This is a form of some importance as showing how the suffix *-ī* arose from *-yā*.

<sup>10</sup> It also occurs once in Kh. I. 5<sup>1</sup>.

in the RV.; e. g. *svāsu urvdrāsu* (x. 50<sup>3</sup>) for *svāsurvdrāsu*<sup>1</sup>. This case is formed from over 50 nominal stems in the RV. The forms occurring are: *aghāsu* 'evil', *amftāsu*, *dvarāsu* 'later', *āmāsu*, *ārtanāsu* 'uncultivated', *īlāsu*, *īparāsu* 'neighbouring', *urvdrāsu*, *usrīyāsu*, *īrmīyāsu*, *kanyāsu*, *kāṣhāsu*, *kṛṣṇāsu* 'black', *grīvāsu* (TS. iv. 2. 5<sup>3</sup>), *cittī-garbhāsu* 'visibly pregnant', *citrāsu*, *jagmānīsu*<sup>2</sup> 'having gone', *jātāsu* 'born', *tīgryāsu* 'descended from Tugra', *dīryāsu* 'abodes', *devdāsu* (TS. i. 6. 4<sup>3</sup>), *dhiṣṇyāsu* 'fire-places', *dhruvāsu* 'unchangeable', *nāvāsu*, *pathyāsu*, *pādyāsu* 'footsteps', *pastyāsu*, *pāñca-janyāsu* 'relating to the five tribes', *puru-pśāsu* 'multiform', *pūrvāsu* 'earlier', *pītanāsu*, *pradhanyāsu* 'forming the spoil', *prīyāsu*, *mādyāsu* 'fond of exhilaration', *madhyamāsu* 'middlemost', *manuṣyāsu* 'human', *mandrāsu* (TS. iv. i. 8<sup>2</sup>), *mārtiyāsu* 'mortal', *māhīnāsu* 'mighty', *yajñīyāsu* 'devout', (*prā*)-*yatāsu* 'presented', *yūṣaṇāsu*, *rāmyāsu*, *ropanākāsu* a kind of bird, *raksāṇāsu* 'bellies', *vrādhāsu* 'great', *vrādhāsānāsu*<sup>3</sup> 'growing', *śayāsu* 'resting-places', *śāṣkāsu* 'dry', *śyāvāsu* 'nights', *śrutāsu* 'famous', *śamayāsu* 'old', *saptā-śivāsu* 'blessing the seven (worlds)', *sirāsu* 'streams', *su-vrājānāsu* 'dwelling in fair regions', *hāvīyāsu* 'to be invoked'.

### 3. a. Stems in radical -ī.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 365—400. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 348—359.

375. This declension consists primarily of fewer than 50 m. and f. nouns derived from 9 roots. Only four of these words appear as monosyllables, the rest being compounds. The analogy of this primary group (A) is closely followed both in inflexion and accentuation by a second group of about 80 polysyllabic stems which, though formed with derivative -ī, are for the sake of clearness best treated as a division (B) of this declension. The normal endings as they appear in the inflexion of consonant stems are taken throughout this declension. The G. pl., however, with the exception of a single form occurring only once (*dhiyām*), takes the ending -*nām*; and the N. sing. always adds -s. Accentuation on the final syllable of the stem is characteristic of this declension; and except in monosyllabic stems the acute remains on that syllable throughout<sup>4</sup>. Before vowel endings the -ī is split to -iy in the monosyllabic nouns; e. g. *dhiy-am*; this is also the case in compounds formed with these nouns, except -*dhi* when it is accented, e. g. *jana-śrīyam*, *nānā-dhiyas*, but *ā-dhiām*; in compounds formed with roots it is split only when two consonants precede; e. g. *yajña-priyam*, but *yajña-nīām*; in the secondary group it is split in *samudrī-* and partly in *cakrī-*, e. g. *samudrīyas* and *cakrīyau*, but *cakrīas*. Otherwise the ī is always written as y, but is in the RV. invariably<sup>5</sup> to be pronounced as a vowel; e. g. *nādyām* pronounced *nādīām*<sup>6</sup>.

A. The stems belonging to the primary group are: 1. the monosyllabic feminines *dhi-* 'thought', *bhī-* 'fear', *śrī-* 'glory'; and the m. *vi-* 'receiver' (which occurs only once in the N. sing.). — 2. Compounds (mostly Bahuvrīhis) formed with the first three: *ā-dhi-* f. 'care', *itthā-dhi-* 'right devout', *dirghādhi-*

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the L. pl. of the a-declension.

<sup>2</sup> Perfect participle middle of *gam-* 'go'.

<sup>3</sup> Participle middle from *vrādh-* 'grow'.

<sup>4</sup> There are one or two exceptions to this rule in compound words in the A group, and a few others, in the AV., in the B group.

<sup>5</sup> There are only two exceptions in the RV.: A. sing. *staryām* (VII. 688) in a late

verse (cp. LANMAN 379<sup>1</sup>) and N. pl. *nādyās* (VII. 50<sup>4</sup>). The AV. has six such forms: *āvataryās*, *nādyās*, *nāptiyās*, *nādyās*, *pīpalyās*, *vrkṣa-sarpyās*.

<sup>6</sup> The resolved forms are therefore always given below, spelt with i in this declension. This will not lead to any confusion with the written forms of the Samhita text in which the ī of the stem always appears as iy or y.

'having a far-reaching mind' (*ā-dhī-*), *dur-ā-dhī-* 'malevolent', *dārī-ādhi-*<sup>1</sup> 'longing for the distance', *srī-ādhi-* 'attentive', *dū-dhī-*<sup>2</sup> 'malevolent', *nānā-dhī-* 'of various intent', *viśvāto-dhī-* 'all-attending', *su-dhī-* 'devout'; *avadya-bhī-* f. 'fear of blame'; *agni-srī-* 'fire-bright', *adhvara-srī-* 'adorning the sacrifice', *kṣatra-srī-* 'blessing dominion', *ghṛta-srī-* 'glittering with ghee', *jana-srī-* 'blessing men', *darsata-srī-* 'of beautiful splendour', *mārya-srī-* 'adorned like a wooer', *yajña-srī-* 'beautifying the sacrifice', *su-srī-* 'glorious', *hari-srī-* 'of golden glory'. — 3. Compounds<sup>3</sup> formed with the roots *krī-* 'buy', *nī-* 'lead', *pri-* 'love', *mī-* 'diminish', *vī-* 'move' and 'cover', *śī-* 'lie', *śrī-* 'mix': *pra-krī-* (AV.) 'purchasable', *sadyah-krī-* (AV.) 'bought on the same day'; *agre-nī-* (VS.) 'leading', *ṛta-nī-* 'leading the rite', *grāma-nī-* 'leading the community', *pada-nī-* (AV.) 'following the steps of another', *pra-nī-* f. 'furtherance', *pra-ṇē-*<sup>4</sup> 'powerfully furthering', *mana-nī-* 'spirit-leading', *yajñi-nī-* 'leading the sacrifice', *vaiśa-nī-* m. 'commander', *vratā-nī-* 'carrying out the ordinance', *sadha-nī-* 'accompanying', *senī-nī-* m. 'leader of an army', *skambha-nī-* (VS.) 'furnishing a prop'; *abhi-pri-* 'gladdening', *kadha-pri-* 'gladdening whom?', *pari-pri-* 'dear', *brahma-pri-* 'prayer-loving', *yajña-pri-* 'sacrifice-loving'; *manyu-mī-* 'rage-obstructing', *vāta-pri-mī-* 'surpassing the wind'; *takva-vī-* m. 'swiftly darting' bird, *deva-vī-* and *devā-vī-* 'god-refreshing', *pada-vī-* m. 'leader', *parṇa-vī-* 'moving with wings', *prati-vī-*<sup>5</sup> 'gladly accepting', *hiranya-vī-* 'gold-bringing'; *pra-vī-* (VS.) 'wound round'; *jihma-śī-* 'lying prostrate', *patsu-taś-śī-*<sup>6</sup> 'lying at the feet', *madhyama-śī-* 'lying in the midst', *syona-śī-* 'lying on a soft couch'; *abhi-śrī-*<sup>7</sup> 'admixture', *gaṇa-śrī-*<sup>7</sup> 'mixing in troops'.

**B.** This secondary group comprises upwards of 80 polysyllabic stems, accented on the final vowel, which are all substantives except about half a dozen. It includes fewer than a dozen masculines. Of the remainder, which are feminine, more than half are names of female beings; about 30 are the f. form of m. stems that are not accented on the final vowel, as *puruṣ-* 'woman' beside *pūruṣa-* 'man'. There are also some f. adjectives corresponding to m. in *-ya*, as *svarī-* beside *svaryā-* 'resounding'. This derivative group closely follows the analogy of the third division of the radical group (compounds ending in roots with final accented *-ī*); it joined the radical declension doubtless owing to the accentuation of the final vowel.

The m. stems are: *ahī-* 'serpent', *upāvi-* (VS.)<sup>8</sup> 'encouraging', *dakṣ-*<sup>9</sup> 'flaming'; *prāvi-*<sup>8</sup> 'attentive', *duṣ-prāvi-* 'unfriendly', *su-prāvi-* 'very attentive'; *yayī-*<sup>10</sup> 'going'; *rathī-* 'charioteer', *ī-rathī-* 'not a charioteer'; *sahāśra-starī-* 'having a thousand barren cows', *hiranya-vāśī-* 'wielding a golden axe'.

The f. stems are: *atharī-* 'flame', *atharvī-* 'priestess' (m. *ītharvan-*), *ā-durmanīgalī-* 'not unlucky', *aparī-* pl. 'future days' (m. *dpara-*), *apasī-* (VS.) 'industrious' (m. *apāśya-*), *ambī-* 'mother', *arāyī-* 'demoness' (m. *ārāya-*), *arūṇī-* 'dawn', *aśvatārī-* (AV.) 'she-mule', *aśta-karṇī-* 'cow with notched ear', *ā-pathī-* 'impediment', *enī-* 'doe' (m. *ēta-*), *onī-* 'breast', *kalyāṇī-* 'fair woman' (m. *kalyāṇa-*), *kavaśī-* 'creaking' (m. *kavāśa-*), *kilāśī-* 'spotted deer' (m. *kilāśa-*), *kumārī-* (AV.) 'girl', *kūdī-* (AV.) 'fetter', *kṣṇī-* 'night', *kṣoṇī-* 'flood', *kḥārī-* 'measure', *gandharvī-* 'female Gandharva', *gaurī-* 'buffalo cow', *cakrī-* 'wheel', *tandri-*

<sup>1</sup> For *dūrī-ādhi-*.<sup>2</sup> From *duṣ-dhī-*.<sup>3</sup> Mostly Tatpuruṣas, generally with accusative sense; some Karmadhārayas.<sup>4</sup> An intensive formation from *nī-* 'lead'.<sup>5</sup> 'Coming towards', *prāti*, with lengthened final vowel.<sup>6</sup> From *patsu-tās*, an adverb anomalouslyformed by adding the suffix *-tas* to the L. pl. of *pād-* 'foot'.<sup>7</sup> Formed directly from the root *śrī-* = 'mix', and not from the substantive *śrī-*.<sup>8</sup> From *upa* and *pra+av-* 'favour'.<sup>9</sup> To be assumed as the stem of the V. *dakṣi*, Pāda text *dhakṣi*.<sup>10</sup> The final vowel is here perhaps radical in origin.

(AV.) 'weariness' (m. *tāndra-*), *tapan-*<sup>1</sup> 'heat' (m. *tāpana-*), *tila-piñjī-*<sup>1</sup> (AV.) N. of a plant (m. *tila-piñja-*), *tikṣṇa-śṛṅg-*<sup>2</sup> (AV.) 'sharp-horned' (m. *tikṣṇā-śṛṅga-*), *dūt-* 'messenger', *dehī-* 'dam', *nadī-* 'stream', *nap̄tī-* 'daughter' (m. *nāp̄tr-*), *nāṭī-* 'pipe', *nānd-* 'joy', *niṣṭigr-* N. of Indra's mother, *palāl-*<sup>1</sup> (AV.) 'stalk', *pippalī-* (AV.), 'berry' (m. *pippala-*), *puruṣ-* 'woman' (m. *p̄ruṣa-*), *prapharv-* 'voluptuous girl', *maṇḍakī-* 'female frog' (m. *maṇḍika-*), *mayūr-* 'peahen' (m. *mayūra-*), *mahi-nad-* 'great stream', *mahiṣ-* (TS.) 'buffalo cow', *meṣ-* 'ewe', *yamī-* 'Yamī', *yayī-*<sup>2</sup> 'quick', *yātudhānī-* 'sorceress' (m. *yātudhāna-*), *rathī-* 'female charioteer' (m. *rātha-* 'car'), *lakṣm-* 'mark', *lalāmi-* 'speckled mare' (m. *lalāma-*), *vakṣ-* 'flame', *vi-keṣ-* (AV.) 'shaggy hog', *vibālī-* N. of a river, *vi-liptī-* (AV.) 'cow', *vi-tidhī-* (AV.) 'female monster', *viśva-rūp-* 'brindled cow' (m. *viśva-rūpa-*), *vṛk-* 'she-wolf' (m. *vṛka-*), *vṛkṣa-sarp-* (AV.) 'tree-serpent', *veṣ-* 'needle', *vyasta-keṣ-* (AV.) 'shaggy hog', *śakaṭ-* 'cart' (*śākaṭa-*), *śabal-* (TS.) 'cow of plenty' (m. *śabāla-*), *sakthī-* 'thigh' (n. *sāktih-*), *sasarpar-* 'trumpet', *sahasraparṇ-* (AV.) N. of a plant (m. *sahāśra-parṇa-*), *siṃh-* 'lioness', *su-māṅgal-*<sup>3</sup> 'lucky woman' (m. *su-māṅgala-*), *sūrmī-* 'pipe', *śṛṇ-* 'sickle', *star-* 'barren cow', *sphig-* 'hip', *hastinī-*<sup>4</sup> (AV.) 'female elephant', *hiranya-keṣ-* 'gold-haired' (AV.) (m. *hiranyā-keṣa-*).

a. There are further a few f. adjectives in *-ī* from m. stems in *-ya*: *āp-* 'watery' (m. *āpya-*), *samudrī-*<sup>5</sup> 'belonging to the sea' (m. *samudrīya-*), *svar-* 'resounding' (m. *svaryā-*).

a. There are a few transition forms from the *i*-stems: *karkar-*<sup>6</sup> 'lute' (*karkar-*); N. sing. *ar-*<sup>7</sup> (VS. VI. 36) from *ar-* 'faithful' beside the usual *ar-*; and the stems *yay-*, *sakth-*, *śṛṇ-* also occur beside *yay-*, *sakthi-*, *śṛṇ-* respectively. The only certain transition from the derivative *-ī* declension to the radical *-ī* declension is represented by *stī-* 'woman', originally a dissyllable<sup>8</sup>, from which occur the forms A. sing. *stīyam*, N. A. pl. *stīyas*, I. *stībhis*. Other transition forms are probably *prānias* G. sing. N. pl., *yahvias* A. pl., *suparṇias*<sup>9</sup> N. A. pl.

### Inflexion.

376. The forms actually occurring if made from *dhī-* 'thought', *yajña-śrī-* m. f. 'adorning the sacrifice', *senā-n-* m. 'leader of an army', *rathī-* m. f. 'charioteer' respectively, would be the following:

A. 1. sing. N. *dhīs*. A. *dhīyam*. I. *dhīyā*. D. *dhīyē*. G. *dhīyās*. — Pl. N. *dhīyas*. A. *dhīyas*. I. *dhībhis*. G. *dhīnām*<sup>10</sup>. L. *dhīṣ*.

2. sing. N. *yajña-śrīs*. A. *yajña-śrīyam*. I. *yajña-śrīyā*. D. *yajña-śrīye*. G. *yajña-śrīyas*. — Du. N. A. *yajña-śrīyā* and *yajña-śrīyau* (AV.). — Pl. N. *yajña-śrīyas*. A. *yajña-śrīyas*. I. *yajña-śrībhis*.

3. sing. N. *senā-nīs*. A. *senā-nīam*. D. *senā-nīe*. G. *senā-nīas*. — Du. N. A. *senā-nīā*. G. *senā-nīos*. — Pl. N. *senā-nīas*. A. *senā-nīas*. D. *senā-nībhis*. G. *senā-nīnām*.

B. Sing. N. *rathīs*. A. *rathīam*. I. *rathīā*. D. *rathīe*. G. *rathīas*. V. *rathī*. — Du. N. A. *rathīā*. I. f. *rathībhyām*. G. f. *rathīos*. L. *rathīos*. — Pl. N. *rathīas*. A. *rathīas*. I. *rathībhis*. D. f. *rathībhyas*. G. *rathīnām*. L. f. *rathīṣu*.

<sup>1</sup> In these words the accent is shifted to a vowel ending in weak cases.

<sup>2</sup> The final vowel in this word is perhaps radical in origin (from *yā-* 'go').

<sup>3</sup> The V. pl. *su-haṣṭās* (IX. 46<sup>4</sup>), presupposes a stem *su-hast-*, but as the form is a m., the reading ought perhaps to be emended to *suhastīas* with BR.

<sup>4</sup> *hastinī-* (IX. 3<sup>17</sup>) means 'having a hand'.

<sup>5</sup> GRASSMANN regards this as a f. of an adjective *samudrī-*.

<sup>6</sup> See WHITNEY on AV. IV. 37<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> See LANMAN 371<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> In I. 122<sup>7</sup> *starīs* seems to be the equivalent of *stī-*. See pw. s. v.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. LANMAN 372<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> The form *dhīnām* occurs 7 times in the RV., *dhīyām* only once.



The forms actually occurring are the following:

**Sing. N. A. 1. m. vīs.** — **f.** *dhīs, bhīs, śrīs.* — **2. m.** *itthādhīs, kṣatra-śrīs, ghṛta-śrīs, darśata-śrīs, dūrā-ādhīs, mārya-śrīs, viśvato-dhīs, sv-ādhīs.* — **f.** *abhi-śrīs.* — **3. m.** *agre-nīs* (VS. VI. 2), *grāma-nīs, takva-vīs, deva-vīs* and *devā-vīs, patsu-taś-śīs, pada-nīs* (AV.), *pada-vīs, pari-vīs* (VS. VI. 6), *parṇa-vīs, pra-kṛīs* (AV.), *pra-nenis, madhyama-śīs, manyu-mīs, yajña-nīs, yajña-prīs* (VS. XXVII. 31), *vaśa-nīs, sadyah-kṛīs, senā-nīs, skambha-nīs* (VS. I. 19), *syona-śīs.* — **f.** *pra-kṛīs* (AV.), *vrata-nīs.* — **B. m.** *ā-rathīs<sup>1</sup>, prāvīs, su-prāvīs, rathīs<sup>2</sup> sahāsra-startīs, hiraṇya-vāśīs.* — **f.** *ā-dur-maṅgalīs, aruṇīs, kalyāṇīs, kṛṣṇīs, kṣonīs<sup>3</sup>, gandharvīs, gaurīs, jātrīs<sup>4</sup> (AV.), tandrīs (AV.), dūtīs, naptīs, nādīs, mahīśīs<sup>5</sup> (TS. I. 2. 12<sup>2</sup>), yamīs, yātudhānīs (AV.), rathīs, lakṣmīs, lalāmīs, viśva-rūpīs (TS. I. 5. 6<sup>3</sup>), vṛkīs, śakaṭīs, śabalīs (TS. IV. 3. 11<sup>5</sup>), sasarpārīs, śimhīs (TS. I. 2. 12<sup>2</sup>), su-maṅgalīs<sup>6</sup>, starīs<sup>7</sup>.*

**Acc. A. 1. f. dhīyam, bhīyam, śrīyam.** — **2. m.** *dur-ādhiām, sv-ādhiām, adhvara-śrīyam, kṣatra-śrīyam, ghṛta-śrīyam, jana-śrīyam, yajña-śrīyam, su-śrīyam, hari-śrīyam<sup>8</sup>.* — **f.** *abhi-śrīyam.* — **3. m.** *gāthā-nīām, grāma-nīām* (VS. XXX. 20), *yajña-nīām; devā-vīām, prattī-vīām; abhi-prīyam, ghṛta-prīyam* (AV.), *brahma-prīyam.* — **f.** *devā-vīām<sup>9</sup>.* — **B. m.** *rathīām, su-prāvīām.* — **f.** *atharvīām, arāyīām, kumārīām (AV.), kūdīām (AV.), gaurīām, nadīām, naptīām, nāndīām, prapharvīām, yamīām, lakṣmīām (AV.), lalāmīām (AV.), vibhīām, vīlīptīām (AV.), vīlīdhīām (AV.), viśva-rūpīām, vṛkīām, śimhīām, sūrmīām, starīām<sup>10</sup>, sphigīām, svarīām.*

**I. A. 1. f. dhīyā, bhīyā, śrīyā.** — **2. m.** *dū-dhīā.* — **f.** *avadya-bhīyā<sup>11</sup>, ā-dhīā<sup>12</sup> (AV.).* — **B. m.** *rathīā.* — **f.** *tila-pīñjīā<sup>12</sup> (AV.), palīlīā<sup>12</sup> (AV.), mañḍūkīā, veśīā, sahasra-parṇīā<sup>12</sup> (AV.), sūrmīā, sphigīā.* — The form *tapanī* may be a contraction for *tapanīā*<sup>13</sup>.

**D. A. 1. f. dhīyā, śrīyā.** — **2. m.** *itthā-dhīye, dur-ādhiē, dū-dhiē.* — **f.** *ā-dhiē.* — **3. m.** *gaṇa-śrīye* (VS. XXII. 30), *yajña-prīye; jihma-śrīē, senā-nīē* (VS. XVI. 17). — **B. m.** *rathīē, su-prāvīē<sup>14</sup>.* — **f.** *nāndīē, meśīē, vṛkīē.*

**G.<sup>15</sup> A. 1. f. dhīyās.** — **2. m.** *dū-dhīās, su-dhīās.* — **n.** *sv-ādhiās<sup>16</sup>.* — **3. m.** *gaṇa-śrīyās; gāthā-nīās, manyu-mīās<sup>17</sup>.* — **B. m.** *ahīās, su-prāvīās.* — **f.** *atharīās, dīpīās<sup>18</sup>, nadīās, niṣṭi-grīās, prśantīās, meśīās, sṛṇīās.*

**L. f. gaurī** (IX. 12<sup>3</sup>) and **sarasī** (VII. 103<sup>2</sup>) may be locatives containing the normal ending *-ī*.

<sup>1</sup> There is also the transition form *arīs* (VS. VI. 36).

<sup>2</sup> On *rathīā* occurring once or twice for *rathīr īva*, cp. LANMAN 375 (bottom).

<sup>3</sup> The N. sing. once (I. 180<sup>5</sup>) appears without the *-s* as *kṣonī*. This word has other forms also according to the derivative *-ī* declension; cp. LANMAN 372 (bottom).

<sup>4</sup> The reading of the Mss. in AV. XX. 48<sup>2</sup> is *jātrīs*; the edition has *jānis*.

<sup>5</sup> This is a transition from the derivative *-ī* declension for the *māhiṣī* of the RV.

<sup>6</sup> The AV. has *su-maṅgalī* three times; cp. LANMAN 377 (top).

<sup>7</sup> There are also the transition forms *drītīs* (VI. 45), *śakvārīs* (TS. IV. 4. 4<sup>1</sup>), *devīs* (AV. VI. 59<sup>2</sup>); *varṇanīs* (I. 140<sup>9</sup>) is a purely metrical lengthening; cp. LANMAN 377<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> This form is also once (Val. II. 10) used in agreement with a neuter substantive (*gotrām*).

<sup>9</sup> In agreement with *tvācam* (IX. 74<sup>5</sup>).

<sup>10</sup> This form is once (VII. 68<sup>8</sup>) pronounced *staryām*, being one of the two only examples in the RV. of the *ī* in this declension being pronounced as *y* before a vowel.

<sup>11</sup> Accented as if *-bhīyā* were used independently; the form occurs in a late hymn (X. 107<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>12</sup> Irregular accentuation of the ending.

<sup>13</sup> Otherwise it may be an I. of the derivative *-ī* declension.

<sup>14</sup> Cp. LANMAN 382<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> There is no example of an ablative.

<sup>16</sup> This seems to be the only actual n. form of this declension in the RV.

<sup>17</sup> The form *ahī-ghnyās* (AV.) is a transition form with shift of accent from the derivative *-ī* declension.

<sup>18</sup> The form *aruṇīs* (I. 121<sup>3</sup>) may be contracted for *aruṇīās*.

V. B. m. *lakṣmī*<sup>1</sup>. — f. *arāyī*, *mahe-nadī*<sup>2</sup>, *yami*, *lakṣmī* (AV.).

Du. N. A. A. 2. f. *abhi-śrīyā*, *ghṛta-śrīyā*. — 3. m. *mana-nā*, *sadha-nā*; *senānī-grāmanyaū* (VS. xv. 15). — f. *abhi-śrīyau* (AV.). — B. m. *rathīā*. — f. *cakrīyā*, *nadīā*, *napthā*, *yamīā*, *sakthīā*, *śrīnā*; *cakrīyau* (SV.), *nādyau* (AV.), *sakthīau* (AV.)<sup>3</sup>.

I. B. f. *kṣoṇibhyām*. — G. A. 3. m. *yajña-nīlos*. — B. f. *onīlos*<sup>4</sup>, *cakrīlos*. — L. B. f. *onīlos*, *napthīlos*.

Pl. N. V. A. 1. f. *dhiyas*, *śrīyas*<sup>5</sup>. — 2. m. *durādhīyas*, *durādhiyas*, *dūdhīyas*, *nānā-dhiyas*, *su-dhiyas*, *sv-ādhiyas*; *agni-śrīyas*, *adhvara-śrīyas*, *su-śrīyas*. — f. *ādhiyas*, *vyādhiyas*<sup>6</sup> (AV.). — 3. m. *grāma-nīlas* (AV.), *devā-nīlas*, *pada-nīlas*, *sadha-nīlas*; *abhi-priyas*, *kadha-priyas*, *gaṇa-śrīyas*, *pari-priyas*. — f. *abhi-śrīyas*, *ā-priyas* (AV.), *pṛa-nīlas*, *vāta-pramiyas*. — B. m. *ahīas*, *āpathīas*, *rathīas*, *su-hastīas*<sup>7</sup>. — f. *apastīas* (VS. x. 7), *arāyīas* (AV.), *aruṇīas*, *onīas*, *kalyāṇīas*, *kavaśīas* (VS. xx. 40, 60), *gaurīas*, *tikṣṇa-śrīghīas*, *nadīas*, *nādīas* (AV.), *mayūrīas*, *yātu-dhānīas* (AV.), *rathīas*, *lakṣmīas* (AV.), *vakṣīas*, *vī-keśīas* (AV.), *vyasta-keśīas* (AV.), *samudrīyas*, *sahasra-parṇīas* (AV.), *starīas*. — With *ī* pronounced as *y*: once *nadyās* (VII. 50<sup>4</sup>) and 6 forms in the AV., *aśvataryās*, *nadyās*, *naptyās*, *nādyās*, *pippalyās*, *vykṣa-sarpyās*.

Acc. A. 1. f. *dhiyas*, *bhīyas* (AV.), *bhiyās* (TS. IV. 1. 7<sup>3</sup> = VS. xxvii. 7), *śrīyas*. — 2. m. *durādhiyas*, *dūdhīas*, *su-śrīyas*<sup>8</sup>. — f. *ādhiyas* (AV.). — 3. m. *sadha-nīas*. — B. m. *ahīas*, *duṣprānīas*, *rathīas*. — f. *arāyīas* (AV.), *aṣṭa-karṇīas*, *kīlāsīas*, *khārīas*, *dehīas*, *nadīas*, *napthīas*, *muśīas*, *yamīas*, *yātu-dhānīas*, *samudrīyas*, *sambādha-tandīas* (AV.) 'affliction and exhaustion', *starīas*<sup>9</sup>.

I. A. 1. f. *dhibhīs*, *śrībhīs*<sup>10</sup>. — 2. m. *sv-ādhibhīs*. — 3. m. *gaṇa-śrībhīs*<sup>11</sup>. — B. m. *hīraṇya-vāstibhīs*. — f. *kalyāṇibhīs*, *kṣoṇibhīs*, *nadībhīs*, *napthībhīs*.

D.<sup>12</sup> A. 3. m. *pṛa-nībhīyas*<sup>13</sup>, *śva-nībhīyas*<sup>14</sup> (VS. xvi. 27), *senā-nībhīyas*<sup>15</sup> (VS. xvi. 26). — B. f. *aparībhīyas*, *nadībhīyas* (VS. xxx. 8).

G. A. 1. f. *dhīmām* and *dhiyām*, *śrīnām*. — 3. f. *hīraṇya-vīnām*. — B. m. *ahīnām*, *nadīnām* 'invokers', *rathīnām*<sup>16</sup>. — f. *aruṇīm*, *krīmīm* (AV.), *nadīmām*, *puruṣīmām*, *svarīmām*.

L. A. 1. f. *dhitṣh*. — B. f. *aparīṣu*, *aruṇīṣu*, *nadīṣu*<sup>17</sup>.

### 3. b. Stems in derivative -ī.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 365—400. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 362—366.

377. 1. This declension embraces a very considerable number of stems which are formed by means of the suffix -ī (originally -yī) and, except seven masculines, are restricted to the f. gender. It largely supplies the f. form of words requiring inflexion in more than one gender. Feminine stems are thus made from nouns in -a, e. g. *devī-* (m. *devā-*); from adjectives in -u; e. g. *pṛthivī-* (m. *pṛthivī-*); from present participles in -ant; e. g. *māḍantī-*

<sup>1</sup> Pada *dhaṁṣi*; cp. RPr. IV. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Treated as a compound in the Pada (VIII. 74<sup>15</sup>) though *mahe* is V.

<sup>3</sup> The AV. shows no example of -īā. It has three transition forms *āṇḍāu*, *phālgūnyau*, *akṣyāu*.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. APr. III. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Also the transition form *śrīyas*.

<sup>6</sup> This would be *vyā-dhiyas* in the RV. where in compounds ending in -dhī- the *ī* if unaccented is split.

<sup>7</sup> See above, 375 B. a. α, note 3.

<sup>8</sup> Also the transition form to the deriva-

tive *ī*-declension *deva-śrīas* (TS. IV. 6. 3<sup>2</sup> = VS. xvii. 56) 'worshipping the gods'.

<sup>9</sup> Also the transition form *śrīyas*; on *yabvīas* and *suparīyas* see 375 a. α.

<sup>10</sup> Also the transition form *śrībhīs* (accented as a monosyllabic stem).

<sup>11</sup> Metrical shortening; see LANMAN 372<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> There is no example of an Ab. m. or f.

<sup>13</sup> The accent of the G. *ataśīmām* 'beggars' would seem to require a stem *ataśī-* and not *ataśī-*.

<sup>14</sup> There is also the transition form *śrīṣh* accented as a monosyllable.

(m. *mā́dant-*), *-ánt*, e. g. *adat-í* (m. *adánt-*), or *-at*, e. g. *píprat-ī* (m. *píprat-*); from perfect participles in *-vā́ms*, e. g. *jagmíṣ-ī* (m. *jaganvā́ms-*); from comparatives in *-yā́ms*, e. g. *ndvīyas-ī* (m. *ndvīyā́ms-*); from words in *-tar* (*-tr*), e. g. *avitr-ī* (m. *avítar-*); from adjectives in *-mant*, e. g. *dhenu-mát-ī* (m. *dhenu-mánt-*), and *-vant*, e. g. *āma-vat-ī* (m. *āma-vant-*); from nouns in *-an*, e. g. *sam-rājñ-ī* (m. *rājan-*), *-van*, e. g. *ṛtā-var-ī* (m. *ṛtā-van-*); from adjectives<sup>1</sup> in *-in*, e. g. *arkīn-ī* (m. *arkin-*); from compounds ending in *-ānc*, e. g. *arvāc-ī* (m. *arvāñc-*), in *-dṛś*, e. g. *su-dṛś-ī*, in *-pad*, e. g. *a-pād-ī*, and in *-han*, e. g. *d-patighn-ī*.

2. There is besides a large group of miscellaneous f. stems of an independent character, having no corresponding m.<sup>2</sup>, e. g. *śāc-ī* 'night'.

3. The seven m. stems<sup>3</sup>, of which five are proper names, are: *Tīraścī*, *Nāmī*, *Pīthī*, *Mātālī*, *Sābharī*; *rāṣṭrī* 'ruler', *sirī* 'weaver'.

a. The stems of this declension (in contrast with those of the B group of the radical *-ī* declension) do not normally accent the suffix. The exceptions to this rule are of a definite character.

i. When in the first f. group there is a corresponding m. accented on a final syllable which is liable to be reduced in such a way as to be incapable of bearing the accent, the acute is thrown forward on the *-ī*; e. g. m. *urū-*, f. *urō-ī*; m. *netār-*, f. *netr-ī*; m. *ad-ánt*, f. *ad-at-ī*; m. *praty-ānc-*, f. *pratic-ī*; m. *-han-*, f. *-ghn-ī*. When the m. ends in *-ā*, the accent also in several stems remains on the corresponding *-ī*; thus m. *devā-*, f. *devī-*; *pāpā-* 'evil', f. *pāpī-*; m. *puro-gavā-* 'leader', f. *puro-gavī-*; m. *rāmā-* 'night', f. *rāmī-*; m. *vamrā-* 'ant', f. *vamrī-*. More usually, however, the accent of such feminines is thrown back on the first syllable<sup>4</sup>; thus m. *āyasā-* 'made of iron', f. *āyāsī-*; m. *aruśā-* 'red', f. *aruśī-*; m. *gāndharvā-* 'belonging to the Gandharvas', f. *gāndharvī-*; m. *taviśā-* 'strong', f. *taviśī-* 'strength'; m. *paruśā-* 'reed', f. *paruśī-* 'reedy', N. of a river; m. *palitā-* 'grey', f. *palitī-*; m. *mahiśā-*<sup>5</sup> 'buffalo', f. *mahiśī-*; m. *rohitā-* 'ruddy', f. *rohiṇī-* 'ruddy cow', m. *saṃ-gayā-* 'procuring prosperity for the household', f. *saṃ-gayī-*; m. *śyāvā-* 'brown', f. *śyāvī-*; m. *śyētā-* 'white', f. *śyēnī-* 'white cow'.

2. Again, the miscellaneous group of feminines hardly ever accents the final *-ī* of the stem except when it is a proper name, a shift of accent having here probably taken place to indicate a change of meaning; thus *aranyānī* 'Forest-goddess', *arundharī*<sup>7</sup> (AV.) N. of a plant and a star, *indrānī* 'Indra's wife', *rodasī* N. of the Āśvins' wife, *vaidhī-matī* N. of a mythical female, *varuṇānī* 'Varuṇa's wife', *śavastī* N. of Indra's mother, *sinivālī* N. of a goddess; and the river names *añjasī*, *āsiknī*<sup>8</sup> (but *āsiknī* 'black' and 'night'), *go-matī* (but *gō-matī* 'rich in cows'), *śutudrī*.

### Inflexion.

378. The inflexion of the derivative *-ī* stems stands in marked contrast with that of the radical *-ī* stems in three respects: (1) no *-s* is added in the N. sing. masculine or feminine; (2) the endings diverge considerably from the normal ones, the Sing. A. taking *-m*, the D. *-ai*, the Ab. G. *-ās*, the L. *-ām*, the du. N. A. *-ī*, the pl. N. A. *-s*; (3) stems accented on the final vowel shift the acute to the ending in the weak cases of the sing., in the G. L. du., and the G. pl.

<sup>1</sup> Adjectives ending in *-a* do not form their f. in *-ī* unless they are accented on the final syllable, when the accent almost always shifts to the first syllable; e. g. *aruṣī* from *aruśā-*; but *pāpā-* has *pāpī-* beside *pāpā-*.

<sup>2</sup> A list of these is given by GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1722—23.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. ZUBATÝ, zu den altindischen männlichen *-ī*-stämmen, Sitzungsberichte d. Böhm. Ges. d. Wiss. 1897, XIX (treats also of the radical *-ī*-stems used in the masc.).

<sup>4</sup> Beside *pāpā-*. The great majority of Indo-arsche Philologie. I. 4.

adjectives and all participles ending in *-a* form their f. with *-ā*.

<sup>5</sup> This is the converse of the accentuation in the B group of the radical *-ī* declension, where the m. in unaccented *-a* throws the acute on the final *-ī* of the f.

<sup>6</sup> Similarly *varuṇī-* 'protector', f. *vārūtr-ī*.

<sup>7</sup> Originally a present participle \**ā-rundhat-ī* 'not hindering'.

<sup>8</sup> *āsiknī* also occurs once as the N. of the river.

The forms actually occurring, if made from *devī* 'goddess', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *devī*. A. *devīm*. I. *devyā*. D. *devyāi*. Ab. *devyās*. G. *devyās*. L. *devyām*. V. *devi*.

Du. N. A. *devī*, V. *dāvī*. D. Ab. *devībhyām*. G. L. *devyās*.

Pl. N. *devīs*. A. *devīs*. I. *devībhis*. D. *devībhyas*. Ab. *devībhyas*. G. *devinām*. L. *devīsu*. V. *dāvīs*.

Forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. The **m**. forms are: *nāmī*, *pīthī*, *mātali*, *rāstrī*, *sobharī*. The **f**. forms are very common, being made from nearly 300 stems in the RV. Among the most frequent are: *pṛthivī* 'earth' (57), *devī* (48), *sīrasvatī* (43) N. of a goddess, *mahī* 'great' (35), *ucchāntī* 'shining' (16), *yati* 'going' (14), *jānitṛī* 'mother' (10), *brhatī* 'great' (10), *ghṛtācī* 'filled with ghee' (9), *maghāntī* 'bountiful' (9), *strī*<sup>1</sup> 'woman' (3)<sup>2</sup>.

A. **m**. *nāmīm*. — The **f**. is formed from over 100 stems in the RV. Among the commonest forms are: *pṛthivīm* (62), *mahīm*<sup>3</sup> (35), *devīm* (18), *tāvīṣīm* (13), *urvīm* (9) 'wide', *pīpyīṣīm*<sup>4</sup> (9) 'swelling'<sup>5</sup>.

I. This case is formed with the normal ending *-ā*. The only **m**. form is *nāmyā*. But there are about 40 **f**. forms in the RV. In more than two-thirds of these the suffix is pronounced as a vowel<sup>6</sup> *-iā* (in oxytones *-iā*), in the rest as a semivowel *-yā* (in oxytones *-yā*). The stem *sāmī* 'labour' has, beside *sāmyā*, the contracted form *sāmī*, which also appears in the compound *su-sāmī* 'with great care'. At the end of a Pāda and before vowels<sup>7</sup> this I. *sāmī* is shortened to *sāmi*<sup>8</sup>. The forms occurring are: 1. *āṇvyā* 'subtile', *āśvābhidhānyā* (AV.) 'halter', *āśvāvatyā* 'furnished with horses', *āsiknyā*<sup>9</sup> (AV.), *kundynācyā* 'house lizard', *kumbhyā* (TS. III. 2. 8<sup>4</sup>) 'jar', *gātū-mātyā* 'spacious', *gāyatrīyā* (TS. II. 2. 4<sup>8</sup>) a metre, *ghṛtācyā*, *citāntyā* 'observing', *citīyāntyā* 'appearing', *jāgatīyā* (TS. II. 2. 1. 4<sup>8</sup>), a metre, *tmānyā* 'by oneself', *dāvidyutatyā* 'glittering', *devācyā* 'directed towards the gods', *dāvīyā* (AV.) 'divine', *nāvīyasyā* 'new', *pāthyā* 'wife', *mādhu-matyā* 'accompanied by sweetness', *rāhīnyā*, *vāśīyā* 'good', *vājīyatyā* 'rich in treasure', *vāśīyā* (AV.) 'knife', *viśvā-bheṣajīyā* (AV.) 'all-healing', *viśvācyā* 'universal', *vīśvīyā* 'everywhere' (adv.), *sācyā* 'might', *sāmyā*, *sarmayāntīyā* 'protecting', *sīmīyā* 'work', *satrācyā* 'attentive', *samīcyā* (Kh. III. 10<sup>5</sup>) a goddess, *sīrasvatīyā* (AV.), *sōma-vatyā* 'accompanied with Soma', *stūbhāntīyā* 'praising', *hāriṇīyā* 'yellow', *hīranyāyā*<sup>10</sup> 'golden'. — Oxytones with shift of accent: *annādyā* (AV.) 'proper food', *āsiknyā*, *devyā*, *purānyā* 'ancient', *pṛthivīyā*, *mahyā*, *samānyā* 'similar', *sādhāranyā*<sup>11</sup> 'common', *sūcyā* 'needle', *sautrāmanyā* (AV.) a kind of Indra sacrifice. The TS. and VS. also have *urvyā* as an adverb 'afar', which in the RV. appears only in the modified form *urvyā*.

D. The ending looks like *-ai*, e. g. *devy-ai*; but it is doubtless in origin the normal ending *-e* fused with the suffix *-yā*, i. e. *-yāi* = *-yā-e*<sup>12</sup>. Only 13 forms (all **f**.) occur in the RV. These are, besides a few others from the later

<sup>1</sup> Cp. WIEDEMANN, BB. 27, 211, footnote.

<sup>2</sup> In the AV. there are also the transition forms *ā-durmanṅalī*, *su-manṅalī*, *nadī*. In RV. 1. 180<sup>5</sup> *ḥṣonī* has perhaps dropped its *-s* owing to the following *-s*.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps to be read uncontracted as *māhīam* in X. 50<sup>5</sup>; *vāṇīm* (II. 11<sup>8</sup>) is also to be read as *vāṇīam*.

<sup>4</sup> Perfect participle of *pī* 'swell'.

<sup>5</sup> There is also the transition form *nadīm* (AV.).

<sup>6</sup> The vocalic pronunciation seems to be the commoner in the AV. also; cp. LANMAN 381.

<sup>7</sup> This also occurs in the compound *urvi-ūtiḥ* (VI. 24<sup>2</sup>), if *urvi* = the adv. instr. *urvyā*.

<sup>8</sup> The compound *su-sāmī* also occurs once in the TS. VS. as well as the RV.

<sup>9</sup> Probably an error for *āsiknyās*; see WHITNEY on AV. v. 13<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> For *hīranyāyā*.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. LANMAN 368 (top).

<sup>12</sup> An indication of this origin is perhaps to be found in the fact that of the 13 stems in the RV. taking this dative only one, *-pāthyai*, has the vocalic pronunciation *-iai*

Samhitās: 1. *arvācyai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'hitherward', *āvācyai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'downward', *āvyatyai* 'not desiring', *īatyai* 'so great', *ūdīcyai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'northern', *jāgatyai* (VS. XXIV. 12), *jāryāi* (TS. III. 2. 2<sup>2</sup>) 'mistress', *jūryantyai* 'aging', *jyāyasyai* 'elder', *dhenumātyai* 'yielding milk', *parjanya-patnyai* 'having Parjanya for a husband', *paśumātyai* 'consisting of cattle', *prātyai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'western', *prācyai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'eastern', *yaśo-bhagīnyai* (VS. II. 20) 'rich in glory', *rātryai* (VS. XXIV. 25) 'night', *vājavyatyai*, *viś-pātnyai*, *sahā-patnyai*<sup>1</sup> (AV.) 'united with the husband'. — 2. **Oxytones**: *indrānyāi* (VS. XXXVIII. 3), *urvyāi* (VS. XXII. 27), *kalyānyāi*<sup>2</sup> (AV.) 'good', *gāyātryāi* (VS. XIII. 54), *devyāi*, *prthivīyāi*, *brhatyāi*, *mahyāi*, *rājāsānyāi* (VS. XIX. 16) 'Soma stand', *sinivālyāi*, *striyāi*<sup>3</sup> (AV.), *hiranya-keśyāi*<sup>4</sup> (AV.) 'gold-haired'.

**Ab.** The ending looks like *-ās*, e. g. *prthivī-ās*; but it is doubtless the normal ending *-as* fused with the suffix *-yā*, i. e. *-yās* = *-yā-as*<sup>5</sup>. Only five forms occur in the RV., besides a few others in the later Samhitās: *avadyāvatyās* (AV.) 'disgraceful', *urvāsyās* N. of a nymph, *jāgatyās* (VS. XIII. 56), *jīvantyās*<sup>6</sup> 'living', *dur-admanyās* (VS. II. 20) 'bad food', *pātantyās* 'flying', *prthivīyās*, *brhatyās* (AV.), *mahyās*<sup>6</sup>.

**G.** The ending is the same as in the Ab. and of similar origin. **m.** *tirāśyās*<sup>7</sup>, *pīthyās*, *sābharyās*. — **f.** The forms occurring in the RV.<sup>8</sup> are: 1. *amśu-mātyās*<sup>9</sup> N. of a river, *amhu-bhēdyās* (VS. XXIII. 28) 'having a narrow slit', *uśnārānyās* N. of a people, *urjāyantyās* 'vigorous', *śadhyās* (VS. I. 25) 'plant', *tāvisyās*, *dānumatyās* 'rich in drops', *māms-pācanyās* 'flesh-cooking', *rātryās*, *viśvāsvatyās* 'shining', *sāmyās*, *sāśucatyās* 'shining', *sūsyantyās* 'about to bear'. — 2. *urvyās* 'earth', *devyās*, *prthivīyās*, *mahatyās* 'great', *yatyās*, *yātyās* 'going', *vadhrimatyās* N. of a woman, *striyās*<sup>10</sup>.

**L.** This case seems to be formed with the ending *-ām*, e. g. *devy-ām*; but it may be due to the fusion of a particle *\*-am*<sup>11</sup> with the suffix *-yā*. It is formed from 15 stems in the RV., where the pronunciation *-iām* is considerably less than half as common<sup>12</sup> as *-yām*. Forms occurring are: 1. *āsiknyām*, *ucchāntnyām*, *ūdīcyām* (TS. II. 4. 14<sup>1</sup>), *jāgatyām* (VS. XXXVIII. 18), *jahnūvyām* 'race of Jahnū', *apśadāvyām* N. of a river, *nāryām* (Kh. IV. 13<sup>3</sup>) 'woman', *pāruṣnyām* N. of a river, *prācyām* (TS. II. 4. 14<sup>1</sup>), *yaryādvatyām* 'rich in streams', *rātryām*, *varaṇādvatyām* (AV.) N. of a river, *vasāṇvyām* 'treasury', *śūcyām*, *sārasvatyām* N. of a river, *soma-kṛāyanyām* (VS. VIII. 54) 'serving as the price of Soma'. — 2. *aranyānyām*, *āṣṭryām* 'fire-place', *āsānyām* (AV.) 'stool', *gavīnyām* (Kh. IV. 13<sup>3</sup>) 'groin', *gāyātryām* (VS. AV.), *catvāriṇīyām* 'fortieth', *jyeṣṭhaghnyām* (AV.) N. of an asterism, *devyām*, *narācyām* (AV.) N. of a river, *prthivīyām*, *striyām* (AV.)<sup>13</sup>.

(and here the *i* is preceded by two consonants).

<sup>1</sup> To be pronounced *-iai*.

<sup>2</sup> This is an emendation for the reading *kalyānyāi* of the edition; cp. LANMAN 383<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> With split *ī* as in the radical *ī*-stems.

<sup>4</sup> There are also the transition forms *bhīyāi*, *śrīyāi* (VS. XIX. 94), *hrīyāi* (VS. XIV. 35) from the radical *ī*-declension, and from the *i*-declension *devā-hūtyai*, *turyāi*, *nīrṛtyai*, *puṣtyāi*, *bhūtyai*, *bhṛtyāi*, *śrūtyai*.

<sup>5</sup> *-yās* is read *-iās* 4 times out of 25 in the RV.: *prthivīdās* 3 times and *jīvantīdās* once, always for metrical reasons, cp. LANMAN 384 (top).

<sup>6</sup> There are also the transition forms from the *i*-declension, *nābhīyās*, *bhūmyās*, *hetyās*; and from the AV. *ā-bhūtyās*, *ā-rātyās*, *ā-śastyās*,

*ābhūtyās*, *kṛsyās*, *deva-hetyās*, *rātryās*, *śīrśaktyās*; probably also *yōnyās* (VI. 121<sup>4</sup>), Pada *yōnyā*.

<sup>7</sup> Pronounced *tirāśīdās*. But cp. ROTH, ZDMG. 48, 115 (bottom).

<sup>8</sup> This case is formed from more stems in the AV. than in the RV.; cp. LANMAN 355.

<sup>9</sup> In about 15 per cent of the following genitives the ending is pronounced *-iās*.

<sup>10</sup> There are also half a dozen transition forms from the *i*-declension in the RV.: *anumatyās*, *ārātyās*, *nīrṛtyās*, *pṛṣnyās*, *bhūmyās* (once with crasis in *bhūmyopārī* X. 753), *yuvatyās*; there are many others in the AV.; as *jāmyās* (also Kh. v. 579); see LANMAN 385<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 265 (p. 619).

<sup>12</sup> It is much less common than this is in the AV.

<sup>13</sup> There are also two transition forms

V. This case is formed, by shortening the final, from 38 stems (all f.) in the RV. Examples are: *devi* (23), *sarasvati* (16), *pr̥thivī* (11), *maghoni* (9), *vibhāvāri* 'radiant' (8), *mahi* (6). From the TS.: *āmbāli* (VII.4.19<sup>1</sup>) 'mother', *kāmpīla-rāsini* (VII.4.19<sup>1</sup>; VS.) 'living in Kāmpīla', *darvi* (I.8.4<sup>1</sup>) 'ladle', *patni* (IV.4.12<sup>4</sup>), *māṇḍuki* (IV.6.1<sup>2</sup>; VS.) 'frog', *deva-yajani* (VS.) 'whereon gods are adored'.

Du. N. A. V. This form in the RV. ends in *-i* exclusively, being made probably with the ending *-i* (like the f. du. of the derivative *-ā* stems), which coalesces with the *-i* of the stem<sup>1</sup>. There is only one m. form, the V. *mādhvī* 'fond of sweetness', an epithet of the Aśvins. The f. is very frequent, being made from 76 stems in the RV. and from over 20 in the VS. The commonest forms in the RV. are: *rūdasi* (87) 'the two worlds', *dyāvā-pr̥thivī* (65) 'heaven and earth', *mahi* (27), *urvī* (20), *pr̥thivī* (20), *devī* (13), *samīti* (11) 'united', *br̥hatī* (10), *yahvī* (6) 'active', *akṣī* (6) 'eyes', *pr̥thivī* (5). From the TS.: N. *chāndasvati* 'desiring' and *sūrya-patnī* (IV.3.11<sup>1</sup>) 'having the sun as husband', V. *ūrvī*, *rūdasi*, *patnī* (IV.7.15<sup>6</sup>).

a. The *-i* is twice metrically shortened in *pr̥thivī* (II.31<sup>5</sup>; III.54<sup>4</sup>) and in *māhi* (IV.56<sup>4</sup>; X.93<sup>1</sup>).

b. In the AV. three stems of this declension form transition duals<sup>2</sup> according to the radical *-i* declension: *akṣyāu*, *āṇḍyāu*, *phālgunyau*<sup>3</sup>; in other texts: *gavīnyau* (TS. III.3.10<sup>4</sup>) 'the groins', *pātnyau* (VS. XXXI.22), *vibhānyau* and *su-pārnnyau* (Kh. I.37).

I. *akṣībhyām* (AV.), *kumbhībhyām* (VS. XIX.27), *jōṣirībhyām* (VS. XXI.51) 'cherishing', *mādhucībhyām* (VS.) 'sweetness-loving', *mādhvībhyām* (VS.).

D. *rūdastībhyām*. — Ab. *akṣībhyām*, *dyāvā-pr̥thivībhyām* (VS. XXXVII.18).

G. *akṣyōs*<sup>4</sup> (AV.; TS. III.2.5<sup>5</sup>), *ārtnīyos* (TS. IV.5.2<sup>3</sup>) 'ends of the bow', *ārtnyos* (VS. XVI.9), *dīvas-pr̥thivīyōs*<sup>5</sup>, *nīnyōs*<sup>6</sup> 'secret', *pari-nītantyos* (AV.) 'dancing round', *rūdasyōs*<sup>7</sup>. — L. *akṣyōs* (AV.), *arānyos*, *ārjunyos*, *dyāvā-pr̥thivīyōs* (VS. XX.10), *pūtantyōs*, *rūdasyōs*, *samīcyōs*.

Pl. N. V. The ending seems to be simply *-s*, but it is doubtless the normal ending *-as*, which originally coalesced with the suffix *-yā* to *-yas*, the latter then contracting to *-is*. In the m. the only example is *siris*. But the f. is very frequent, being formed from 166 stems in the RV., and occurring in the independent parts of the TS. at least 25 and of the VS. at least 40 times. The commonest forms are: *devīs* (43), *pūrvīs* (36) 'many', *śasadhīs* (27), *vāṇīs* (12) 'songs', *pātīs* (11), *māhīs* (11), *bhātīs* (8) 'shining', *yahvīs* (7), *devayāntīs* (6) 'serving the gods', *vāsvis*<sup>8</sup> (6). In the Khilas occur the 7 forms *a-lakṣmīs* (II.6<sup>6</sup>), *ānīs* (IV.8<sup>5</sup>), *devīs* (III.10<sup>2</sup>), *pāvamānīs* (III.10<sup>1</sup>) N. of certain hymns, *bahvīs* (II.8<sup>4</sup> etc.) 'many', *svastyāyanīs* (III.10<sup>1</sup>), *hiranyadyīs* (V.15<sup>11</sup>).

a. Transitions from this to the radical *-i* declension are almost unknown to the RV.: *striyas* is the only certain example, and *pr̥sānyās* and *suparnnyās* are probably such; the tendency to use such transition forms is only incipient even in the AV.<sup>9</sup>, where *urvyās*<sup>10</sup> (once) and *rudatyās* (once) occur<sup>11</sup>. In the Khilas also, occur the three forms *ghṛtācyas*

from the radical *-i* declension: *śrīyām* (AV.) and *dūtyām*; five from the *-i* declension: *pūramdhīyām*, *bhūmīyām*, *bhr̥tyām*, *yuvatyām*, *sāṅgatīyām*; besides at least 10 additional ones from the AV.: *dyūyām*, *ākūtyām*, *cītyām*, *devā-hūtyām*, *nābhīyām* (+VS. XXIV.1), *pr̥ṣṭīyām*, *bhūtyām*, *yōnyām* (+VS.), *vēdyām*, *sāmītyām*.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 287 (p. 644).

<sup>2</sup> There are also the transition forms from the radical *-i* declension *kṣonī* and once *nadī*.

<sup>3</sup> This form in *-yau* becomes universal in the post-Vedic language.

<sup>4</sup> The Mss. in AV. v. 4<sup>10</sup> read *akṣōs*; see WHITNEY's note.

<sup>5</sup> With the first member of the Dvandva inflected in the sing. G.

<sup>6</sup> Either the G. of *nīnū* (m. *nīnyā*-) or shortened for *nīnyāyos*.

<sup>7</sup> Once (VI.24<sup>3</sup>) used in the sense of an Ab.

<sup>8</sup> *ēka-patnīs* (AV. x.8<sup>39</sup>) 'having one husband' is N. pl. f., not N. sing. m.

<sup>9</sup> There seem to be no such transitions in the TS.; but there are at least 3 to the *-i* declension: *śasadhayas* (IV.1.4<sup>4</sup>), *revātayas* (IV.2.11<sup>1</sup>), *pātṇayas* (V.2.11<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>10</sup> Beside *urvis* which occurs 9 times.

<sup>11</sup> And yet this form is the only one in the post-Vedic language.

(II.8<sup>4</sup>), *bahvyaś* (III. 112), *pīṭamānyās* (III. 103). The VS. has about 10 such forms: *devyās* (XXXVII. 4) beside *devīs*, *pāṇyās* (XXIII. 36) beside *pāṇīs* (VI. 34), *phālavatyās* (XXII. 22), *bahvyaś* (XIX. 44) beside *bahvīs*, *mahānāmnyās* (XXIII. 35), *maitrāvārunyās* (XXIV. 2), *maitryaś* (XXIV. 8), *vatsalatyaś* (XXIV. 5), V. *vanuryās* (XXXVII. 4), *vaiśvadevyās* (XXIV. 5), *sārasvatyaś* (XXIV. 4).

b. There are no transitions from the radical *i*-declension to this one in the RV., and in the AV. only *nadīs* (beside *nadyās*) and *lakṣmīs* (beside *lakṣmyās*). But the transitions from the *i*-declension are numerous: *aṅgūlīs* (AV.), *avānīs*, *ājānīs*, *ūtīs*, *ṛśīs* (AV.), *dhamānīs* (AV.), *nāktīs*, *nābhīs* (AV.), *nīṛyīs*, *nīṣṛyīs*, *pārṣṇīs* (AV.), *pūramdhīs*, *pṛṣṇīs* (AV.), *bhūmīs*, *viśvā-kṛṣṇīs*, *śrēṇīs*<sup>1</sup>, *sāyonīs*.

A. This case is identical in form with the N., and its origin is doubtless similar. It is very frequent, being made from more than 100 stems in the RV. The commonest forms are: *pūrvīs* (40), *śśadhīs* (24), *mahīs* (18), *bṛhatīs* (12), *dāstīs* (9) 'demonesses', *pāṇīs* (7), *pṛṣatīs* (7)<sup>2</sup> 'dappled mares'.

I. This case is fairly frequent, being made from 32 stems in the RV. The commonest forms are: *śācībhis* (36), *tāviṣībhis* (13), *śāmībhis* (8), *śśadhībhis* (6), *pṛṣatībhis*<sup>3</sup> (5). The TS. has also *śmībhis* (V. 2. 12<sup>1</sup>), *śācībhis* (V. 2. 11<sup>1-2</sup>); the VS. *aruṇībhis* (XII. 74), *jāgatībhis* (I. 21), *sthālībhis* (XIX. 27) 'cooking-pots'.

D. This case is rare, being formed from only three stems in the RV. and a few others in the later Samhitās: *avyādhinībhyas* (VS. XVI. 24) 'assailing bands', *śśadhībhyas*, *keśhinībhyas* (AV.) 'hairy', *gandharvā-pāṇībhyas* (VS. AV.) 'having Gandharvas for spouses', *ghoṣinībhyas* (AV.) 'noisy', *tāviṣībhyas*<sup>4</sup>, *tīṣṭhantībhyas* (VS. XXII. 25) 'standing', *trṇhatībhyas* (VS. XVI. 24) 'piercing', *mānuṣībhyas* (TS. IV. 1. 4<sup>3</sup>; VS. XI. 45) 'human', *vṛṣanyāntībhyas* 'desiring a male', *śāśvatībhyas*<sup>5</sup> (AV.) 'everlasting', *śrāvantībhyas* (VS. XXII. 25) 'flowing', *hrādīnībhyas* (VS. XXII. 26) 'hail'.

Ab. Only three forms of this case occur in the RV.: *śśadhībhyas*, *padvatībhyas* 'possessed of feet', *bṛhatībhyas*.

G. This case, which as is usual in the vowel declension takes the ending -nām, is found in only one m. form, *śśbharīnām*; but it is fairly common in the f., being formed from 34 stems in the RV. The oxytones which number only six<sup>6</sup>, throw the accent (as in the *i*-declension) on the ending: *bahvīnām*, *bhañjatinām* 'breaking', *bhātīnām*, *bhuñjatinām* 'gladdening', *mahīnām*<sup>7</sup>, *yaṭīnām*. This rule does not, however, hold in the SV. and VS., which have *mahīnām* (VS. I. 70; IV. 3); nor in the AV. where the forms *nārāṣaṇśnām* 'eulogies' and *rāthajiteyīnām* 'chariot-conquering' occur. Of the remaining 28 genitives in the RV.<sup>8</sup> the commonest are: *śāśvatīnām* (10), *śśadhīnām*<sup>9</sup> (9), *mānuṣīnām* (8), *śācīnām* (4), *īyīṣīnām*<sup>10</sup> (3) 'having departed'. From the VS.: *avyādhinīnām* (XVI. 21).

L. This case is fairly common, being formed from 30 stems (all f.) in the RV. The most frequent forms are: *śśadhīṣu* (20), *mānuṣīṣu* (8), *nāhuṣīṣu* 'neighbouring', *jāgatīṣu* (2) 'females', *tāviṣīṣu* (2), *yahvīṣu* (2), *rōhiṇīṣu*<sup>11</sup> (2). The rest occur only once each<sup>12</sup>. From Khila III. 15<sup>17</sup>: *śuddha-dantīṣu* 'white-toothed'.

<sup>1</sup> This form should perhaps be read as *śrēṇayās* in V. 597.

<sup>2</sup> Also the transitions from the radical *i*-declension *aruṇīs* and *yātudhānīs* (AV.).

<sup>3</sup> The stems forming this case in the RV. are enumerated by LANMAN 396.

<sup>4</sup> *nārī* 'woman', by shortening its final vowel, forms its D. according to the *i*-declension: *nārībhyas*.

<sup>5</sup> Irregularly accented on the final of the stem, otherwise, *śāśvatī*.

<sup>6</sup> Or 7 including *strī*: *strīnām*.

<sup>7</sup> On the exceptions *mahīnām* (X. 134<sup>1</sup>), *yaṭīnām* (I. 158<sup>6</sup>), *devayaṭīnām* (I. 36<sup>1</sup>), see LANMAN 398 (bottom).

<sup>8</sup> The G. *nāvyasīnām* is once used in agreement with the m. *marūtām*.

<sup>9</sup> *kanīnām*, with contracted *yā*, is the only G. pl. of *kanyā* in the RV., *kanyānām* occurs once in the AV.; see LANMAN 399 (top).

<sup>10</sup> Perfect participle of *i*- 'go'.

<sup>11</sup> There is also the transfer form from the *i*-declension *svāhākṛīṣu*, in which the long vowel is perhaps metrical. On the other hand *strīṣu* (accent) is a transfer to the radical *i*-declension.

<sup>12</sup> LANMAN enumerates the stems, 399 (bottom).

4. a. Radical stems in *-i*.

379. No nominal *i*-stems are derived from roots originally ending in *-i*, as these (some six or seven) have all joined the consonant declension by adding a determinative *-t*<sup>1</sup>. There are, however, about a dozen stems in which *i* is probably radical in a secondary sense, as representing a reduced form of roots ending in *-ā*<sup>2</sup>. These are with one or two exceptions m. compounds formed with *-dhi* = *dhā* 'put': *api-dhi* 'covering', *ā-dhi* 'pledge', *utsa-dhi* 'receptacle of a spring', *uda-dhi* 'receptacle of water', *upa-dhi* 'part of the wheel between nave and felly', *garbha-dhi* 'nest', *ni-dhi* 'treasury', *pari-dhi* 'fence', *prati-dhi* 'cross-piece of car-pole', *pra-dhi* 'felly', *seva-dhi* 'treasure', *sā-dhi* 'abode'; perhaps also *śa-dhi* f. as a shortened form of *śa-dhi* 'plant'. Besides these there is *prati-śhi* f. 'resistance', from *sthā* 'stand', and probably the reduplicated stem *yay* 'speeding', in which the *-i* is secondarily reduced through the older form *yayī* from the *-ā* of the root *yā* 'go'. These few stems have nothing distinctive in their inflexion, which follows that of the derivative *i*-stems in every particular.

The forms which occur from these words are the following:

Sing. N. *ā-dhi-s*, *śa-dhi-s*, *nidhi-s*, *pari-dhi-s*, *prati-śhi-s*, *yayī-s*, *sā-dhi-s*. — A. *utsa-dhi-m*, *uda-dhi-m*, *śa-dhi-m*, *garbha-dhi-m*, *ni-dhi-m*, *pari-dhi-m*, *pra-dhi-m*, *yayī-m*, *seva-dhi-m*. — I. *yayīnā*. — Ab. *uda-dhi-s*. — Du. N. *upa-dhi*, *pra-dhi*. — Pl. N. *śa-dhāyas*, *ni-dhāyas*, *pari-dhāyas*, *prati-dhāyas*, *pra-dhāyas*. — A. *api dhīn*, *uda-dhīn*, *ni-dhīn*, *pari-dhīn*, *pra-dhīn*. — I. *ni-dhībhis*. — G. *ni-dhīnām*. — L. *ni-dhīṣu*.

4. b. Derivative stems in *-i*.

LANMAN, Noun Inflection 365—400. — WHITNEY, Grammar 335—340, 343. — Cp. REICHELDT, Die abgeleiteten *i*- und *u*-stämme, BB. 25, 238—252.

380. This declension embraces a large number of m. and f. stems. There are comparatively few neuter stems; and, except the N. A. sing. and pl., neuter forms are rare, not occurring at all in several cases. The regular inflexion is practically the same in all genders, except that the N. A. sing. and pl. n. differ from the m. and f., and the A. pl. m. and f. differ from each other. There are several peculiarities here as regards the formation of the stem, the endings, and accentuation. The final vowel of the stems shows Guṇa in three of the weak cases of the singular (D. Ab. G.) as well as in the V. sing. and the N. pl. m. f., while it is abnormally strengthened in the L. sing. The normal ending *-as* of the Ab. G. sing. is reduced to *-s*, while that of the L. sing. is lost. Oxytone stems, when the vowel is changed to *y*, throw the accent on the following vowel not as Svarita but as Udātta; and even on the *-nām* of the G. pl., though the stem vowel in that case does not lose its syllabic value.

a. The only word which distinguishes strong forms is *sākhi* 'friend', which takes Vṛddhi in its strong stem *śākhi*. Its strong forms are frequent: Sing. N. *sākhā*<sup>3</sup>, A. *sākhāyam*. Du. N. A. *sākhāyā*<sup>4</sup> and *sākhāyau*. Pl. N. *sākhāyas*. This word has two further irregularities, the simple stem *sākhi* adding *-i* in the D. *sākhy-e*, and the abnormal ending *-ur* in the Ab. G. *sākhy-ur*. The other forms occurring are regular: Sing. I. *sākhā*, V. *sākhe*. Pl. A. *sākhīn*, I. *sākhībhis*, D. Ab. *sākhībhyas*, G. *sākhīnām*. Eight compounds in the RV.<sup>5</sup> are inflected in the same way (also *sōma-sākhā*, VS. iv. 20); but of four others, which have joined the *a*-declension, there occur the forms A. *dāvayāt-sakha-m* (x. 39<sup>10</sup>), N. *yāvayāt-sakhā-s* (x. 26<sup>5</sup>), A. *patayāt-sakha-m* and *mandayāt-sakha-m* (i. 4<sup>7</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> See above, stems in derivative *-t* (307).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. LINDNER 56 and LANMAN 453.

<sup>3</sup> See J. Schmidt, KZ. 29, 526, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *sākhāyā* occurs 6 times (also VS. xxviii. 7), *sākhāyau* only once.

<sup>5</sup> See LANMAN 400<sup>3</sup>.



b. r. The stem *pātr-*, when it means 'husband' and is uncompounded, shows irregular inflexion in the Sing. D. and G. (like *sākhi-*) and the L.: D. *pātye*, G. *pātyur*, L. *pātyau*. When it means 'lord'<sup>2</sup> or is compounded, it is regular: D. *pātaye*, *bṛhaspātaye*. G. *pātes*, *prajā-pātes* (TS.), L. *gṛ-pātan*. — 2. The stem *jāni-* 'wife' also takes the abnormal ending *-ur* in the G. sing.: *jānyur*. This stem has the further irregularity of forming its N. sing. *jānī* according to the derivative *i-* declension. — 3. The stem *arī-* 'devout' is irregular in forming several cases like the radical *i-* stems (except in accentuation): Sing. A. *aryām* (beside *arim*), G. *aryās*<sup>3</sup>. Pl. N. A. m. f. *aryās*. The VS. has also the N. sing. *arīs* beside the *arīs* of the RV.

c. Twenty-seven stems in the RV. show forms according to the derivative *i-* declension in the D. Ab. G. L. sing. f. 4, perhaps from a desire to add a distinctively f. ending in a declension which does not distinguish genders in these cases. There is a steady increase of such forms in the later Samhitās; thus while the RV. has only 7 datives in *-ai* from *i-* stems, the VS. has about 40.

d. In the RV. 4 or 5 stems show the influence of the *n-* declension in the incipient use of the ending *-nī* in the N. A. n. du., and (*ṛ*)-*nī* in N. A. n. pl.; and in the I. sing., stems taking the ending *-nā* are already 5 times as numerous as those adding the normal *-ā*.

### Inflection.

381. The N. sing. m. f. always takes *-s*<sup>5</sup>, the A. simply *-m*. The D. Ab. G. V. gunate the suffix, to which the Ab. G. add only *-s* instead of *-as*. The L. sing. has an altogether abnormal form ending in *-ā* or *-au*. The N. pl. m. f. gunates the *-i*, to which the normal ending *-as* is added. The A. pl. in the m. adds *-n*, in the f. *-s*, before which the vowel is lengthened. The G. pl. always takes *-nām*, lengthening the preceding vowel. The frequent adjective *śuci-* 'bright' may be used to illustrate the forms actually occurring in the three genders:

Sing. N. m. f. *śucis*, n. *śuci*. A. m. f. *śucim*, n. *śuci*. I. m. *śucyā*, *śucinā*, f. *śucyā*, *śucī*, *śuci*. D. m. f. n. *śucaye*. Ab. m. f. *śuces*. G. m. f. n. *śuces*. L. m. f. n. *śucā*, *śucau*. V. m. f. *śuce*.

Du. N. A. V. m. f. n. *śucē*. I. m. f. n. *śucibhyām*. D. m. *śucibhyām*. Ab. m. f. *śucibhyām*. G. m. f. *śucyos*. L. m. f. n. *śucyos*.

Pl. N. m. f. *śucayas*. N. A. n. *śucē*, *śuci*, *śucīnī*. A. m. *śucēn*, f. *śucīs*. I. m. f. *śucibhis*. D. m. f. *śucibhyas*. Ab. m. f. n. *śucibhyas*. G. m. f. *śucinām*. L. m. f. n. *śuciṣu*.

Forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. This form is very frequent, being made from nearly 250 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *agnīs* (389) 'fire', *kavīs* (90) 'sage', *hāris* (58) 'tawny', *bṛhas-pātis* (52) 'Lord of Prayer', *śucis* (38) 'bright', *iśis* (32) 'seer', *brāhmaṇas-pātis* (23) 'Lord of Prayer', *ātithis* (20) 'guest'<sup>6</sup>.

a. The stem *vi-* 'bird', besides the regular N. *vi-s*, which occurs 6 times, has the anomalously gunated form *vī-s*, which occurs 5 times in the RV.

b. The pronominal forms *nā-ki-s* (50) and *mā-ki-s* (13) 'no one' are old nominatives which have become indeclinable.

N. f. This form is frequent, being made from 136 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *ādītis* (78) 'freedom', *su-matīs* (22) 'benevolence', *rātīs* (22) 'gift', *nābhis* (19) 'navel', *matīs* (18) 'thought', *yuvātīs* (18) 'maiden', *bhūmīs* (12) 'earth', *prā-matīs* (11) 'providence'<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This ending is probably due to the analogy of the words of relationship, *pitṛ* etc.; cp. KZ. 25, 289 and 242 f.

<sup>2</sup> The VS., however, has *pātye viśvasya bhūmanas* 'lord of the whole world'.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. BB. 25, 242; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 54, 49-78.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. REICHEL, BB. 25, 234-238, and J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 27, 382.

<sup>5</sup> Except the irregular m. *sākhā* and the f. *jānī* (*jānis* in AV. XX. 48<sup>2</sup> is an emendation).

<sup>6</sup> There is also the transition form from the radical *i-* declension *viśva-śrī-s* 'beautifully adorned' (TS.).

<sup>7</sup> Cp. REICHEL, BB. 25, 250.

<sup>8</sup> Also the transition forms from the *i-* declension *aranyānis*, *śadhis*, *naptis* (AV.), *rātīs* (AV., VS. XXXVII. 21).

N. A. n. This form has no ending<sup>1</sup>. It is made from 37 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *māhi* (84) 'great', *bhūri* (47) 'much', *sv-asti* (35) 'welfare', *hṛdī* (9) 'heart'<sup>2</sup>. From other Samhitās: *ān-abhiśasti* (VS.v.5) 'blameless', *a-menī* (VS.xxxxviii.14) 'not casting', *āsthi* (AV., VS.) 'bone', *a-sthūri* (VS. II. 27) 'not single-horsed', *ātma-sāni* (VS. XIX. 48) 'life-winning', *eka-nemi* (AV.) 'having one felly', *kṛvi* (VS.x.20) 'active'(?), *kṣatra-vāni* (VS.I.17) 'devoted to warriors', *gāyatrī-vartani* (TS.III.1.10<sup>1</sup>; VS.XI.8) 'moving in Gāyatrī measures', *dādhi* (AV., VS., Kh.III.16<sup>2</sup>) 'sour milk', *paśu-sāni* (VS.XIX.48) 'cattle-winning', *pīśni* (AV.) 'dappled', *brahma-vāni* (VS.I.17) 'devoted to Brahmans', *loka-sāni* (VS. XIX. 48) 'causing space', *vādhri* (AV.) 'emasculated', *vāri*<sup>3</sup> (VS. XXI. 61) 'choiceworthy', *sajāta-vāni* (VS. I. 17) 'conciliating relations'.

A. m. This form is very frequent, being made from 205 stems in the RV. and occurring more than 1200 times. The commonest examples are: *agnīm* (269), *rayīm* (180) 'wealth', *yūnim* (61) 'receptacle', *pātim* (49) 'lord' or 'husband', *āhim* (40) 'serpent', *ādrim* (30) 'rock', *kavim* (28), *ātithim* (25), *bṛhaspātim* (25), *hṛrim* (24), *ūrmim* (23) 'wave', *pūraṇḍhim* (8) 'bountiful', *yayīm* (2) '(speeding) cloud', *arim*<sup>4</sup> (2) 'devout'<sup>5</sup>.

f. This is a frequent form, being made from 156 stems in the RV. and occurring more than 600 times. It is thus about half as common as the m. The examples occurring oftenest are: *su-matīm* (41), *su-ṣṭutīm* (35) 'excellent praise', *vṛṣṭīm* (26) 'rain', *matīm* (22), *rātīm* (20), *bhūmim* (19), *pūraṇḍhim* (5), *rayīm* (4)<sup>6</sup>.

I. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. Five stems in the RV. add the normal ending *ā*, before which the *-i* is generally pronounced as *y*, but half a dozen times as a vowel: *pātyā* 'husband', *sākhya*, *ūrmyā*<sup>7</sup>, *paryā* 'felly', *rayyā*<sup>8</sup>. — 2. Owing to the influence of the *n*-declension 25 stems in the RV. add *-nā* instead of the normal *-ā*: *agninā*, *dughrinā* (VS. II. 8) 'foot', *darīnā*, *asīnā* 'sword', *āhinā*, *ūrmīnā*, *kavīnā*, *kāśīnā* 'fist', *kiki-dvīnā* 'blue jay', *jamādagnīnā* N. of a seer, *devāpīnā* N. of a man, *dhāsīnā* 'draught', *paṇīnā* 'niggard', *pātinā* 'lord', *pāpīnā* 'delivering', *paridhīnā* (VS.xviii.63; TS.v.7.7<sup>2</sup>) 'fence', *pānīnā* (VS.I.16) 'hand', *pīśnīnā* (Kh.III.15<sup>7</sup>), *bṛhas-pātinā*, *maṇīnā* 'gem', *yayīnā*, *rayīnā*, *raśmīnā* 'rein', *vādhriṇā*, *vaurīṇā* 'vesture', *vastīnā* (VS.xxv.7) 'bladder', *vīṣa-nābhīnā* 'having strong naves', *vṛṣṇīnā* 'strong', *śīcīnā*, *sāsīnā* 'bountiful'.

f. This case is formed in two ways. 1. About 30 stems in the RV. add the normal ending *-ā*, before which the *-i* is pronounced as a vowel in about three-fourths of the occurrences of this form, and as *y* in the rest<sup>9</sup>. The forms occurring are (a) oxytones: *asītyā* 'eighty', *ūtyā* 'aid', *kīrtiyā*<sup>10</sup> (AV.) 'fame', *panītyā* (VS. xxiii. 33) a metre, *pītyā* 'draught', *puṣṭiyā* (AV. TS.) 'prosperity', *matyā*, *mīhatyā* 'emulation', *vasatyā* 'abode', *vṛṣṭiyā*, *sanyā* (VS. v. 7; TS. IV. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>) 'gain', *su-kīrtiyā* 'praise', *su-matyā*, *su-ṣṭutyā*, *svastyā* (VS.

<sup>1</sup> The only *i*-stem taking *-m* is the pronominal *ki-m*, probably owing to the false analogy of *kā-m*.

<sup>2</sup> LANMAN 377 enumerates the forms.

<sup>3</sup> The Pada text reads *vāri*. According to BR. *vāry ā* here stands for *vāryam ā*.

<sup>4</sup> Also *aryām* formed like a radical *i*-stem (though differently accented).

<sup>5</sup> There are also the transitions from the *i*-declension *pīthim* and *sōbharim*.

<sup>6</sup> Also the transfers from the *i*-declension *aranyānim*, *oṇim*, *śadhīm*, *rātrim* (AV.), *sāhītim* (SV.).

<sup>7</sup> Pronounced *ūrmiā*, sometimes also *pātiā*, *sākhīā*.

<sup>8</sup> *ghṛṇūva* (II. 33<sup>6</sup>) possibly stands for *ghṛṇū-iva* (Pada *-i-iva*), *ghṛṇū* then possibly being a contracted *i* for *ghṛṇyā*; cp. LANMAN 379 (middle).

<sup>9</sup> On the other hand *-yā* is pronounced 5 times as often as *-iā* in the AV.; see LANMAN 380.

<sup>10</sup> All the Mss. but one read *kīrtiyā* or *kīrtiyā*; see WHITNEY's note on x. 627.

VIII. 15; TS. I. 4. 44<sup>1</sup>); (b) otherwise accented: *abhīśastyā* (AV.) 'curse', *āratyā* (AV.) 'malignity', *āvartyā* 'distress', *asānyā* 'thunderbolt', *ākūtyā* 'purpose', *ābhūtyā* 'ability', *īstyā* 'sacrifice', *jālpāyā* 'whispering', *īptyā* (AV.) 'satisfaction', *tvīsyā* 'brilliance', *devā-hūtyā* 'invocation of the gods', *dhṛājyā* 'impulse'; *nābhīyā* (VS. xxv. 9), *pārsnyā* 'heel', *pīramāhyā*, *pīṣṭyā* (TS. III. 1. 5<sup>1</sup>), *prāmatyā*, *bhūtyā* (AV.) 'growth', *bhūmyā*, *rāmhyā* 'speed', *rījyā* 'direction', *rūcyā* (AV.) 'lustre', *vīcyā* 'seduction', *śākyā* (VS. XI. 2; TS. IV. 1. 5<sup>3</sup>) 'power', *śī-bhūtyā* (AV.) 'welfare', *sfnyā* 'sickle', *svādhitāyā* (AV.) 'knife', *hārsyā* 'excitement'.

2. A contracted form in *-ī*<sup>1</sup> is made by 35 stems in the RV. and occurs more than twice as often as the uncontracted *-yā*. The forms occurring are: *ā-cittī* 'thoughtlessness', *ā-prabhūti* 'little effort', *a-vyathī* 'sure-footedness', *āhuti* 'oblation', *ūti*, *ṛju-nīti* 'right guidance', *cittī* 'understanding', *jūṣṭī* 'favour', *dīdhīti* 'devotion', *du-ṣṭutī* and *dī-ṣṭutī* 'faulty hymn', *dhūti*<sup>2</sup> 'thought', *ni-ṣīti* 'kindling', *pāri-viṣṭī* 'attendance', *pūr-ṣīti* 'previous acquisition', *prā-nīti* 'guidance', *prā-bhūti* 'violence', *prā-yati* 'offering', *prā-yuti* 'absence', *matī*, *vartanī* 'felly', *viṣṭī* 'effort', *vīti* 'enjoyment', *vrṣṭī*, *śaktī* and *śākti*, *śruṣṭī*<sup>3</sup> 'willingness', *sā-hūti* 'joint invocation', *su-dīti* 'bright radiance', *sū-nīti* 'good guidance', *su-matī*, *sū-mīti* 'being well fixed', *su-śastī* (Kh. II. 10<sup>2</sup>) 'good recitation', *su-ṣṭutī*, *hāsta-cyuti* 'quick motion of the hand'. Also *su-paptanī* (I. 182<sup>3</sup>)<sup>4</sup> 'with swift flight' (in Pāda with *-ī*); perhaps also the two forms *hetī* (VI. 18<sup>10</sup>) 'missile' and *iṣṭī* (I. 180<sup>4</sup>) 'desire', which occurring before *r-* are given by the Pāda as *hetī*<sup>5</sup> and *iṣṭī*.

a. This form is further shortened to *-ī* in about a dozen words<sup>6</sup> in the RV., occurring altogether some 25 times: *iṣṇi* 'setting in motion', *dīpa-śruti* 'giving ear to', *upābhṛti* 'bringing near', *tri-viṣṭī* 'thrice' (= adv.), *ni-tikṭi* 'haste', *prā-yukti* 'impulse', *vāṣaṭ-kṛti* 'exclamation vāṣaṭ', *sadhā-stuti* 'joint praise', *su-vṛktī* 'excellent praise', *su-śastī* 'good praise', *sv-aṣṭī*, *haviṣ-kṛti* 'preparation of the oblation'. Perhaps also *ā-smṛti* (AV. VII. 106<sup>1</sup>) 'through forgetfulness'.

b. A few forms follow the analogy of the m. in adding *-nā*: *dhāsīnā* 'abode', *nābhīnā*, *prātinā* (VS. xv. 6) 'advance'.

n. There is no certain instance of a neuter I.: *sūcinā* (II. 38<sup>8</sup>) is perhaps an example, but it may be taken as a masculine.

D. m. The stem regularly takes *Guṇa* before adding the normal ending *-e*; e. g. *īṣay-e*. This is a form of frequent occurrence, being made from 44 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *agnāye* (48), *ātraye* (12) N. of a seer, *sandāye* (12), *ghṛīṣvaye* (6) 'gladdening', *dabhītaye* (5) N. of a man<sup>7</sup>. From the VS.: *brāhmāye* 'holy', *bhuvantāye* (xvi. 19) 'earth-extender'(?), *vṛṣṭi-vānāye* (xxxviii. 6) 'rain-winning', *sandhāye* (xxx. 9) 'agreement'.

a. The only two stems not taking *Guṇa* are *pāti-* 'husband' and *sākhi-*, which make *pātye* and *sākhye*<sup>8</sup>. When compounded *pāti-* 'lord' forms its D. regularly as *-pataye*; e. g. *bṛhas-pātaye*<sup>9</sup>, *prajā-pātaye* (VS. xi. 66) 'Lord of Creatures', *amṛhasas-pātaye*

<sup>1</sup> This form is, except in two instances, written with *y* before *ā*, but is to be read with hiatus; it coalesces in the written text with *i* or *ī*, but is not always to be so pronounced.

<sup>2</sup> This is the only contracted form occurring in the independent parts of the AV.

<sup>3</sup> The form *sadhī* (II. 13<sup>2</sup>) is probably an adverb 'to the same goal' from *sādhri-* (LINDNER p. 112), or it might be an inst. f. of *sadhri-* (LANMAN 380<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> See RPR, VII. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. LANMAN 380<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> These occur eight times at the end of a line or stanza, four times at the end of an internal Pāda before vowels, two or three times within a Pāda before vowels.

<sup>7</sup> The stems which form this dative are enumerated by LANMAN 382.

<sup>8</sup> These words are never pronounced as *pātie* and *sākhie*.

<sup>9</sup> This is the only compound in the RV. formed with the D. of *pāti-*.

(VS. VII. 30) 'Lord of distress', *bhūvana-pātaye* (VS. II. 2) 'Lord of the world', *bhūva-pātaye* (VS. II. 6) 'Lord of the atmosphere', *vācās-pātaye* (VS. VII. 1) 'Lord of speech', *saṃvatsā-pātaye* (VS. II. 20) 'Lord of rest'; also in the expressions *kṣetrasya pātaye* (AV.) 'Lord of the Field' and *(bhū)dyāvya pātaye* (AV.) 'Lord of the world', which are virtually compounds<sup>1</sup>; similarly *dīśām pātaye* (VS. XVI. 17)<sup>2</sup>; but *pātaye* *vīśvasya bhūmanas* (VS. XVII. 78) 'Lord of all the earth'.

f. This form is made like the m.; e.g. *iṣṭy-e*. It is very frequent, being formed from 50 stems and occurring over 500 times in the RV. The commonest examples are: *ṛtīye* (88), *pītīye* (67), *sōma-pītaye* (49) 'draught of Soma', *vāja-sātaye* (34) 'winning of booty', *sātīye* (34) 'acquisition', *vītīye* (31), *devā-vītīye* (22) 'feast for the gods', *iṣṭīye* (20) 'impulse'<sup>4</sup>.

a. The form *ūtī* is frequently used as a dative, similarly *an-ūtī* 'no help' once and *vītī* twice. *svastī* occasionally has this value at the end of a Pāda and when it alternates with *svastīye* in v. 51<sup>12</sup>, 13, but it may be intended for an adverb<sup>5</sup>.

b. In the RV. seven stems in -i (all but 2 of which occur in Maṇḍala x), follow the analogy of derivative *ī*-stems and take the ending -ai: *turyai* 'victory', *devā-hūtyai* 'invocation of the gods', *nirṛtyai* 'dissolution', *puṣṭyai*, *bhujyāi* 'favour', *bhṛtyai* 'support', *śrūtyai* 'blessing'. The AV. forms such datives from at least 11 stems; the TS. has *ā-samartiyai* (III. 3. 82) 'non-injury', *dūr-iṣṭyai* (III. 2. 83) 'failure in sacrifice', *śāktiyai* (IV. 1. 11); the VS. has nearly 40: *ā-kṣityai* (VI. 28) 'imperishableness', *ādityai* (I. 30) 'Aditi', *ānu-matyai* (XXIV. 32) 'assent', *ā-bhūtyai* (XI. 64) 'not bursting', *abhi-sastyai* (II. 5), *ā-bhūtyai* (XXX. 17) 'wretchedness', *ā-rāddhyai* (XXX. 9) 'mischance', *ā-ṛṣṭyai* (II. 3) 'safely', *āva-ṛtyai* (XXX. 12) 'distress', *ā-hantyai* (XVI. 18) 'non-killing', *ākūtyai* (IV. 7), *ātyai* (XXX. 9. 17) 'trouble', *ūtkrāntyai* (XV. 9) 'up-triding', *ātai* (XXVII. 45) 'arrival', *kṛṣṭyai* (IX. 22) 'tillage', *dūr-iṣṭyai* (II. 20), *dhṛājyai* (VI. 18), *vīti*: *ai* (XXXIX. 2), *niskṛtyai* (XXX. 9) 'atonement', *pañktyai* (XIII. 58), *prāti-ṣṭhyai* (XV. 10) 'firm footing', *prā-sityai*<sup>6</sup> (II. 20) 'attack', *prāyas-cītyai* (XXXIX. 12) 'expiation', *prētyai* (XXVII. 45), *bhūtyai* (XII. 65), *bhūnyai* (XXIV. 26), *matyāi* (XXIV. 39), *mahyāi* (XXII. 20), *rayyāi* (IX. 22), *vivoktyai* (XXX. 13) 'separation', *vṛṣṭyai* (XXVIII. 28), *vēdyai* (XIX. 16) 'altar', *vṛṇṣṭyai* (XXII. 34) 'dawn', *vṛṇḍdhyai* (XXX. 17) 'failure', *śāntyai* (III. 43) 'quiet', *su-kṣityai* (XXXVII. 10) 'secure dwelling', *hetyai* (XVI. 18) 'missile'.

n. The only form which seems to occur is *śūcaye*.

Ab. m. The stem takes Guṇa, to which -s only, instead of -as, is added; e. g. *ādres*. It is not common, being formed from only 8 or 9 stems in the RV.: *agnēs* (TS. IV. 2. 104; Kh. IV. 65), *āhes*, *udadhēs* 'water-receptacle', *girēs* 'mountain', *ghṛṇēs* 'heat', *tiraści-rājes* (AV.) 'striped across', *parṇa-dhēs* (AV.) 'feather-holder', *prajāpates* (TS. IV. 1. 114), *plāśēs* (AV.) 'intestine', *yōnes*, *vṛṣā-kapes* 'man-ape', *śatā-m-ūtes*<sup>7</sup> 'granting a hundred aids', *sām-rites* 'conflict'.

f. This form is made in the same way as in the m. from 11 stems in the RV.: *ādites*, *āpites* 'entering (*iti*-) into (*api*)', *abhi-sastes*, *abhi-hrutes* 'injury', *āmates* 'indigence', *ārātes*, *āhutes* (AV.), *dhāsēs* 'abode', *dhūrtēs* 'injury', *nṛtes*<sup>8</sup> (AV.), *pāri-ṣūtes* 'oppression', *bhūmes* (AV.), *vasatēs*, *srutēs* 'course'.

a. The RV. has three forms according to the derivative *ī*-declension: *nābhyaś* (x. 90<sup>14</sup>), *bhūmyās* (I. 80<sup>4</sup>), *hetyaś* (x. 87<sup>19</sup>). Besides these the AV. has: *ā-bhūtyās*, *ā-rātyās*, *ā-śastyās* 'imprecation', *āhūtyās*, *kṛṣṭyās*, *deva-hetyās* 'divine weapon', *śiṣṭyās* 'headache'; probably also *yōnyās* in *yōnyeva* (VI. 121<sup>4</sup>) for *yōnyā iva*.

G. m. The regular form of this case is identical with that of the Ab., but is much more frequent, being made from 42 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *agnēs* (55), *vēs* (14), *ādres* (10), *pañēs* (8), *bṛhas-pātes* (6), *sūrēs* (5) 'patron', *ātres* (4), *kavēs* (4), *dhāsēs* (4) 'draught', *bhūres* (4); *pātes* 'lord'

<sup>1</sup> Equivalent to *kṣetra-pāti*- (K.) and *bhūta-pāti*- (AV.).

<sup>2</sup> And a number of other epithets in VS. xvi. 17—23.

<sup>3</sup> *pātaye* otherwise means 'husband'.

<sup>4</sup> LANMAN 382 enumerates the stems which take this dative.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. LANMAN 383 (top).

<sup>6</sup> Used in the sense of the ablative with *pāhi* 'protect from'.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. RICHTER, IF. 9, 5.

<sup>8</sup> This form *nṛtes* is probably an error for *āntes* 'skin'; see WHITNEY's note on AV. VI. 18<sup>3</sup>.

occurs once. Elsewhere are found: *jamād-agnes* (VS. III. 62; Kh. v. 3<sup>6</sup>), *prajāpates* (TS. III. I. 4<sup>1</sup>; Kh. III. 15<sup>13</sup>), *yayās*<sup>1</sup> (Kh. I. 10<sup>2</sup>).

a. The two stems *ari-* and *āvi-* 'sheep' do not take Guṇa, and add the normal ending *-as*: *aryās*<sup>2</sup> which occurs nearly 40 times, and *āryas* which occurs nearly 20 times. The stem *pūti-*, when meaning 'husband', and *sābhi-* do not take Guṇa either, but add the anomalous ending *-ur*: *pūtyur*, *sābhyyur*<sup>3</sup>.

f. This case, identical in form with the m., is made from 11 stems in the RV.: *ādītes*, *abhi-sastes*, *āmates*, *iṣṭās*, *kṛṣṭās* 'tillage', *deva-vītes*, *nīrytes*, *pūṣṭās*, *pīśnes*, *ṛṣṣās*, *vratātes* 'creeper'. This form is also made by at least 8 stems in the AV.

a. Six stems in the RV. form genitives according to the derivative *-i-* declension, occurring 17 times altogether: *anu-matyās*, *drātyās*, *nīrytyās*, *pīśnyās*, *bhūmyās*, *yuvatyās*. In the AV. such forms are made from at least 16 stems and occur over 50 times: *jīmvyās* 'akin' etc. One of these, *ādityās*, occurs also in the TS. (I. 6. 5<sup>1</sup>) and VS. (I. 11).

n. The only example is *bhūras*, which occurs 16 times.

L. This case in all genders ends very anomalously in *-ā* or *-au*. The latter ending occurs more than twice as often as the former in the RV. (272 times to 126), while in the N. A. dual *-ā* is nearly 7 times as frequent as *-au* (1145 times to 171)<sup>4</sup>. The general conditions under which the parallel L. forms *-ā* and *-au* occur<sup>5</sup> are the same as apply to the dual *-ā* and *-au*: *-ā* appears before consonants, *-au* (as *-āv*) before vowels, e. g. *vīr yōnā vasatīv iṣa* (IX. 62<sup>15</sup>) 'a bird in the receptacle as in a nest'. But while the dual *-ā* is the regular form at the end of a Pāda, the L. *-au* is almost exclusively found in that position<sup>6</sup>. As in the dual N. A. and the perfect sing. 1 and 3, the *-ā*-form is doubtless the earlier. It is most probably derived from a locative form with Guṇa (like the D. Ab. G. V. sing.), e. g. *\*agnāy-i*, which dropped the ending (like some other locatives), *\*agnīy* then losing its *y*<sup>7</sup> before consonants and lengthening its *-a*: *agnī*. The later form *agnū* must have been due to the influence of the *u*-stems, the inflexion of which is closely parallel to that of the *i*-stems, through the Sandhi form *-ā* which is common to both<sup>8</sup>.

m. 1. The *-ā* form is made from 7 stems and occurs 40 times in the RV.: *agnā*, *ājā* 'contest', *ūrmā*, *kukṣā* 'belly', *ghṛṇā*, *yōnā*, *su-rabhā*<sup>9</sup> 'fragrant'. The AV. TS. VS. have no *-ā* form in independent passages, but Kh. III. 15<sup>19</sup> has *agnā*.

2. The form in *-au* is taken by 27 stems in the RV.: *agnāu*, *ādrau*, *aratāu*<sup>10</sup> 'manager', *aratnāu* 'elbow', *ājāu*, *ānāu* 'pin of the axle', *ūrmāu*, *gābhastāu* 'hand', *gīrāu*, *gō-patāu* 'lord', *jīrāu*<sup>11</sup> 'stream', *trkṣāu* N. of a prince, *dhvasānāu* 'sprinkler', *nāmucāu* N. of a demon, *nīpātithāu* N. of a man, *paṇḍu*, *pṛt-sutāu* 'hostile attack', *médhyātithāu* N. of a seer, *yajñit-patāu* 'lord of sacrifice', *yōnāu*, *rāthavṛtāu* N. of a man, *vānas-patāu*<sup>12</sup> 'lord of

<sup>1</sup> Emendation for *yayās*.

<sup>2</sup> Once or twice to be pronounced *ariās*.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 25, 289 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. LANMAN 514.

<sup>5</sup> See LANMAN 385 ff.; and cp. for the dual 340 ff. and 574—576.

<sup>6</sup> The L. *-ā* appears only 5 times at the end of a Pāda, and then only in the two forms *devātātā* and *sārvātātā*.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. the N. *sākhā* for *\*sākhāy*. The old L. may be preserved in feminines like *agnāy-i* 'she who is beside Agni'; cp. IF. 12, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. MERINGER, BB. 16, 224.

<sup>9</sup> LANMAN 388<sup>2</sup>, suggests the possibility of restoring *ājāyī* in I. 112<sup>10</sup> and *yōnayī* in X. 46<sup>6</sup>. The n. L. *a-pratā* is used adverbially = 'without recompense' (VIII. 32<sup>16</sup>); cp. BAR-THOLOMAE, IF. 9, 255 f.

<sup>10</sup> BR. would read *aratnāu*.

<sup>11</sup> *jīrī-* may be f. as there is nothing to show the gender of the word.

<sup>12</sup> The form *vānas-patāu* occurs in Kh. II. 10<sup>5</sup> also.

the forest', *śalmaliu* 'silk-cotton tree', *sānītau* 'attainment', *sāmvarāṇau* 'descendant of Samvarana', *syūma-raśmau* N. of a man, *svāddhitau*. The AV. also forms the L. in -au from at least 16 stems; among them appears the uncompounded *pātau* (AV. III. 183) 'husband'<sup>1</sup> as a variant for *jāne* in the corresponding passage of the RV. (X. 145<sup>4</sup>). The TS. has *īhau* (V. 6. 1<sup>2</sup> = AV. III. 13<sup>1</sup>).

f. 1. The form in -ā is made from 21 stems in the RV.: *avīnā* 'river-bed', *āja*, *īdītā* 'sunrise', *keśtra-sātā* 'acquisition of land', *gō-sātā* 'winning of cows', *tokā-sātā* 'attainment of offspring', *devā-tātā* 'worship of the gods', *dyumnd-sātā* 'obtainment of strength', *nābhā*, *nī-sātā* 'capture of men', *nemā-dhītā* 'conflict', *prātā*, *prā-bhītā* 'offering', *medhā-sātā* 'receiving the oblation', *yāma-hūtā* 'invocation by prayer', *śūra-sātā* 'battle', *sām-rtā*, *sarvā-tātā* 'perfect prosperity', *sātī*<sup>2</sup>, *srutā*, *svār-sātā* 'attainment of heaven'. The AV. has *nābhā* (VII. 62<sup>1</sup>); and the SV. reads *śāntātā* 'beneficent', as a variant for *śāntātī* of RV. VIII. 18<sup>1</sup>. The TS. and VS. have no independent L. f. in -ā.

2. The form in -au is more than twice as frequent, being made from 49 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are *sātāu* (17), *vīja-sātāu* (16), *vyaṣṭāu* (16) 'flush of dawn', *abhīṣṭāu* (10) 'help', *su-matāu* (14), *gāvīṣṭāu* (7) 'fight', *iṣṭāu* (6), *rātāu* (5), *pūrvā-hūtāu*<sup>3</sup> (5) 'first invocation'. The AV. makes this form from 7 stems in independent passages. The TS. has *īdītāu* (I. 8. 12<sup>3</sup>), *pūrvā-cittāu* (IV. 2. 10<sup>2</sup>) 'first thought'; the VS. *ratha-nābhāu* (XXXIV. 5) 'chariot nave', *rātrau* (XXIII. 4) 'night'; and Kh. I. 11<sup>4</sup> *śūra-sātāu*.

a. There are 5 locatives f. formed according to the derivative  $\bar{r}$ -declension with the ending -ām: *pūramāhīyām*, *bhūmyām*, *bhṛtyām*, *yuvatyām*, *sām-gatyām* 'assembly'. The AV. has 9 more: *ācyām*, *ākūtyām*, *cītyām*, *devā-hūtyām*, *prstyām* 'rib', *bhūtyām*, *yōnyām*, *vēdyām* (+ VS. XXVIII. 12), *sāmityām* 'assembly'. The VS. has *sanyām* (VIII. 54).

b. The locative *vēdī*<sup>4</sup> occurring twice (VI. 11<sup>0</sup>; II. 3<sup>4</sup>) is the only one formed from an  $\bar{i}$ -stem with the normal ending -ī (= *vēdī-i*). The form *prānīti* may also possibly be a L. in III. 51<sup>7</sup>.

L. n. The only form in -ā is *a-pratā* (VIII. 32<sup>16</sup>) 'without recompense' (used adverbially), and the only one in -au is *saptā-raśmau* (AV. IX. 5<sup>15</sup>) 'seven-rayed'.

V. This case regularly gunates the final vowel in the m. and f. It is very frequent in the m., being formed from 72 stems and occurring over 1100 times in the RV. In the f. it is not common, being formed from only 11 stems and occurring only 27 times in the RV.

m. The commonest examples are: *agne*<sup>5</sup> (799), *pate* (35), *bṛhas-pate*<sup>6</sup> (32), *kave* (26), *brahmanas-pate* (17), *vanas-pate* (14), *āghṛṇe* (13) 'glowing', *sat-pate* (13) 'lord of the seat', *sakhe* (11)<sup>7</sup>. In Kh. I. 5<sup>7</sup> the anomalously formed compound *bhuvanās-pate*<sup>8</sup> 'lord of the world' occurs; in the VS. *ānghāre* (IV. 27) a guardian of Soma, *dṛte* (XXXVI. 18) 'bag', *drāpe* (XVI. 47) 'causing to run', *bāmbhāre* (IV. 27) a guardian deity of Soma, *bhuvanās-pate* (IV. 34) 'lord of the earth', *śāteṣudhe* (XVI. 13) 'hundred-quivered', *sapte* (XXIX. 2) 'steed'.

a. The V. *sobhāre* is a transfer from the  $\bar{r}$ -declension; and the compounds *pāvaka-śoce*, *bhadra-śoce*, *śukra-śoce* are transfers from the -is declension, doubtless meant to avoid the unusual form -śocis in the V.

<sup>1</sup> The RV. has only the form *pātyau* 'husband'.

<sup>2</sup> For this form in VI. 46<sup>1</sup> the SV. and VS. have the variant *sātāu*.

<sup>3</sup> This form occurs also in AV. V. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. RPr. I. 28; II. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Written with Pluti VS. VIII. 10: *āgnāsi*.

<sup>6</sup> Once (IX. 80<sup>1</sup>) with double accent *bṛhas-pāte*.

<sup>7</sup> In *mahe-mate* 'O great-souled' (Indra), the first member is anomalously gunated as well as the second; cp. *mahe-nadī* 'O great stream'.

<sup>8</sup> Formed like *vanas-pate*.

f. The forms occurring in the RV. are: *adīte*, *anumate*, *asu-nīte* 'spirit-world', *iṣṭe*, *upa-māte*<sup>1</sup> 'granting (of wealth)', *ṛjīte* 'radiant', *bhūme*, *mate*, *yuvate*, *satyatāte*<sup>2</sup> 'truth', *sv-aṅgure* 'fair-fingered'. The AV. has *darve*<sup>2</sup> 'spoon'; the VS. *svadhīte*.

a. There is also the transfer *oṣadhe* from the *ī*-declension.

Du. N. A. V. This form ends in *-ṛ*<sup>3</sup> and can be used in all genders alike. The *m.* is very frequent, being made from 72 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *indrāgnī* (78) 'Indra and Agni', *hārī* (78), *pātī* (33), *subhās-pātī* (21) 'lords of light'. Elsewhere also occur: *sa-tātī* (TS. III. 2. 2<sup>2</sup>) 'continuous'; *bhūri-raśmī* (Kh. IV. 22<sup>8</sup>) 'many-rayed'; *viśva-vāpātī* (Kh. II. 22<sup>8</sup>) 'extending (?) everywhere'. The final vowel is shortened in *sakṣāṇī* (x. 32<sup>1</sup>) 'united'.

f. The forms occurring in the RV. are: *itā-ntī* 'extending from hence', *ntī*, *ījīti*, *jāmi*, *dārvī*, *dyāvā-bhūmī* 'heaven and earth', *dhārayāt-kavī* 'protecting the wise', *pūramdhī*, *bhūjī* 'patrons', *yuvatī*, *vāsu-dhītī* 'treasuries', *śīci*, *sā-yonī* 'of the same origin', *su-prātūrtī* 'very victorious', *srutī*.

n. The only two regular forms are *śīci*<sup>4</sup> and *tigmā-hetī* (AV.) 'having a keen thrust'; also *māhi* (with shortened final)<sup>5</sup>. There are besides one or two secondary forms with *-nī* made under the influence of the *n*-declension: *ākṣiṇī* (AV.) 'eyes' and perhaps *hāriṇī* (IX. 707) from *hārī*<sup>6</sup>.

I. m. *indrāgnibhyām*, *dāmpatibhyām* (AV.) 'husband and wife', *hāribhyām*. —

f. *varṇanibhyām*, *śrōṇibhyām* (VS. XXV. 6) 'hips'. — n. *sākṭibhyām* 'thighs'.

D. m. *indrāgnibhyām*, *indrā-bṛhaspātibhyām* (VS. VII. 23) 'Indra and Bṛhaspati', *hāribhyām*<sup>7</sup>.

Ab. m. *kukṣibhyām* (AV. VS.) *pāṇibhyām* (AV.). — f. *pārṣṇibhyām*, *śrōṇibhyām*. — G. m. *indrāgnyōs*, *hāryōs*. — f. *yuvatyōs*.

L. m. *kukṣyōs*, *gābhastyōs*<sup>8</sup>, *hāryōs*. — f. *jāmyōs*; *gavīnyōs* (AV.) 'groins', *pārṣṇyōs* (AV.). — n. *sākṭhyōs* (VS. XXIV. 1).

Pl. N. V. This form gunates the final vowel of the stem, adding the normal ending *-as* in the *m.* and *f.*; e. g. *agnīdy-as*, *ūtīdy-as*. It is of very frequent occurrence, but is nearly twice as common in the *m.* as the *f.*

m. This form is made from 109 stems in the RV. and occurs 523 times. The commonest examples are: *kavdyas* (45), *vādyas* (38), *sūrādyas* (36), *hārādyas* (31), *agnādyas* (27), *dārādyas* (26), *īṣādyas* (26), *śīcādyas* (18), *pātādyas* (16), *raśmādyas* (16), *vāhādyas* (15) 'conveyers'. In the VS. also occur: *ajāvādyas* 'goats and sheep' (III. 43), *vīṣa-pāṇādyas* (XXIX. 44) 'strong-hoofed', *vrīhādyas* (XVIII. 12) 'rice-plants'.

a. The stem *arī-*, being the only *i*-stem that does not take Guna, forms its N. pl. like the B group of the radical *ī*-stems (except the accent): *ary-ās*, which occurs 16 times in the RV.

b. The form *ā-hrayas* 'shameless' is a transfer from the radical *ī*-declension, and *sābharāyas* 'descendants of Sobhari' from the derivative *ī*-declension.

f. This form is made from 66 stems and occurs 290 times in the RV. The commonest examples are: *ūtādyas* (42), *dhītādyas* (21), *matīdyas* (20), *ārātādyas* (18), *rātādyas* (18), *krṣṭādyas* (17), *ksītādyas* (13) 'races', *jānādyas* (12), *vrṣṭādyas* (12).

a. The stem *arī-* has the same anomalous form as in the *m.*: *ary-ās*, which occurs 4 times in the RV.

<sup>1</sup> Agreeing with *agne*.

<sup>2</sup> The VS. (II. 49) has *darvi* from *dārvī* = *dārvī*-. The VS. (VIII. 43) also has *vi-brutī* which seems to be an irregular V. for *vi-brute*; cp. pw. s. v.

<sup>3</sup> The derivative *-i*, *-u* and *-ī* stems are the only ones which do not take *-ā* or *-au* in the dual.

<sup>4</sup> Occurring in X. 85<sup>12</sup> and possibly IV. 56<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Occurring X. 97<sup>54</sup> and perhaps also IV. 56<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> BR. and GRASSMANN place this form under *hārīta*-.  
<sup>7</sup> No n. forms occur in the D. Ab. dual.

<sup>8</sup> This word may be f. also.

b. About 10 *i*-stems in the RV. have also N. pl. forms according to the derivative *i*-declension: *avānīs*<sup>1</sup> 'streams', *ajānīs* 'births', *ātīs*<sup>1</sup>, *nāktīs* 'nights', *nūyītīs*, *nīṣṭītīs*, *pīraṇdītīs*, *bhūmītīs*<sup>1</sup>, *viśvā-kṛyītīs*<sup>1</sup> 'dwelling among all men', *sā-yonīs*. The AV. also has: *angūtīs*, *ṛyītīs* 'spears', *dhamānīs* 'tubes', *nābītīs*, *pāṣṣūtīs*, *ṛyītīs*.

c. The stems *yayī-* 'speeding', *śubhri-* 'shining', *karkarī-* 'lute' form their N. pl. according to the radical *i*-declension: *yayīyas*, *śubhriyas* (AV.), *karkariyas* (AV.).

d. Some *i*-stems have transfer forms according to the *i*-declension: *ambāyas*, *arūṇāyas*, *kṛpāyas*; *śādhāyas*, *sākṣarāyas* (TS. v. 4. 12<sup>2</sup>; VS. xviii. 22). The TS. has also: *garbhīṇāyas* (II. 1. 2<sup>3</sup>), *pātṇāyas* (V. 2. 11<sup>2</sup> etc.), *revātāyas* (V. 2. 11<sup>3</sup>), *vāṇātāyas* (IV. 1. 6<sup>2</sup>).

**N. A. n. i.** The normal form, in which the ending *-i* coalesces with the final of the stem to *-ī*, is made from 4 stems in the RV.: *a-pratī*<sup>2</sup> 'irresistible', *krīdhnī* 'irascible', *trī* 'three', *śīcī*. The final vowel of this form is further shortened in six stems: *apratī*, *a-sthūrī* 'not single-horsed', *jāmī*, *bhūrī*, *sāmi*<sup>3</sup> 'work', *surabhī*. The AV. has also *māhi* (besides *apratī* and *bhūrī*). The forms in *-i* and *-ī* (which are of about equal frequency) taken together occur about 50 times in the RV.

2. There is a secondary form (following the analogy of the *n*-stems) in *-īni*, which is taken by 4 stems having the primary form also: *apratīni*, *bhūrīni*, *śīcīni*, *surabhīni*. These forms occur about 14 times. The AV. has also *ākṣīni* and *āsthīni*; the latter form occurs in the TS. as well (v. 7. 2<sup>1</sup>); the VS. has *śīgīni* (xxxix. 8) 'entrails'.

**A. m.** The ending *-n* here (as in the *-a* and *-u* declension) represents original *-us*, which in one half (42) of the total occurrences (84) of these forms in *-in* in the RV. is preserved as *-us* or (before vowels) *-ur*. This A. is made from 31 stems in the RV<sup>4</sup>. The commonest examples are *sūrīn* (14), *vānas-pātīn* (11), *paṇīn* (9), *raśmīn* (6), *sākhīn* (5), *girīn* (4)<sup>5</sup>. The TS. also has *dādhi-patīn* (I. 6. 6<sup>1</sup>) 'lords', *āhīn* (iv. 5. 1<sup>2</sup>; VS. xvi. 5); the VS. has *tittīrīn* (xxiv. 20) 'partridges', *lājīn*<sup>6</sup> (xxiii. 8) 'parched grain', *sācin*<sup>6</sup> (xxiii. 8) 'groats'.

a. The stem *arī-* is the only one which does not take *-n*, but adds the normal ending *-as* instead, the A. *arīas* (which occurs 7 times in the RV.) being thus identical with the N. pl. The stem *vī-* in its only occurrence (I. 104<sup>2</sup>) in the A. pl. uses the N. pl. form *vāyas*.

f. This form, which is made by adding simple *-s* (instead of *-as*), e. g. *bhūmīs*, occurs from 42 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are *drātīs* (16), *kṛṣṭīs* (16), *kṣītīs* (8), *carṣaṇīs* (7) 'people', *pīraṇdītīs* (7), *avānīs* (6), *āśastīs* (5)<sup>7</sup>. The TS. has *abhiṣṭīs* (v. 4. 14<sup>2</sup>), *āmatis* (III. 1. 4<sup>4</sup>), *yōmīs* (I. 5. 3<sup>3</sup>), *vyūṣṭīs* (iv. 3. 11<sup>4</sup>); and *sācīs* occurs in a Khḍa (p. 171, 6)<sup>8</sup>.

a. As in the m., the stem *arī-* has *arīas* (occurring 4 times). Two N. forms, *citrōtāyas* (X. 140<sup>3</sup>) 'granting wonderful gifts' and *śīcāyas* (AV. v. 1<sup>3</sup>), appear to be used for the A.

**I. m.**<sup>9</sup> This form is made with the regular ending *-bhis* from 40 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are *ādribhis* (43), *raśmībhis* (36), *pathībhis* (28) 'paths', *hāribhis* (23), *sākhībhis* (15), *sūrībhis* (14), *agnībhis* (10), *añībhis* (10) 'ornaments', *ṛṣībhis* (10), *vībhis*<sup>10</sup> (9). — From the VS.: *plāsībhis* (xxv. 8).

<sup>1</sup> Beside *avānāyas*, *ūtāyas*, *bhūmāyas*, *viśvā-kṛṣṭāyas*.

<sup>2</sup> The Pada text has *apratī*.

<sup>3</sup> BR. set up a n. stem *sāmi-* beside f. *sāmi-*. GRASSMANN recognizes *sāmi-* only, making *sāmi* always the I. sing. with shortened final vowel. Cp. the I. sing. of *sāmi-* above (p. 274).

<sup>4</sup> LANMAN 395 enumerates the stems which take this accusative.

<sup>5</sup> On the Sandhi of the final *-n* in this form see LANMAN 394 f.

<sup>6</sup> Written with *pluti* in the text as *lājīn*, *śācīn*.

<sup>7</sup> The stems which take this form in the RV. are enumerated by LANMAN 395.

<sup>8</sup> See SCHEFTELOWITZ' note, p. 171 (bottom).

<sup>9</sup> No n. form occurs.

<sup>10</sup> Not accented as a monosyllabic stem.



f. This form is made in the same way as the m. from 48 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *utibhis* (100), *svatibhis* (82), *matibhis* (37), *dhutibhis* (27), *su-ryktibhis* (18).

a. The form *utī* is used 9 times as an I. pl. in the RV., as is shown both by the sense and by the forms agreeing with it; e. g. *tvābhir utī* (II. 202) 'with thine aids'.

b. A transfer from the *ī*-declension is *arātibhis* 'tinder-sticks'.

D. m. This form is made with *-bhyas* from 9 stems in the RV.: *āsva-patibhyas* (VS. XVI. 24) 'masters of horses', *ṛṣibhyas*<sup>1</sup>, *gaṇā-patibhyas* (VS. XVI. 25) 'lords of troops', *dāsāvanibhyas* 'having ten courses', *pātibhyas*, *yātibhyas* N. of a race, *raśmibhyas* (VS. XXII. 28), *vī-bhyas*<sup>2</sup>, *vrāta-patibhyas* (VS. XVI. 25) 'lords of companies', *śūcibhyas*, *śvā-patibhyas* (VS. XIV. 28) 'masters of dogs', *sākhībhyas*, *sanībhyas*, *sandhībhyas* (VS. XXIV. 25), *sūrībhyas*.

f. *ksitibhyas*, *carṣāṇibhyas*, *deva-jāmibhyas* (VS. XXIV. 24) 'sisters of the gods'. There is also the transfer from the *ī*-declension *nārībhyas* 'women'.

Ab. m. This case, identical in form with the D., is made from 12 stems in the RV.: *agnibhyas*, *ātribhyas*, *kavāribhyas* 'niggardly', *girībhyas*, *paṇibhyas*, *pavibhyas*, *plāṣibhyas*, *yōnibhyas* (VS. XIII. 34), *vānas-pātibhyas*, *vibhyas*<sup>2</sup>, *sākhībhyas*, *sanībhyas*, *sthivibhyas* 'bushels'. — f. *aṇhatibhyas* 'distresses', *aṅgilībhyas* (AV.), *ksitibhyas*, *carṣāṇibhyas*, *jānibhyas*, *dhamānībhyas* (AV.) 'blasts'. — n. *asthībhyas*<sup>3</sup> (AV. II. 33<sup>6</sup>).

G. m. This form is made from 28 stems in the RV.: (a) oxytones are *agninām*, *kavinām*, *giriṇām*, *carṣaṇnām*, *deva-jāminām* (AV.), *nidhīnām* 'treasures', *paṇinām*, *pathīnām*, *maṇinām* (AV.), *mathīnām*<sup>4</sup>, *rayīnām*, *vāpīnām*<sup>5</sup> (AV.), *vīnām*, *sanīnām*<sup>6</sup>; (b) otherwise accented: *ātriṇām*, *dvīnām*, *dhīnām*, *ṛṣīnām*, *gandhārīṇām* N. of a people, *carḍṇīnām* 'active', *tuviṣvāṇīnām* 'loud-roaring', *dhīnīnām* 'roaring', *mahi-śvānīnām* 'very noisy', *mīnīnām* 'seers', *vānas-pātīnām*, *vī-mathīnām* 'very great', *vyātīnām* 'steeds', *śūcīnām*, *sākhīnām*, *hārīnām*, *haviṛ-māthīnām*<sup>7</sup> 'disturbing sacrifices'. Also *grhā-pātīnām* (VS. IX. 39) 'householders', *dharma-pātīnām* (VS. IX. 39) 'guardians of law'.

f. This form is made from 18 stems in the RV.<sup>8</sup>: (a) oxytones: *kavinām*, *keṛṣṭīnām*, *ksitīnām*, *carṣaṇīnām*, *jāmīnām*, *dur-matīnām* 'hatred', *dhautīnām* 'wells', *puṣṭīnām*, *matīnām*, *rayīnām*, *su-ksitīnām*, *su-matīnām*, *su-śrutīnām*; (b) otherwise accented: *arātīnām*<sup>9</sup> (Kh. I. 5<sup>5</sup>), *līpa-stutīnām* 'invocations', *jānīnām*, *nīrṛtīnām*, *māritīnām* 'particles of light', *śūcīnām*.

L. m. This form is made with the ending *-su*, which becomes *-ṣu*, from 16 stems in the RV.: *ā-kaviṣu* 'not wise', *agnīṣu*, *aṅgīṣu*, *d-samātīṣu* 'incomparable', *ājīṣu*, *āpīṣu* 'kinsmen', *ṛṣīṣu*, *khādīṣu* 'rings', *girīṣu*, *nidhīṣu*, *pathīṣu*, *pavīṣu*, *yōnīṣu*, *raśmīṣu*, *śubhṛīṣu*, *sārīṣu*.

f. This form is made from 21 stems, all but three of which (*a-vyathī-*, *jāmi-*, *śubhṛī-*) end in *-ti-*: *abhi-mātīṣu* 'plots', *a-vyathīṣu*, *iṣīṣu*, *ūtīṣu*, *ṛṣīṣu*, *keṛṣīṣu*, *ksitīṣu*, *gāv-iṣīṣu*, *jāmīṣu*, *dvī-iṣīṣu* 'devotions', *devā-hūtiṣu*, *pāriṣīṣu* 'distresses', *puṣṭīṣu*, *prā-nītiṣu*, *prā-tūtiṣu* 'speedy motions', *prā-yuktiṣu*, *prā-śastiṣu* (TS. I. 7. 7<sup>4</sup>; VS. IX. 6) 'praises', *yāma-hūtiṣu*, *rātīṣu*, *vyuṣṭīṣu*, *śubhṛīṣu*, *sātīṣu*. The form *nārīṣu*<sup>10</sup> is a transfer from the *ī*-declension.

n. The only example that occurs is *bhūrīṣu*.

<sup>1</sup> Once accented *ṛṣibhyas* in Vāḷakhilya XI. 6, doubtless an error.

<sup>2</sup> Not accented as a monosyllabic stem.

<sup>3</sup> With wrong accent for *āstībhyas*; cp. *asthībhyas* (VS. XXIII. 44).

<sup>4</sup> Vā. 5<sup>8</sup>; BR. and GRASSMANN would read *matīnām*, which is actually the reading of the Kashmir Ms.: SCHEFELOWITZ, Die Apokryphen des R̥gveda 40.

<sup>5</sup> See WHITNEY's note on AV. XIX. 24<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Also the numeral *trīnām*.

<sup>7</sup> In about a dozen out of 128 occurrences resolution of *-ām* to *-aam* seems necessary.

<sup>8</sup> Resolution of *-ām* to *-aam* seems to be necessary in 4 out of 98 occurrences.

<sup>9</sup> Wrong accent for *arātīnām*.

<sup>10</sup> On the other hand *svāhā-krīṣu* is a transfer from this to the *ī*-declension.

## 5. a. Radical ū-stems.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 400—419. — WHITNEY, Grammar 348—352.

**382.** This declension comprises strictly speaking only m. and f. stems; for the few distinctively n. forms which occur are made only from stems in which the *ū* is shortened and which therefore in form belong to the *ī*-declension. The normal endings, as they appear in the inflexion of consonant stems, are taken throughout. The G. pl., however, adds the ending *-nām* to compound stems<sup>1</sup>; and the N. sing. always has *-s*.

This declension contains seven monosyllabic stems, one of which is m., five f., and one m. and f.; two reduplicated f. substantives and one adjective; and about 60 compounds, almost exclusively adjectives, made with the roots *jū* 'speed', *dyū* (*dīyē*) 'play', *pā* 'purify', *bhū* 'be', *sū* 'swell', *sū* 'bring forth', *hū* 'call', and with the modified forms *krū*, *gū* 'go', *drū* 'run', *snū* 'drip', which may be treated as roots. The stems occurring are: **1. monosyllables:** m. *jū* 'speeding', 'steed', *sū* 'begetter'; f. *dū* 'gift', *bhū* 'earth', *bhrū* 'brow', *sū* 'mother', *syū* 'thread' (VS.), *srū* 'stream'. **2. reduplicated stems:** *juhū* 'tongue', *juhū* 'sacrificial spoon', *jūgū* 'singing aloud'. **3. compounds** (in the alphabetical order of the roots): *apī-jū* 'impelling', *kaśo-jū* 'hastening to the water (?)', N. of a man, *dht-jū* 'inspiring the mind', *nabho-jū* 'cloud-impelling', *mano-jū* 'swift as thought', *yātu-jū* 'incited by 'demons'', *vayo-jū* 'stimulating strength', *vasū-jū* 'procuring goods', *viśva-jū* 'all-impelling', *sadyo-jū* 'quickly speeding', *senā-jū* 'swift as an arrow'. — *eka-dyū* m. N. of a seer, *kama-dyū* f. N. of a woman. — *agre-pū*<sup>2</sup> 'drinking first', *ulā-pū* 'purified by water', *keta-pū* (VS. TS.) 'purifying the will', *ghṛta-pū* 'clarifying ghee', *madhu-pū* 'purifying itself by sweetness', *vāta-pū* 'purified by the wind', *viśvā-pū* m. N. of a man, *su-pū* 'clarifying water', *sva-pū* 'broom'. — *an-ābhū* 'disobedient', *abhi-bhū* 'superior', *ā-bhū* 'present', *pari-bhū* 'surrounding', *punar-bhū* 'being renewed', *puro-bhū* 'being in front', *pra-bhū* 'excelling', *mayo-bhū* 'causing pleasure', *vi-bhū* 'far-extending', *viśvā-bhū* 'being everywhere', *viśvā-sambhū* 'beneficial to all', *sam-bhū* 'beneficent', *sacā-bhū* 'associate', *su-bhū* 'good', *svayam-bhū* 'self-existing', *sv-ābhū* 'helping well'. — *surā-sū* 'exultant with liquor'. — *a-sū* 'not bringing forth', *a-sūsū* (AV.) 'barren', *nava-sū* 'having recently calved', *pūrva-sū* 'bringing forth first', *prā-sū* 'bringing forth', *yama-sū* 'bringing forth twins', *raha-sū* 'bringing forth secretly', *rāja-sū* 'king-creating', *viśva-sū* 'all-generating', *vīra-sū* 'hero-bearing', *sakṛt-sū* 'bringing forth once', *su-sū* 'bringing forth easily'. — *ā-hū* 'invoking', *u-hū*<sup>3</sup> 'crying aloud', *varṣā-hū* (VS.) f., *sumna-hū* (TS.) 'invoking favour', *su-hū* (VS.) 'invoking well'. — *mitra-krū* f. a kind of demon. — *agre-gū*<sup>4</sup> 'moving forwards'. — *raghu-drū* 'running swiftly'<sup>5</sup>. — *ghṛta-snū* 'dripping ghee'<sup>6</sup>.

**a. Vocalic pronunciation.** Before vowels the *ū* has regularly a vocalic value in pronunciation. In monosyllabic stems it is always written as *-uv*; generally also in compounds even when preceded by a single consonant. In the minority of compounds (some 9 stems in the RV.) it is written as *v*, but pronounced as a vowel. In the latter instances it is always given as *u* below; e. g. *vibhūā* as *vibhūā*.

**b. Accentuation.** Except in the monosyllabic stems, which follow the general rule, the accent remains throughout on the same syllable, which is almost always the radical one.

<sup>1</sup> The monosyllabic and the reduplicated stems, on the other hand, added *-ām*, as far as can be inferred from *bhuvām* and *jōguvām*, the only examples which occur.

<sup>2</sup> *pū* here = *pā* 'drink'.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps an onomatopoeic word.

<sup>4</sup> *gū* here = *gā* 'go'.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. LANMAN 402.

<sup>6</sup> About a dozen of the above compounds (all but 3 or 4 of them being formed with *bhū*) also shorten the final of the stem, which is then inflected like an *ū*-stem.

## Inflexion.

383. The inflexion is identical in the m. and f. Several of the cases do not occur at all in the m., viz. Ab. L. V. sing., I. D. Ab. G. L. du., D. Ab. pl. In the monosyllabic stems several cases are wanting in both genders, viz. A. D. V. sing., and all the cases of the pl. except the N. A. G. The forms actually occurring, if made from *bhū-* f. 'earth' and the adjectives *ā-bhū-* 'present' and *vi-bhū-* 'far-reaching', would be as follows:

I. Sing. N. *bhūs*. I. *bhuvā*. Ab. *bhuvās*. G. *bhuvās*. L. *bhuvī* (VS.). Du. N. *bhūvā*. I. *bhūbhyām* (VS.). L. *bhuvās*. Pl. N. *bhūvas*. A. *bhūvas*. G. *bhuvām* (VS.).

2. Sing. N. *ābhūs*; *vibhūs*. A. *ābhūtam*; *vibhūtam*. I. *ābhūvā*; *vibhūvā*. D. *ābhūve*; *vibhūve*. Ab. f. *vibhūvas* (AV.). G. m. *ābhūvas*.

Du. N. A. *ābhūvā*. Pl. N. *ābhūvas*; *vibhūvas*. A. m. f. *ābhūvas*; f. *vibhūvas*. I. m. f. *ābhūbhis*. G. m. f. *ābhūnām*. L. m. f. *ābhūsu*.

The forms actually occurring are:

Sing. N. m. *jūs* (VS. IV. 17), *sūs*; *eka-dyūs*. — *uda-pūs* (AV.), *keta-pūs* (VS. IX. 1; TS. IV. 1. 1<sup>3</sup>), *madhu-pūs* (AV.), *vāta-pūs* (AV.). — *abhi-bhūs*, *pari-bhūs*, *puro-bhūs*, *pra-bhūs* (AV.), *mayo-bhūs*, *vi-bhūs* (AV.), *viśvā-sambhūs*, *śam-bhūs* (VS. AV.), *sacā-bhūs*, *su-bhūs* (VS. AV.), *svayam-bhūs*. — *sumna-hūs* (TS. IV. 6. 3<sup>4</sup>), *su-hūs* (VS. I. 30) 'invoking well'. — f. *bhūs*, *sūs*, *syūs* (VS. V. 21); *juhūs* (VS.). — *kama-dyūs*. — *abhi-bhūs* (AV.), *punar-bhūs*, *pra-bhūs* (VS. AV.), *mayo-bhūs*, *śam-bhūs* (VS. AV.). — *pra-sūs* (AV.), *yama-sūs*, *raha-sūs*, *vīra-sūs*, *su-sūs*. — *varṣā-hūs* (VS. XXIV. 38) 'frog'.

A. m. 1. *kaśo-jūvam*, *mano-jūvam*, *vasū-jūvam*; *abhi-bhūvam* (AV.), *ā-bhūvam*, *mayo-bhūvam*, *viśvā-sambhūvam*, *śambhūvam*, *sacā-bhūvam*, *sv-ābhūvam*; 2. *viṣṇā-pūvam*; *vi-bhūvam*, *su-bhūvam*. — f. *juhūvam* 'sacrificial spoon'; 1. *kama-dyūvam*, *viśva-jūvam*, *sacā-bhūvam*; 2. *a-sūvam*<sup>5</sup>, *viśva-sūvam* (AV.), *sakṛt-sūvam*.

I. m. 1. *mano-jūvā*, *senā-jūvā*, *sv-ābhūvā*; 2. *vi-bhūvā*. — f. *bhuvā*; *juhūvā* 'tongue' and 'spoon'; 1. *punar-bhūvā* (AV.), *mayo-bhūvā* (TS. I. 8. 3<sup>4</sup>; VS. III. 47). — n. 1. *mayo-bhūvā*; 2. *su-pūvā* (VS. I. 3).

D. m. 1. *abhi-bhūve*, *vi-bhūve* (VS. XXII. 30), *viśvā-bhūve*, *sacā-bhūve*; 2. *viṣṇā-pūve*, *vi-bhūve*, *su-bhūve*.

Ab. f. *bhuvās*; *a-sūsūvas* (AV.). — G. m. *śam-bhūvas*, *sacā-bhūvas*<sup>2</sup>. — f. *bhuvās*. — L. f. *bhuvī* (VS.). — V. f. *jūhu* (AV.).

Du. N. A. m. *mano-jūvā*; *mayo-bhūvā*, *śam-bhūvā*, *sacā-bhūvā*; *ghṛta-snūvā*<sup>3</sup>. — f. *srūvā*; *apt-jūvā*; *punar-bhūvā*, *viśvā-sambhūvā*, *viśvā-sambhūvau* (VS. X. 9), *śambhūvā*, *sacā-bhūvā*. — I. f. *bhrūbhyām* (VS.). — L. f. *bhruvās*.

Pl. N. m. *jūvas*; 1. *ā-duvas*, *ā-bhūvas*, *u-hūvas*, *nabho-jūvas*, *pari-bhūvas*, *mano-jūvas*, *mayo-bhūvas*, *raghu-drūvas*, *vayo-jūvas*, *śam-bhūvas*, V. *sacā-bhūvas* (VS. III. 47), *sadyo-jūvas*, *su-bhūvas*, *sv-ābhūvas*<sup>4</sup>; 2. *vi-bhūvas*, *su-bhūvas*; *sura-śūvas*. — f. *dūvas*, *bhūvas*; *jūhūvas* 'tongues' and 'spoons'; 1. V. *agre-guvas* (VS.), V. *agre-puvas* (VS.), *dūt-jūvas*, *punar-bhūvas*, *mayo-bhūvas*, *mitra-kṛtūvas*; V. *viśva-sambhūvas* (VS. IV. 7); 2. *ghṛta-pūvas*, *nava-sūvas*, *pra-sūvas*, *vi-bhūvas*, *su-bhūvas*.

A. m. *ān-ābhūvas*, *mayo-bhūvas*<sup>5</sup>. — f. *dūvas*, *bhūvas*; *ā-bhūvas*, *ā-hūvas*,

<sup>1</sup> The transition form *a-sūm* (VS.) under the influence of the derivative *ī-* stems also occurs. The form *ayogūm* (VS. XXX. 5) is perhaps of the same kind.

<sup>2</sup> The AV. has also the transition form *punar-bhūvā-ās*.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. LANMAN 413 (middle).

<sup>4</sup> There are also the transfers from the *u-* declension *ā-prāyuvās*, *madhyāyūvas*, *mitrā-yūvas*, *śramayūvas*.

<sup>5</sup> In II. 14<sup>3</sup> *jūs* is perhaps contracted for *jūās*.

*ghṛta-sūkṛas*, *mayo-bhūvas*, *sanā-jūvas*; *pra-sūas*, *rāja-s'ias* (VS. x. 1) 'king-creating', *vi-bhūas*<sup>1</sup>.

I. m. *ā-bhūbhis*. — f. *juhūbhis* 'tongues' and 'spoons'; *sva-piūbhis*.

G. m. *jóguvām*; *yātu-jūnām*. — f. *bhuvām*<sup>2</sup> (VS. xxxvii. 18); *pūrva-sūnām*.

L. m. *ā-bhūṣu*, *puru-bhūṣu* 'appearing to many'. — f. *pra-sūṣu*.

### 5. b. Derivative ū- stems.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 400—419. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 355—359, 362—364.

384. This declension is almost entirely restricted to f.<sup>3</sup> stems, which (like the derivative or B group of the radical *ṛ*- declension) accent the final vowel and in inflexion are practically identical with the radical stems. The f. stems which it comprises may be divided into two groups. The first contains about 18 oxytone f. substantives corresponding in several instances to m. or n. stems in -u accented on the first syllable: *a-grū-* (m. *ā-gru-*) 'maid', *kadrū-* (m. *kādrū-* 'brown') 'Soma vessel', *kukū-* (AV.) 'new moon', *guggulī-* (n. *gūggulu-*) (AV.) N. of an Apsaras, *guigū-* N. of a goddess, *camī-* 'bowl', *jatī-* (n. *jātu-*) (AV. VS.) 'bat', *tanū-* 'body', *dhanū-* (*dhanu-*) 'sandbank' (AV.), *nabhanū-* 'well', *nṛtū-* 'dancer', *prāḍakū-* (m. *pīḍaku-*) 'serpent' (AV.), *prajanū-* (AV.) 'organ of generation', *vadhū-* 'bride', *śvaśrū-* (m. *śvaśura-*) 'mother-in-law', *saranyū-* N. of a goddess; also *kyāmbū-*<sup>4</sup> (n. *kiyāmbu-*) an aquatic plant (AV.). The second group comprises oxytone f. adjectives corresponding to m. oxytones: *amhoyū-* 'troublesome', *aḡhīyū-* 'malicious', *apasyū-* 'active', *abhi-dipsū-* 'wishing to deceive', *arasyū-* 'desiring favour', *asita-jūū-* (AV.) 'black-kneed', *āyū-* 'active', *udanyū-* 'seeking water', *caranyū-* 'movable', *carīṣṇū-* 'moving', *jighatsū-* 'hungry', *tanū-* 'thin', *dīdhīṣū-* 'wishing to gain', *dur-haṇīyū-* 'meditating harm', *durasyū-* 'worshipping', *devayū-* (VS.) 'devoted to the gods', *dravitnū-* 'speeding', *patayālū-* 'flying', *panasyū-* 'glorious', *pārayiṣṇū-* 'victorious', *pṛtanīyū-* 'hostile', *pṛsanīyū-* 'tender', *phalgū-* 'reddish', *bābhṛū-* 'reddish brown', *bībhatsū-* 'loathing', *makhasyū-* 'cheerful', *mādhū-*<sup>5</sup> 'sweet', *mandrayū-* 'gladdening', *mahīyū-* 'joyous', *mumukṣū-* 'wishing to free', *vacasyū-* 'eloquent', *vi-panyū-* 'admiring', *śundhyū-* 'radiant', *sanīyū-* 'wishing for gain', *sūdayitnū-* 'yielding sweetness'; also *su-drū-* 'having good wood' (*dru-*)<sup>6</sup>.

a. Vocalic pronunciation. Before vowels the -ū has almost invariably a vocalic value in pronunciation. It is written as *uv* in the substantives *a-grū-* and *kadrū-*, and in adjectives when the -ū is preceded by *y*, also in *bībhatsū-*<sup>7</sup>. Otherwise though always written as *v* it is (except four or five times at the most in the RV.)<sup>8</sup> here also to be pronounced as a vowel. Hence the forms written in the Samhitā with simple *v* are given below with *ū*.

b. Accentuation. The derivative ū-stems not only accent the final syllable<sup>9</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> VS. xxiv. 25 has the form *śāṭ-pūṣ* a kind of bird.

<sup>2</sup> In the V. *vīśvāṣām bhuvām pate*.

<sup>3</sup> There are only five m. forms: N. *prāśūs* 'guest', *āptā-tanūs* 'whose body is not cooked', *sārva-tanūs* (AV.) 'whose body is entire'; A. *krā-dāśūam* a kind of demon; I. pl. *makṣībhis* 'swift'.

<sup>4</sup> This is the only f. stem in this declension not accented on the final vowel; but TA. vi. 4<sup>1</sup> has the normally accented *kyāmbū-*.

<sup>5</sup> The corresponding m. in this instance is not oxytone, *mādhū-*.

<sup>6</sup> Also as a substantive f. 'good beam'. BR. and pw. however regard *su-drū-* as A. of a m. substantive *su-drū-* 'starkes Holz'.

<sup>7</sup> This is the regular practice in the TS. even when a single consonant precedes the -ū, e. g. *tanūv-am*; cp. IS. 13, 105 f.

<sup>8</sup> *tanvās* 3 times, *camvās* once, *tanvām* perhaps once; cp. LANMAN 408 (top).

<sup>9</sup> Except the f. *kyāmbū-* (AV.) and the two m. *Bahuvrihis* *āptā-tanū-* and *sārva-tanū-*.

retain the accent on that syllable throughout their inflexion. In this respect they agree with the B group of the radical *i*-declension and differ from the ordinary derivative *i*-declension.

c. Transition forms. There is an incipient tendency here to be affected by the analogy of the derivative *i*-stems. The only certain example in the RV. is the L. *śvaśruām* (X. 85<sup>46</sup>) for \**śvaśrūi*; the I. *dravituā* is perhaps another instance<sup>1</sup>. But the AV. has at least 10 such forms: A. *kuhūm*, *tanūm*, *vadhūm*; D. *agrīvāi*, *vadhvāi*, *śvaśrudi*; Ab. *ṣṇar-bhūvās*; G. *urvāruās*<sup>2</sup> 'gourd', *prāḍakūās*, *śvaśruās*; L. *tanūām*. The VS. has A. *ṣṇṣcalūm*, D. *tanvāi*, G. *tanvās*.

### Inflexion.

385. In the L. sing. the *-i* may be dropped in the RV. In the later Samhitās *-m* sometimes appears in the A. for *-am*, and *-ai*, *-ās*, *-ām* are occasionally taken as the endings of the D. G. L. respectively. The ending *-ām* appears once in the RV. also. The forms actually occurring, if made from *tanū-* f. 'body', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *tanūis*. A. *tanūām*. I. *tanūā*. D. *tanūe*. Ab. *tanūas*. G. *tanūas*. L. *tanūi* and *tanū*. V. *tānu*.

Du. N. A. *tanūā*. D. *tanūbhyām*. L. *tanūos*.

Pl. N. *tanūas*. A. *tanūas*. I. *tanūbhis*. D. *tanūbhyas*. G. *tanūnām*. L. *tanūsu*.

The forms actually occurring are:

Sing. N. m. *prāśūis*, *ā-tapia-tanūs*, *sārva-tanūs* (AV.). — f. *asita-jñūs* (AV.), *kuhūs* (TS. AV.), *kyāmbūs*<sup>3</sup> (AV.), *guggulūs* (AV.), *guṅgūs*, *jatūs* (VS.), *tanūs*, *dhanūs* (AV.), *nṛtūs*, *patayālīs* (AV.), *prāḍakūs* (AV.), *phalgūs* (VS. xxiv. 4), *madhūs* (AV.), *vadhūs*, *śundhyūs*, *śvaśrūs*, *saranyūs*.

A. m. *kyādāśhām*<sup>4</sup>. — f. *carīṣṇām*, *jighatsām* (AV.), *tanūām*<sup>5</sup>, *prāḍakūām*<sup>6</sup> (AV.), *vadhūām*, *su-drūām*<sup>7</sup>; *avasyūvām*, *dur-hanāyūvām*, *devayūvām* (VS. I. 12), *makhasyūvām*, *vacasyūvām*, *śundhyūvām*, *su-drūvām* (SV.). — With ending *-m* for *-am*: *kuhūm* (TS. AV.), *tanūm* (TS. AV.), *ṣṇṣcalūm* (VS. xxx. 5), *vadhūm* (AV.; Kh. iv. 5<sup>1</sup>).

I. f. *tanūā*<sup>8</sup>, *vadhūā*; *duvasyūvā*. — D. f. *tanūe*<sup>9</sup>. — With ending *-ai*: *agrīvāi* (AV.), *tanvāi* (VS. xxiii. 44), *babhrvāi* (VS. xx. 28), *vadhvāi*<sup>10</sup> (AV.), *śvaśrudi* (AV.). — Ab. f. *kadrīvās*; *tanūas*.

G. f. *agrīvas*, *śundhyūvas*; *tanūas*<sup>11</sup>, *vadhūas*. — With ending *-ās*: *tanvās* (VS. III. 17), *prāḍakūās* (AV.), *śvaśruās* (AV.).

L. f. *camūi*, *tanūi*<sup>12</sup>. — Without ending: *camū*<sup>13</sup>, *tanū*<sup>14</sup>. — With ending *-ām*: *śvaśruām*; *tanvām*<sup>15</sup> (AV.), *tanūvām*<sup>10</sup> (TS. I. 7. 12<sup>2</sup>).

V. f. *bābhru*, *vādhu*.

<sup>1</sup> Because the accent is shifted to the ending as in the derivative *i*-declension; cp. LANMAN 404.

<sup>2</sup> See LANMAN 411<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The TA. has the normal accentuation *kyāmbū-*; the corresponding stem in the RV. is *kyāmbu-* n.

<sup>4</sup> That the word is m. is probable because *sārva* seems to agree with it (I. 297). The A. m. *ābhūram* 'fearless' is a transfer from the *-u*-declension.

<sup>5</sup> The AV. has *tanvām* once, *tanūām* 16 times. The TS. regularly has *tanūvām* (I. 8. 10<sup>2</sup>, etc.).

<sup>6</sup> The Mss. all read *prāḍakvām*; see WHITNEY's note on AV. x. 4<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> As an adj. in VII. 32<sup>20</sup>, 'made of good wood'; as a subst. in x. 28<sup>8</sup> 'good beam'.

<sup>8</sup> The AV. has *tanūā* 4 times, *tanvā* 5

times. The TS. has *tanūvā* (I. 1. 10<sup>2</sup> etc.) In RV. x. 24<sup>1</sup> *camū* is once perhaps a contracted I; see LANMAN 409.(top).

<sup>9</sup> The AV. has *tanūe* 6 times, *tanvè* 7 times. The TS. has *tanūe*.

<sup>10</sup> The AV. has *vadhvāi* and *vadhvāi* once each.

<sup>11</sup> The AV. has *tanūas* 10 times, *tanvās* 4 times. The TS. has *tanūas*.

<sup>12</sup> Three or four times *tanūi*, metrically lengthened (the Pada has *ī*); cp. LANMAN 411 (bottom). The TS. (IV. 3. 13<sup>1</sup>) has *tanūvī*.

<sup>13</sup> *camū* occurs 6 times, *camūi* once.

<sup>14</sup> *tanū* occurs once, *tanūi* 3 times.

<sup>15</sup> This should doubtless be read *tanvām*; see LANMAN 412.

<sup>16</sup> This form in TS. IV. 2. 6<sup>3</sup> is a variant for the G. sing. *tanvās* of RV. x. 97<sup>10</sup>.

Du. N. A. f<sup>1</sup>. *camlā, tanlā*. — D. f. *hanūbhyām*<sup>2</sup> (TS. VII. 3. 16<sup>1</sup>). — L. *camlos*<sup>3</sup>.

Pl. N. f. 1. *agrīvas, camlas, jatlas* (AV.), *tanlas*<sup>4</sup>, *prātkilas* (AV.), *prajānlas* (AV.). — 2. *amho-yīvas, apasyīvas, avasyīvas, āyīvas, udanyīvas, caranyīvas* (AV.), *didhīlas, paṇasyīvas, pārayīślas, pṛtanāyīvas, pṛśanāyīvas, bibhatsīvas, makhasīvas, mandrayīvas, mahīyīvas, mumukṣīlas, sanāyīvas, sūdayitīlas*. — *yuva-yīś* (IV. 41<sup>8</sup>), agreeing with N. f. *dhīyas*, appears to be a contracted form for *-yī-as*<sup>5</sup>.

A. f. 1. *agrīvas, tanlas*<sup>6</sup>, *nabhanīlas, vadhīlas*<sup>7</sup>. — 2. *abhi-dīpsīlas, dravītnīlas, vi-panyīvas, sūndhyīvas*<sup>8</sup>. — I. m. *makṣībhis*<sup>9</sup>. — f. *tanībhis*. — D. f. *tanībhyas*. — G. f. 1. *tanīnām, vadhīnām* — 2. *aghīyānām*<sup>10</sup> (AV.), *babhrīnām, bibhatsīnām*.

L. f. 1. *camīṣu, tanīṣu*. — 2. *babhrīṣu*.

### 6. a. Radical *u*- stems.

386. There are not many *u*- stems derived from roots originally ending in *-u*, as several of these (about nine) have joined the consonant declension by adding the determinative *-t*<sup>11</sup>. Some eight stems are, however, formed from roots in *-u*, all of them but one (*dyū-*) being compounds. These are: *dyū-* 'day', *abhi-dyū-* 'heavenly'; *mitā-dru-*<sup>12</sup> 'firm-legged', *raghu-drū-* 'running swiftly'; *ā-prā-yu-*<sup>13</sup> 'assiduous'; *ādhrī-gu-*<sup>14</sup> 'irresistible', *vanar-gū-* 'forest-roaming'; *su-śtū-* 'highly praised'<sup>15</sup>. There are besides some 12 stems in which *u* is radical in a secondary sense as representing the shortened form of the vowel of three roots ending in *-ū*<sup>16</sup>. These are: *dhī-jit-* 'inspiring the mind', from *jū-* 'impel'; *su-pū-* 'clarifying well', from *pū-* 'purify'; and compounds of *bhū-* 'be': *ā-pra-bhū-* 'powerless', *abhi-bhū-* 'superior', *ā-bhū-* 'empty', *ud-bhū-* 'persevering', *pari-bhū-* 'surrounding', *puru-bhū-* 'appearing in many places', *pra-bhū-* 'powerful', *mayo-bhū-* 'delighting', *vi-bhū-* 'far-extending', *śam-bhū-* 'beneficent', *su-bhū-* 'good'.

387. The inflexion of these words is identical with that of derivative *u*- stems. Forms which occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. *ādhrī-gus, ā-pra-bhus, pra-bhūs, mayo-bhūs, mitā-drus, vanar-gūs, vi-bhūs, śam-bhūs*<sup>17</sup>. — n. *ā-pra-bhu, ā-prāyu, ā-bhū, ud-bhū* (AV.), *pra-bhū, mayo-bhū, raghu-drū, vi-bhū, śam-bhū, su-bhū*.

A. m. *ādhrī-gum, abhi-dyum, abhi-bhūm* (AV.), *ā-bhūm, pra-bhūm, vi-bhūm*<sup>18</sup>.

I. m. *mayo-bhūnā*. — n. *su-pīnā* (AV.).

<sup>1</sup> There are also two m. transfers from the *u*- declension, *madhūyuvā* and *paśvā*; cp. LANMAN 403 and 413 (mid).

<sup>2</sup> This is really a transition form from the derivative *u*- declension.

<sup>3</sup> *camlos* occurs 14 times, *camvās* possibly once (IX. 96<sup>21</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> Once *tanvās*; see LANMAN 408 (top). The TS. has *tanīvas*.

<sup>5</sup> On *ratha-yīś* (X. 70<sup>5</sup>) standing possibly for *-yīś* = *yī-as*, see LANMAN 415<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> RV. 20 times, AV. 3 times *tanūas*; RV. twice, AV. once *tanvās*. The TS. has *tanīvas*. On WEBER's conjecture (IS. 13, 58) *viśvās* as A. pl. of *\*viśh-* see LANMAN 416<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> The Mss. of the AV. once read *badhvās* (= *vadhūas*).

<sup>8</sup> On *ratha-yīś* (VII. 2<sup>5</sup>) for *-yīś* = *yīas*, see LANMAN 416<sup>3</sup>. The VS. (XXI. 25) has *jatūś*.

<sup>9</sup> This is only a metrical lengthening of the stem vowel (Pada ſū).

<sup>10</sup> Cp. LANMAN 418<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> See above, stems in derivative *-t* (307).

<sup>12</sup> From *dru-* 'run'. On *sādru-* see WHITNEY's note on AV. XV. 71.

<sup>13</sup> From *yu-* 'separate', 'keep away'.

<sup>14</sup> 'going unrestrained', from *gu-* 'go' = *gā*.

<sup>15</sup> The words *sabar-dhū-* 'yielding nectar', and *ā-smṛta-dhru-* 'not caring for enemies', seem to be compounded with *-duh* (*-dhuk*) and *-druh* (*-dhruk*; see pw.).

<sup>16</sup> They are therefore transfers from the radical *ū*- declension, all the N. A. neuters of which are thus formed.

<sup>17</sup> *sabar-dhūs* (VS. v. 26; Kh. iv. 52<sup>0</sup>) = *sabar-dhūh*.

<sup>18</sup> *sabar-dhūm* A. f. = *sabar-dūham*.

- D. m. *ādhrī-gave*, *abhi-dyave*.  
 G. m. *pra-bhās*, *su-śās*. — L. n. *ud-bhāu* (VS. xv. 1), *mitā-drau*.  
 V. m. *adhri-go*, *pra-bho* (AA. iv. 1 = Kh. v. 4)<sup>1</sup>.  
 Du. N. A. V. m. *ādhrī-gū*<sup>2</sup>, *abhi-dyū* (Kh. i. 3<sup>4</sup>), *pari-bhā* (AV.), *puru-bhā*, *puru-bhū*, *vanar-gū*, *śam-bhā*, *śam-bhū*.  
 Pl. N. m. *ādhrī-gāvas*<sup>3</sup>, *abhi-dyavas*, *dhi-jāvas*, *mitā-dravas*<sup>4</sup>, *vi-bhāvas*,  
 V. *vi-bhū-as*<sup>5</sup>. — n. *mayo-bhū*.  
 A. m. *mayo-bhūn*, *dyūn*, *vi-bhūn* (VS. xx. 23).  
 I. m. *dyūbhis*; *ā-prā-yubhis*, *abhi-dyubhis*, *vanar-gūbhis* (AV.), *vi-bhūbhis*.

6. b. Derivative *u*- stems.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 400—419. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 335—346.

388. This declension embraces a large number of nouns of all genders. The masculine stems greatly preponderate, being about four times as numerous as the feminine and neuter stems taken together; while the neuters considerably outnumber the feminines. Thus the N. and A. sing. are formed by about 430 stems in the m., by 68 in the n., and by 46 in the f. in the RV. The normal inflexion which is practically the same in all genders, except the N. A. sing. du. pl. n., is closely parallel to that of the *i*- stems (380). The stem takes Guṇa in the same cases; but while in the *i*- declension only one word (*ari*-) ever uses the unmodified stem, 8 or 9 words may do so here. The endings, too, are closely analogous; but while in the *i*- declension the ending of the L. sing. is always dropped, it is here retained in several words; and while the *n*- declension has affected only the I. sing. of the *i*- declension, it has here affected all the other cases of the singular which take vowel endings. Finally, the accentuation is exactly parallel to that of the *i*- stems.

a. Adjectives in *-u* often use this stem for the feminine also; e. g. *cāru*- 'dear'; otherwise they form the f. in *-ī*, as *tanū*-m., *tanū*-f. 'thin'; or in *-ī*, as *urū*-m., *urū*-f. 'broad', *prthū*-m., *prthū*-f. 'broad', *bahū*-m., *bahū*-f. 'much', *mṛdū*- (AV.) m., *mṛdū*-f. (VS.) f. 'soft'.

b. The 8 stems which are analogous to *ari*- in having forms that attach the normal endings to the unaltered stem are: *paśū*-, *pītū*-, *kṣtu*-, *krātū*-, *mādhū*-, *vāsu*-, *śīśu*-, *śaśra-bāhu*-.

c. Oxytone stems when the final vowel is changed to *u*, throw the accent on a following vowel not as Svarita but as Udātta; they also shift it to the *-nām* of the G. pl. even though the stem vowel does not in that case lose its syllabic value; e. g. *paśū-nām*.

d. Transition forms. 1. There are in the RV. only three forms which follow the analogy of the derivative *i*- declension: D. *iṣv-ai*, G. *iṣv-ās*, *su-vāstv-ās*, all in late passages; the AV. also has *rājīv-ām*<sup>6</sup>. — 2. Transitions to the *ū*- declension appear in the A. *ā-bhūvam*, from *ā-bhūru*-, and in several words formed with the suffix *-yu* which make their N. pl. or du. as *-yuvās*, *-yuvā*. — 3. Besides some 46 I. forms m. and n. sing., there are several transitions to the *n*- declension in the remaining cases of the sing., all neuter forms (except the m. G. *cāruṇas*; D. *mādhune*; Ab. *mādhunas*, *sānunas*; G. *cāruṇas*, *dānunas*, *drūṇas*, *mādhunas*, *vāsunas*; L. *āyuni*, *sānuni*; also a few other forms from the later Samhitās.

## Inflection.

389. The N. sing. m. f. always takes *-s*, the A. simply *-m*. The D. Ab. G. sing. sometimes attach the normal endings to the unmodified stem; but

<sup>1</sup> In the f. V. *prthū-śto* 'broad-tufted', the *u* of the stem *stu* = *stukā*- 'tuft' may be radical.

<sup>2</sup> *ā-smṛta-dhū* = *dsṁṛta-dhū*.

<sup>3</sup> For *ādhrī-gāvas* owing to the false analogy of *gāvas* 'cows'.

<sup>4</sup> There are also the forms according to

the radical *ū*- declension *ā-prāyuvās*, *raghū-drūvas*.

<sup>5</sup> See LANMAN 414<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> The Mss. in AV. vi. 121<sup>2</sup> read *rājīvām*. The only form of this word which occurs in the RV. is the N. sing. *rājīvas*.

they generally gunate the stem, which then adds only -s instead of -as in the Ab. G. The L. sing. sometimes gunates the stem and adds -i, but generally takes Vrddhi without an ending. The V. always gunates the stem. The N. pl. m. f. nearly always gunates the -u, to which the normal ending -as is added. The A. pl. in the m. adds -n, in the f. -s, before which the vowel is lengthened. The G. pl. always takes -nām, lengthening the preceding vowel. The N. A. V. du. m. f. have no ending, simply lengthening the final vowel. The adjective *mādhū* 'sweet' may be used to illustrate the forms actually occurring:

**Sing.** N. m. f. *mādhū*, n. *mādhū*. A. m. f. *mādhūm*, n. *mādhū*. I. m. f. n. *mādhvā*, m. n. *mādhunā*. D. m. f. n. *mādhave*, m. *mādhve*. Ab. m. f. n. *mādhos*, m. n. *mādhvas*, n. *mādhūnas*. G. m. f. n. *mādhos*, m. n. *mādhvas*; n. *mādhūnas*. L. m. f. n. *mādhau*, m. n. *mādhavi*, n. *mādhuni*. V. m. f. *mādhō*, n. *mādhū*.

**Du.** N. A. V. m. f. *mādhū*, n. *mādhvā*. I. m. *mādhubhyām*. D. m. *mādhubhyām*. Ab. m. n. *mādhubhyām*. G. m. *mādhvos*, n. *mādhunos* (AV.). L. m. f. *mādhvos*.

**Pl.** N. V. m. f. *mādhavas*; *mādhvas*. N. A. n. *mādhū*, *mādhū*; *mādhūni*. A. m. *mādhūn*; *mādhvas*, f. *mādhūs*; *mādhvas*. I. m. f. n. *mādhubhīs*. D. m. f. n. *mādhubhyas*. Ab. m. f. *mādhubhyas*. G. m. f. n. *mādhūnām*. L. m. f. n. *mādhūsu*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

**Sing. N. m.** This form is very frequent, being made from 250 stems in the RV. and occurring nearly 900 times. The commonest examples are: *indus* (64) 'drop', *viṣṇus* (34) 'Viṣṇu', *su-krātus* (32) 'skilful', *vāsus* (25) 'good', *ketīs* (23) 'brightness', *r̥bhīs* (21) 'deft', *vāyīs* (20) 'wind', *viśvāyus* (18) 'kind to all men', *sūnīs* (18) 'son', *sīndhus* (17) 'river', *cārus* (16) 'dear', *asmayīs* (16) 'desiring us', *devayīs* (15) 'devoted to the gods', *mānus* (15) 'man'. — *īṣus* 'arrow', otherwise f, is once (VIII. 66<sup>7</sup>) m.

a. The form *yīs* 'moving' is perhaps a corruption in VIII. 18<sup>13</sup>, where BLOOMFIELD (JAOS. 1906, p. 72) would read, for *viṣiṣṭa yīr*, *viṣiṣṭāyūr* = *viṣiṣṭa āyūr*.

b. In VII. 86<sup>3</sup> *diḍḡkṣūpo* perhaps stands for *diḍḡkṣus + ūpo*; but the Pada reads *diḍḡkṣu*, and desiderative adjectives otherwise accent the final syllable; cp. LANMAN 405 (bottom).

f. This form is made from 31 stems and occurs 73 times in the RV. The commonest examples are *dhenīs* (22) 'cow', *sīndhus* (11), *sārus* (4) 'arrow', *vasāyīs* (3) 'desiring goods', *īṣus* (2), *gātīs* (2) 'course', *cārus* (2), *jīvātus* (2) 'life'<sup>1</sup>.

**N. A. n.** This form, which has no ending, is made from 68 stems and occurs over 400 times in the RV. The commonest examples are *mādhū* (77) ('sweetness'), *vāsu* (77) 'wealth', *urū* (51) 'wide', *cāru* (27), *sānu* (18) 'summit', *prīhū* (15) 'broad', *tri-dhātu* (13) 'threefold', *purū* (13) 'much'. The RV. once has *pāsu* and the VS. (XXIII. 30) *pāsū* 'animal'. In other Saṃhitās occur *tālu* (VS.) 'palate', *trāpu* (AV. VS.) 'tin'.

a. The final -u is metrically lengthened in *purū* (12 times), *mithū* (twice) 'wrongly', and *urū* (once)<sup>2</sup>.

b. The metre seems to require the forms *āyu* (III. 49<sup>2</sup>), *jarāmṛtyu* (AV. XIX. 30<sup>1</sup>), *jiṣṇū* (AV. III. 19<sup>1</sup>), *pārayiṣṇū* (AV. VIII. 22<sup>8</sup>), *bahū* (AV. XX. 135<sup>12</sup>), instead of the corresponding forms with -s, *āyus* etc., of the Saṃhitā text.

**A. m.** This form is made from 179 stems and occurs over 700 times in the RV. The commonest examples are: *krātum* (55) 'ability', *ketīm* (34), *gātīm* (33) 'course' and 'song', *indum* (27), *sīśum* (26) 'child', *sīndhum* (22),

<sup>1</sup> LANMAN 406 enumerates the stems which form this N.

<sup>2</sup> The Pada text here always has *purū*, *mithū*, *urū*. Cp. RPr. VII. 9, 19, 31; IX. 3.



*āśīm* (20) 'swift', *urīm* (18), *manyīm* (18) 'wrath', *vāyīm* (18), *aṃśīm* (17) 'shoot', *sūnīm* (17), *dāsyum* (15) 'fiend', *paśīm* (15), *bhānīm* (15) 'lustre', *hujyīm* (15) N. of a man, *sātrum* (15) 'enemy'.

f. This form is made from 15 stems and occurs 50 times in the RV.: *ā-dhenum* 'yielding no milk', *arunā-psum* 'of ruddy appearance', *īsum*, *krīnum* N. of a river, *cārum*, *jāsum* 'resting-place', *jigatnīm* 'speeding', *jīrādānum* 'sprinkling abundantly', *jīvātum*, *dhānum* 'sandbank', *dhenīm*, *bhujyīm* 'viper', *vāsīyīm*, *sārum*, *sindhūm*.

I. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. Four stems in the RV. add the normal ending *-ā*, before which the *-u* is almost invariably pronounced as *v*: *paraśv-ā* 'axe', *paśv-ā*; *krātū-ā*, *śīśv-ā*. — 2. Owing to the influence of the *n*-declension 30 stems in the RV. add *-nā* instead of the normal *-ā*: *aṃśīnā*, *aktīnā* 'light', *an-āśīnā* 'not swift', *a-bandhīnā* 'kinless', *īndunā*, *īṣunā* (Kh. iv. 7<sup>3</sup>)<sup>2</sup>, *urūnā*, *rjīnā* 'straight', *ṛtīnā* 'fixed time', *ketīnā*, *krātūnā*<sup>3</sup>, *ceṭīnā* 'heed', *jīṣṇīnā* 'victorious', *tri-dhātunā*, *dhūmā-ketunā* 'smoke-bannered', *dhṛṣṇīnā* 'bold', *paśīnā*, *bhānīnā*, *mānunā*, *manyūnā*, *ripīnā* 'deceiver', *vagnīnā* 'roar', *vahatīnā* 'bridal procession', *vāyīnā*, *vi-bhīndīnā* 'splitting', *vīṣṇunā*, *vīṣa-psunā* 'of strong appearance', *sādhīnā* 'straight', *su-ceṭīnā* 'benevolence', *sētunā* (TS. iii. 2. 2<sup>1</sup>) 'bridge', *stanayītnīnā* 'thunder', *snūnā*<sup>5</sup> 'summit'.

f. This form is made from 7 stems in the RV. by adding the normal ending *-ā*, before which the *u* is pronounced as a vowel in five stems: *cikītvā* (AV.), *paṇvā* 'praise'; *ā-dhenvā*, *īṣvā* (AV.; Kh. iv. 5<sup>3</sup>)<sup>2</sup>, *mādhvā*, *mehatvā* N. of a river, *rājīvā* (AV.) 'rope', *sārvā*, *su-sārtvā* N. of a river, *hārvā* 'jaw'.

a. Six oxytone stems and also *mīthu-* form instrumentals with interposed *-y-*; they are used adverbially with shift of accent to the ending: *anu-ṣhuyā* 'immediately', *amuyā* 'thus', *āsuyā* 'quickly', *dhṛṣṇuyā* 'boldly', *raghuyā* 'swiftly', *sādhuyā* 'rightly'; *mīthuyā* 'falsely'.

n. This case is made in two ways. 1. The normal ending *-ā* is added directly to the stem. Of this formation there is only one example: *mādhvā*<sup>4</sup> 'honey'. — 2. Owing to the influence of the *n*-declension 15 stems in the RV. add *-nā*: *urūnā*, *krādhīnā* 'defective', *ghṛtā-snūnā* 'dripping with ghee', *jarāyunā* 'after-birth', *tītaūnā* 'sieve', *trṣṇā* 'greedy', *tri-dhātunā*, *dānunā* 'fluid', *drīṇā*<sup>5</sup> 'wood', *dhṛṣṇīnā*, *purūrīnā* 'far and wide', *prthīnā*, *mādhunā*, *vāsūnā*, *sāmunā*, *svādīnā* 'sweet'.

D. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. The ending *-e* is added to the unmodified stem in three words in the RV.: *krātve*<sup>6</sup>, *śīśve*, *sahāsra-bāhve*<sup>7</sup> 'having a thousand arms'. — 2. The ending *e* is added to the gunated final vowel in over 60 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *mānave* (36), *vāyāve* (23), *vīṣṇave* (13), *manyāve* (12), *āyāve* (10) 'living', *sūnāve* (10), *dāsyave* (9), *ripāve* (7), *mṛtyāve* (6) 'death', *pūrāve* (5)<sup>8</sup> 'man'.

f. This case is made in the same way as the second form of the m. from only three stems in the RV.: *jīvātave*, *dhenāve*, *sārave*.

n. This case is formed in three ways. 1. The ending *-e* is added to the

<sup>1</sup> Twice out of 59 occurrences pronounced *krātuā*. The form *krātūā* occurs VS. xxxiii. 72 and twice in the Khilas (iii. 16<sup>2</sup>; v. 6<sup>3</sup>); and in Kh. iv. 53<sup>6</sup> *kartvā* is perhaps meant for *krātūā*.

<sup>2</sup> For the *īṣvā* of AV. v. 5<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The form *krātūnā* occurs 12 times, *krātūā* 59 times, in the RV.

<sup>4</sup> This form also occurs in VS. xx. 56 etc., TS. iv. 1. 8<sup>1</sup> (twice) and Kh. v. 6<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> The words *snū-* and *drī-* are not accentuated as monosyllabic stems because they are the reduced form of the dissyllables *sānu-* and *dāru-*.

<sup>6</sup> *krātve* also occurs VS. xiv. 8; xxxviii. 28.

<sup>7</sup> Pronounced *-bāhuc*.

<sup>8</sup> LANMAN 409 enumerates the stems which take this dative.

unmodified stem in one word: *páśv-e*<sup>1</sup>. — 2. The ending *-e* is added to the gunated stem in two words: *uráve*, *viśváyave*.

3. Owing to the influence of the *n*-declension *-ne* is added to the stem in one word in the RV.: *mádhune*. The AV. also has *kaś'pune* 'mat'.

**Ab. m.** This case is formed in two ways. 1. The normal ending *-as* is added to the unmodified stem in one word only: *pítv-ás* 'draught'. — 2. The ending *-s* is added to the gunated stem in 20 words in the RV.: *amhós* 'distress', *adhvaryós* 'officiating priest', *ṛt's*, *kṛśános* N. of a divine archer, *kṣipañós* 'archer', *gántos* 'course', *tanayitnós* 'thundering', *tanyatós* 'thunder', *devayós*, *ninitśós* 'wishing to blame', *pūrós*, *babhrós* (Kh. v. 15<sup>11</sup>) 'brown', *manyós*, *mṛtyós*, *ririkṣós* 'wishing to injure', *vanīṣṭhós* 'intestine', *vāyós*, *viṣṇos*, *śátros*, *sindhos*, *snós*.

f. This case is made in the same way as the second form of the m. The only two examples are: *dhános* and *vástos* 'dawn'. There is also one transition form due to the influence of the *ṛ*-declension: *iṣv-ās*.

n. This case is made in three ways. 1. The ending *-as* is added to the unmodified stem in one word only: *mádhvas*. — 2. The ending *-s* is added to the gunated stem: *urós*, *drís*<sup>2</sup>, *mádhos* (Kh. IV. 12<sup>1</sup>; TS. IV. 4. 12<sup>1</sup>), *sános*, *svādós*. — 3. Under the influence of the *n*-declension *-nas* is added to the stem: *mádhunas*, *sānunas*.

**G. m.** This case is made in two ways. 1. The ending *-as* is added to the unmodified stem in six words: *paśvós*, *pítvós*; *krátvas*, *mádhvas*, *vásvas*, *śiśvas*<sup>3</sup>. — 2. The prevailing form is made by adding *-s* to the gunated stem, and appears in 70 words. The commonest examples are<sup>4</sup>: *āyós* (22), *viṣṇos* (14), *sindhos* (13), *aktós* (11), *vāyós* (10), *dāsyos* (8), *mānos* (8), *śátros* (5), *kārós* (4) 'singer'.

a. There is a single transition form according to the *n*-declension *cārunas*, which occurs only once (VIII. 5<sup>14</sup>).

f. This case is formed in one way only, like the second form of the m., from 5 stems: *aktós*, *dhenós*, *vástos*, *sardýos* N. of a river, *sindhos*.

n. This case is made like the Ab. n. 1. *mádhvas*<sup>5</sup>, *vásvas*. — 2. The commonest form, made from 8 stems in the RV.: *urós*, *kyós* 'food', *gúggulos* (AV.) 'bdellium', *cāros*, *mádhos* (+ AV.), *vásos* (+ AV.), *vástos* (+ AV.) 'dwelling', *sādhós*, *svādós*. — 3. *cārunas*, *dāmunas*, *drúnas*<sup>6</sup>, *mádhunas*<sup>7</sup>, *vásunas*<sup>8</sup>.

**L. m.** This case is formed in two ways. 1. The normal ending *-i* is added to the gunated final vowel in 7 stems: *ánavi* 'non-Aryan man', *trasádasyavi* N. of a king, *dāsyavi*, *druhyāvi* N. of a man, *pācitravi* N. of a man, *viṣṇavi*, *sūnāvi*. — 2. More usually the ending is dropped, leaving the final stem vowel with Vṛddhi instead of Guṇa. This form of the L. is taken by 19 stems in the RV.: *aktīu* 'at night', *āyāu*, *urāu*, *krātāu*, *carāu* 'pot', *druhyāu*, *pārsāu* N. of a man, *paśāu*,

<sup>1</sup> The stem *pāśu-* occurs once in the N. as a neuter, and *pāśve* must owing to the accent be taken as the D. of that stem; the m. stem is *paśū-*, D. *paśāve*.

<sup>2</sup> The form *drís* also occurs in Kh. IV. 5<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly 4 other words written with *-os*, should be pronounced with *-nas*: *dhṛṣṇitas* (X. 22<sup>3</sup>), *ripitas* (IV. 3<sup>13</sup>), *pīpruas* (VI. 22<sup>7</sup>), *viṣṇuas* (VIII. 31<sup>10</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> LANMAN 410 gives a list of the stems taking this form of the genitive.

<sup>5</sup> Pronounced *mádhvas* twice out of 67 occurrences.

<sup>6</sup> There is no certain evidence as to the gender of *drū-* 'wood', but, as it is a reduced form of *dāru-* which is n., it may be assumed to be n. There is also the form *drós*.

<sup>7</sup> *mádhvas* occurs 67 times, *mádhos* 13 times, *mádhunas* 9 times in the RV. The VS. has all three forms in independent passages.

<sup>8</sup> *vásvas* occurs 38 times, *vásos* 8 times, *vásunas* 11 times in the RV.

*plṣṭi-gau* N. of a man, *pūtā-kratau* N. of a man, *pūrāu*, *mānau* and *manāu*<sup>1</sup>, *yādau* N. of a man, *śrīṣṭi-gau* N. of a man, *sindhau*, *sētau* 'bond', *svādrau*<sup>2</sup> 'sacrificial post'.

f. This case is made in one way only, like the second form of the m. The only example in the RV. is *sindhau*; the AV. has *śārau*<sup>3</sup> and *sētau* 'birth'.

n. This case is formed in three ways. 1. With the ending *-i* added to the gunated stem only in *sānavi*, which occurs 9 times. When the adjective *ārya-* or *avyāya-* 'made of sheep's wool' immediately follows, the L. of this word appears as *sāno*. The Pada here always has *sānau*, but as the metre requires a short syllable it seems likely that the ending has been dropped to avoid a disagreeable sequence of syllables in *sānavy ārye*, but without leaving the lengthened form of the stem (*sānāu*) because of the metre. A parallel form appears to be *vāsto* in the formula *vāsta usrās* 'at break of dawn', which occurs 5 times in the RV.<sup>4</sup> — 2. As in the m., the usual form is that in *-au* formed from 8 stems: *a-rajṣṭu* 'not consisting of ropes', *urdu*, *ghṛṣau* 'lively', *prthāu*, *mādhau*, *vāsau*, *vīlāu* 'stronghold', *sānau*. — 3. According to the *n-* declension: *āyuni*, *dāruṇi* (AV.), *drūṇi* (Kh. i. 5<sup>10</sup>), *sānuni*<sup>5</sup>.

V. m. This case, which gunates the final vowel, is formed from 58 stems. The commonest examples are: *indō* (144), *vaso* (62), *śata-krato* (47) 'having a hundred powers', *vāyo* (43), *sāno* (36), *su-krato* (22)<sup>6</sup>.

f. This case which has the same form as the m., is made from 6 stems: *adri-sāno* 'dwelling on mountain tops', *dur-haṇo* 'ugly-jawed', *prthu-ṣṭo* 'having a broad tuft of hair', *sindho*, *su-bāho* 'having strong arms', *sva-bhāno* 'self-luminous'.

n. The V. n. seems to have been identical in form with the N. judging by the only example which occurs: *gūggulū*<sup>7</sup> (AV. xix. 38<sup>2</sup>).

Du. N. A. V. m. This form, which is made by lengthening the final vowel, occurs from 69 stems. The commonest examples are: *indra-vāyū* (22) 'Indra and Vāyu', *vājīnī-vasū* (21) 'rich in swift mares', *bāhū* (20) 'arms', *viśaṇ-vasū* (18) 'possessing great wealth', *indrā-viṣṇū* (13) 'Indra and Viṣṇu'. The TS. has also *agnā-viṣṇū* (i. 8. 22<sup>1</sup>) 'O Agni and Viṣṇu'. There are besides two forms in which the final vowel is shortened<sup>8</sup>: *jigatnū* (vii. 65<sup>1</sup>) 'speeding' and *su-hāntu* (vii. 19<sup>4</sup>)<sup>9</sup> 'easy to slay'.

f. This form is made in the same way as the m. but is much rarer, occurring from 5 stems only: *jigatnū*, *dhenū*, *sā-bandhū* 'akin', *samānā-bandhū* 'having the same kin', *hānū*.

n. This form adds the regular ending *-ī*. The only example in the RV. is *urū-ī*. The VS. has according to the *n-* declension *jānu-n-ī* (xx. 8) 'knees'.

I. m. *amśūbhyaṃ* (VS. vii. 1), *an-āmayitnūbhyaṃ* 'curative', *nṛ-bāhūbhyaṃ* 'man's arms', *bāhūbhyaṃ*. — f. *hānubhyaṃ* (VS. xi. 78)<sup>10</sup>.

D. m. *indra-vāyūbhyaṃ* (VS. vii. 8), *indrā-viṣṇubhyaṃ* (VS. vii. 23), *bāhūbhyaṃ*.

<sup>1</sup> Accented *manāu* only when followed by *dāhi*.

<sup>2</sup> A possible m. L. with *n* would be *rājūni*, an emendation for *rajanī* of the Mss. (AV. xx. 133). For the reading of AV. xx. 131<sup>12</sup> *vanīṣṭhāu* the Mss. have *vanīṣṭhā* which, if correct, would be a unique example of *-ā* in the L. of the *n-* declension.

<sup>3</sup> Emendation for *śārau* of the Mss.; see WHITNEY's note on AV. v. 25<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> See KÆGI, Festgruss an Böhtlingk 48 f.

<sup>5</sup> *sānavi* occurs 9 times, *sāno* (*ārye*) 8 times, *sānau* 10 times, *sānuni* once.

<sup>6</sup> The V. *vibhāvāso* in Kh. ii. 8<sup>2</sup> is wrongly accented.

<sup>7</sup> The Mss. read *gūggulū* or *gūggulū*. See WHITNEY's note on the passage.

<sup>8</sup> In both Samhitā and Pada text.

<sup>9</sup> The RV. three times has the curious A. m. du. *bāhāvā* = *bāhū* apparently from a stem *bāhāva-*.

<sup>10</sup> *hānūbhyaṃ*, a transition to the *-ī-* stems, in TS. iv. 1. 10<sup>2</sup>; vii. 3. 16<sup>1</sup>.

Ab. m. *ūrūbhyām* 'thighs', *bāhūbhyām*. — n. *jānubhyām* (AV.).

G. m. *ūrūś*<sup>1</sup>, *bāhūś*<sup>1</sup>. — n. according to the *n*-declension: *jānuś* (AV.).

L. m. *ūrūś* (AV.), *bāhūś*<sup>1</sup>. — f. *hāmś*<sup>1</sup>.

Pl. N. V. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. The ending *-as* is added to the **unmodified stem**. Of this formation the only example is *mādhv-as* (occurring 4 times). — 2. The ending *-as* is added to the **gunated stem**, e. g. *aktāv-as*. This form is very frequent, being made from 161 stems and occurring over 700 times in the RV. The commonest examples are: *indavas* (67), *rūhāvas* (57), *vāsavas* (46), *sudānavas* (42) 'bounteous', *sindhavas* (34), *āsāvas* (30), *adhvaryāvas* (27), *āyāvas* (27), *kārāvas* (18), *mitā-jñāvas* (2) 'firm-kneed'.

f. This case is formed in the same two ways as the m. 1. Of this formation there are only two examples: *mādhv-as*, *śata-kratv-as*. — 2. The regular form is made from 15 stems in the RV.: *an-āśrāvas* 'tearless', *ā-bhīravas* 'fearless', *a-reṇāvas* 'dustless', *īśavas*, *tri-dhātavas*, *dhenāvas*, *pūrśavas*, *vanāyāvas*, *śāravas*, *sanīśyāvas* 'desirous', *sā-manyāvas* and *sa-manyāvas* 'unanimous', *sindhavas*, *su-kētāvas*, *svī-setāvas* 'forming one's own bridge', *hānavas*.

N. A. n. This form is made in two ways. 1. Twelve stems take no ending, four of them also lengthening the final vowel sometimes. These forms occur 76 times altogether in the RV., 48 times with short, 28 times with long vowel. The words occurring are: *urū*, *rjū*, *cāru*, *tri-dhātu*, *purū*<sup>2</sup>, *bahū*, *mādhv*, *vāsu*, *vīlū*, *sānu*, *su-dhātu* 'manifold', *su-hāntu*; *urū*, *purū*<sup>3</sup>, *vāsū*<sup>4</sup>, *vīlū*. The Pada text always has the short vowel. — 2. The more usual form follows the *n*-declension, adding *-ni*, before which the final vowel is lengthened. It is made by 14 stems<sup>5</sup> and occurs 127 times altogether in the RV.: *aghāyāni* (Kh. iv. 5<sup>3</sup>) 'malicious', *anāni* (AV.) 'minute', *alābāni* (AV.)<sup>6</sup> 'gourds', *āśrūni* (AV.) 'tears', *karkāndhūni* (VS. xix. 23) 'jujube berries', *cārūni*, *tri-dhātūni*, *dānūni* 'fluid', *dārūni*, *devayāni*, *purūni*, *prthūni*, *bahūni*, *mādhūni*, *yuvayāni* 'longing for you both', *vāsūni*, *vāstūni*, *śmāśrūni*, *sānūni*.

A. m. This case is made in two ways. 1. The normal ending *-as* is added to the unmodified stem. The only two examples of this formation are *paśv-ās* and *kṛtv-as*<sup>7</sup> 'times'. — 2. The usual form is made from 43 stems with the ending *-n*, before which the vowel is lengthened. The original ending *-ns* still survives as *-nir* 45 times before vowels and once as *-nis* before *ca*<sup>8</sup>. The commonest examples are *śātrūn* (43), *dāsyūn* (27), *sindhūn* (23), *aktūn* (9), *ṛtūn* (8), *paśūn* (5)<sup>9</sup>. From the VS.: *ākṣūn* (xxiv. 26) 'moles', *nyāṅkūn* (xxiv. 27) 'antelopes', *madgūn* (xxiv. 22) 'diver-birds', *malīmūn* (xi. 78; TS.) 'robbers', *rūrūn* (xxiv. 27) 'antelopes'. From the Khilas: *īśūn* (III. 16<sup>8</sup>).

f. This like the m. is formed in two ways. 1. The only example is *mādhv-as*, which occurs twice. — 2. The ending *-s* is added, before which the vowel is lengthened. The only two examples in the RV. (occurring 5

<sup>1</sup> To be pronounced *ūrūś*, *bāhūś*, *hāmś* in the RV.

<sup>2</sup> *purū* seems to be the only form of this kind in the AV., where it occurs once (XIX. 49<sup>4</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> *purū* occurs 24 times, *purū* 12 times (all but once at the end of a Pada).

<sup>4</sup> *vāsū* occurs twice, *vāsu* 19 times (12 times at the end of a Pada).

<sup>5</sup> Half of these also take the form without *n* in the RV.

<sup>6</sup> The Mss. in AV. xx. 134<sup>1</sup> read *alābūni*.

<sup>7</sup> The A. of a noun *kṛtv* 'making', used adverbially: *bhūri kṛtvas* (III. 18<sup>1</sup>) 'many times', *śāsvat kṛtvas* (III. 54<sup>1</sup>) 'innumerable times', *dāśu kṛtvas* (AV. XI. 2<sup>9</sup>) 'ten times'.

<sup>8</sup> On the Sandhi of these accusatives in *-ūn* see LANMAN 415 (bottom) and 416 (top).

<sup>9</sup> LANMAN 416 enumerates the stems which form this A.

times) are: *iśūs* and *dhenīs*. The Khila after RV. x. 9 has the form *vārenya-kratūs* 'intelligent', but the text of Kh. III. 13<sup>1</sup> reads *vārenya-kratus*<sup>2</sup>.

**I. m.** This form is frequent, being made from 50 stems and occurring over 200 times. The commonest examples<sup>2</sup> are: *vāsubhis* (24), *aktībhis* (17), *ṛtibhis* (15), *āśībhis* (12), *pāyībhis* (12) 'protectors', *īndubhis* (11), *bhānībhis* (7), *ṛbhībhis* (6), *sīndhubhis* (5), *snībhis*<sup>3</sup> (5).

**f.** This case, formed in the same way as the m., is rare, only 3 examples occurring in the RV.: *eka-dhenubhis* 'excellent cows', *tri-dhātubhis*, *dhenūbhis*.

**n.** *a-reṇībhis* 'dustless', *āsrubhis* (VS. xxv. 9), *karkāndhubhis* (VS. xxi. 32), *jaṛīyubhis* (AV.), *bahībhis*, *mādhubhis* (Kh. I. 11<sup>7</sup>), *vāsubhis*, *smāsrubhis* (VS. xxv. 1; SV.) 'beards', *su-māntubhis* 'benevolent'.

**D. m.** *a-śatṛībhyas* 'foeless', *ṛtibhyas* (VS. xxii. 28), *ṛbhībhyas*, *guṇībhyas* 'descendants of Guṇu', *tṛṣubhyas* 'the Tṛṣus' (a tribe), *dāsābhṛṣubhyas*, 'having ten reins', *dāsyubhyas*, *paśībhyas*, *pūrībhyas*, *bahībhyas*, *mṛgayībhyas* (VS. xvi. 27) 'hunters', *vāsubhyas*, *sīndhubhyas*.

**f.** There is no example in the RV. The AV. has two: *iśubhyas*, *dhenūbhyas*. — **n.** *sāmubhyas* (VS. xxx. 6).

**Ab. m.** *aktībhyas*, *jaṛībhyas* 'cartilages of the breast bone', *jighatsībhyas* (AV.) 'seeking to devour', *dāsyubhyas*, *bahībhyas*, *bhṛgubhyas* 'Bhṛgus', *mṛtyībhyas* (AV.), *sā-bandhubhyas* (AV.). — **f.** *dhānubhyas*, *sīndhubhyas*.

**G. m.** This case is formed from 23 stems in the RV., 12 being oxytones and 11 otherwise accented: 1. *ṛtūnām*, *ṛbhūnām*, *ṛṣūnām* 'flames', *carūnām*, *devayūnām*, *paśūnām* (AV. VS. TS.), *pitūnām*, *purūnām*, *prāśūnām* 'very swift', *bahīrūnām*, *bahūnām*, *yātūnām* 'spectres', *ripūnām*, *stāyūnām* (VS.) 'thieves'. — 2. *abhi-krātūnām* 'insolent', *abhīśūnām* 'reins', *ahy-ārṣūnām* 'gliding like a snake', *krātūnām*, *tṛṣūnām*, *dāsyūnām* (AV.), *phyārūnām* (AV.) 'mischievous', *bhṛgūnām*, *mānūnām*, *vāsūnām*, *śātrūnām*, *sā-bandhūnām* (AV.), *sīndhūnām*, *svārūnām* 'sacrificial posts'. — **f.** *dhenūnām*; *sīndhūnām*. — **n.** *mādhūnām*, *yāśūnām* 'embraces', *vāsūnām*.

**L. m.** *aṃśūsu* (VS. viii. 57), *aktūsu*, *ānuṣu*, *āśūsu*, *druhyūsu*, *paśūsu* (AV.), *pūrūsu*, *bāhūsu*, *yādūsu*, *vī-bandhūsu* (AV.) 'kinless', *viśvā-bhānuṣu* 'all-illumining', *śātruṣu*, *sīndhūsu*. — **f.** *vāstuṣu*, *sīndhūsu*<sup>4</sup>. — **n.** *urūsu*, *vāstuṣu*, *smāśruṣu*, *sānuṣu*, *snīsu*<sup>5</sup> (VS. TS.).

## II. Pronouns.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 773—780 (p. 333—340). — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 490—526 (p. 185—199). — FISCHER, ZDMG. 35, 714—716. — DELBRÜCK, Syntaktische Forschungen 5, 204—221; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 494—525, and Die Demonstrativa der indogermanischen Sprachen, Leipzig 1904.

390. The pronouns occupy a special position in declension, as being derived from a limited class of roots with a demonstrative sense, and as exhibiting several marked peculiarities of inflexion. These peculiarities are in some degree extended to a certain number of adjectives.

### 1. Personal Pronouns.

391. These are the most peculiar of all, as being for each person derived from several roots or combinations of roots, as being specially anomalous in inflexion, as not distinguishing gender and, to some extent,

<sup>1</sup> The m. A. *sīndhūn* occurs once (x. 35<sup>2</sup>) in the sense of a f.

<sup>2</sup> LANMAN 416 (bottom) enumerates the stems taking this case.

<sup>3</sup> Accentuated like a dissyllable as elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> *āyūsu* (I. 58<sup>3</sup>) is perhaps a transfer form for *āyīsu*; cp. LANMAN 419<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> With dissyllabic accent as usual.

not even number. Some resemble neuters in form; a few have no apparent case-ending; in two of them the acc. pl. masc. does duty as fem. also.

The forms of the first and second person<sup>1</sup> which occur are:

1. Sing. N. *ahám*<sup>2</sup>. A. *mām*, *mā*. I. *māyā*. D. *māhyam*, *māhya*, *me*<sup>3</sup>. Ab. *māḍ*<sup>4</sup>. G. *māma*, *me*. L. *māyi*<sup>5</sup>.

Du. N. *vām* (RV<sup>1</sup>).<sup>6</sup> A. *nau*. D.<sup>7</sup> *nau*. Ab. *āvād* (TS.). G.<sup>8</sup> *nau*.

Pl. N. *vayām*. A. *asmān*<sup>9</sup>, *nas*<sup>3</sup>. I. *asmābhis*. D. *asmābhyam*, *asmē* (RV.), *nas*. Ab. *asmād*. G. *asmākam*<sup>10</sup>, *asmāka*<sup>11</sup> (RV<sup>1</sup>), *nas*. I. *asmē*, *asmāsu*<sup>12</sup>.

2. Sing. N. *tvām*<sup>13</sup>. A. *tvām*, *tvā*. I. *tvāyā*, *tvā* (RV.). D. *tūbhyam*, *tūbhya*, *te*<sup>14</sup>. Ab. *tvād*. G. *tāva*, *te*. L. *tvē*<sup>15</sup> (RV. VS.), *tvāyi* (AV. VS. TS.).

Du. N. *yuvām*. A. *yuvām*, *vām*. I. *yuvābhyām*, *yuvābhyām*. D. *vām*. Ab. *yuvād* (RV<sup>1</sup>). G. *yuvās* (RV. and Kh. I. 12<sup>1</sup>), *yuvāyos* (TS. III. 5. 4<sup>1</sup>), *vām*.

Pl. *yūyām*<sup>16</sup>. A. *yusmān*<sup>17</sup>, f. *yusmās* (VS<sup>1</sup>), *vas*<sup>18</sup>. D. *yusmābhyam*, *vas*. Ab. *yusmād*. G. *yusmākam*<sup>10</sup>, *yusmāka* (RV<sup>2</sup>), *vas*. L. *yusmē*.

a. The usual stems representing these personal pronouns in derivation or as first member of a compound are *ma-*, *asma-*; *tva-*, *yuva-*, *yusma-*; e. g. *mā-vant-* 'like me', *asma-drūk-* 'hating us', *tvā-vant-* 'like thee', *tvā-yata-* 'presented by thee'; *yuva-yū-* 'desiring you two', *yuvā-dhuta-* 'established by you two', *yuvā-datta-* 'given by you two'; *yusma-yānt-* 'desiring you', *yusmā-tā-* 'supported by you'; *yusmā-datta-* 'given by you'<sup>19</sup>.

b. The forms *mad-*, *asmād-*, *tvad-* occur a few times as first member of compounds; thus *māt-kṛta-* 'done by me', *māt-sakhi-* 'my companion', *mat-tās* (AV.) 'from me'; *asmāt-sakhi-* 'having us as companions', *asmād-rāta-* (VS.) 'given by us'; *tvāt-pīty-* (TS.) 'having thee as father'; *tvād-yon-* (AV.) 'derived from thee', *tvād-avācana-* (TS.) 'having thee as umpire'.

c. *aham-*, *mām-*, *mama-*; *asmē-*; *tvām-* are also sometimes found as first member of compounds; thus *aham-uttarā-* (AV.) 'struggle for precedence', *aham-pūrva-* 'eager to be first', *aham-yū-* 'proud'; *mām-pāyā-* (AV.) 'looking at me'; *mama-satyā-* 'dispute as to ownership'; *asmē-hiti-* 'errand for us'; *tvām-kāma-* 'desiring thee', *tvām-āhūti-* (TS.) 'offering to thee'.

## 2. Demonstrative Pronouns.

392. *Tā-* 'that', which also serves as the personal pronoun of the third person, 'he', 'she', 'it', is typical, in its inflexion, of the adjectival pronoun. It has the special peculiarity of using the stem *sa-* for the nom. masc. and fem. sing. and, in the RV., for the loc. sing. masc. and neut. The general peculiarities of the adjectival pronominal declension, as distinct from

<sup>1</sup> Cp. GAEDICKE, Akkusativ 12—14.

<sup>2</sup> On the formation of *ahám* cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 36, 405 ff. — All the nominatives of the personal pronouns are formed with *-am* as also the N. sing. of the demonstrative *ayām* and the reflexive *svayām*.

<sup>3</sup> The unaccented forms of the personal pronoun (85) may be accompanied by accented words in agreement with them; e. g. *te jāyatah* 'of thee when conquering'; *vo vṛtābhyah* 'for you that were confined'; *nas tribhayaḥ* 'to us three'.

<sup>4</sup> *mād* is two or three times unaccented in the AV.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50, 725.

<sup>6</sup> This seems to be the only nom. form (VI. 55<sup>1</sup>) occurring in the Samhitās. The nom. in the SB. is *āvām*, in the AB. *āvām*; the acc. in the SB. is *āvām*. The form *vām* must be an abbreviation of *āvām*.

<sup>7</sup> The AB. has *āvābhyām*.

<sup>8</sup> The SB. has *āvāyos*.

<sup>9</sup> *asmān* and *yusmān* are new formations

according to the nominal declension; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 519, 2, note.

<sup>10</sup> *asmākam* and *yusmākam* are properly acc. n. of the possessives *asmāka-*, *yusmāka-*; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 524, 4.

<sup>11</sup> Occurs only in I. 173<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> *asmāsu* is a new formation according to the inst. *asmā-bh s*.

<sup>13</sup> *tvām* must often be read as *tīam*.

<sup>14</sup> *te*, originally only loc., is used as dat. and gen.; similarly *me*; the loc. *asmē* is also used as dat.

<sup>15</sup> Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, loc. cit.

<sup>16</sup> Originally \**yūś-ām* where *y* was substituted for the sibilant owing to the influence of *vayām*; cp. BARTHOLOMAE, op. cit. 726, note; BRUGMANN, KG. 513 and note 3, 518.

<sup>17</sup> *yusmān* is a new formation according to the nominal declension (like *asmān*).

<sup>18</sup> The inst. was originally in all probability *yusmā* (like *tvā*), which later became *yusmābhis* (like *asmābhis*).

<sup>19</sup> This compound may preserve the old inst.

the nominal *a*- declension, are that 1. in the singular they take *-d* instead of *-m* in the nom. and acc. neut.; the element *-sma-* in the dat., abl., loc. masc. and neut.; the element *-sya-* in the dat., abl., gen., loc. fem.; the suffix *-in* in the loc. masc. and neut.<sup>1</sup>; 2. in the plural they take *-e* for *-ās* in the nom. masc.; *s* for *n* in the gen. before *-ām*.

1. The inflexion of *tā-* accordingly is as follows:

Sing. N. m. *sā-s*<sup>2</sup>, f. *sā*, n. *tā-d*. A. m. *tā-m*, f. *tā-m*, n. *tā-d* I. m. *tēnā*<sup>3</sup>, f. *tāyā*. D. m. n. *tā-smāi*, f. *tā-syai*. Ab. m. n. *tā-smāt*, f. *tā-syās*. G. m. n. *tā-sya*, f. *tā-syās*. L. *tā-smin*<sup>4</sup>, *sā-smin* (RV.), f. *tā-syām*.

Du. N. A. m. *tā, tāu*, f. *tā*, n. *tā*. I. m. f. *tā-bhyām*<sup>5</sup>. Ab. m. *tā-bhyām*. G. m. n. *tāyos*. L. m. *tāyos*.

Pl. N. m. *tē*, f. *tās*, n. *tā, tāni*. A. m. *tān*, f. *tās*, n. *tā, tāni*. I. m. n. *tā-bhis*, *tāis* (AV.; Kh. II. 10<sup>4</sup>), f. *tā-bhis*. D. m. n. *tā-bhyas*, f. *tā-bhyas*. G. m. *tā-sām*, f. *tā-sām*. L. m. *tā-su*, f. *tā-su*.

a. The stem *tā-* is frequently used in derivation, especially that of adverbs; e. g. *tā-thā* 'thus', *tā-vant* 'so great', *tā-ti* (AV.) 'so many', and in the compound *tā-dīś* 'such'.

b. The neuter form *tād* is often used as the first member of a compound; thus *tād-anna* 'having that food'; *tād-apas* 'accustomed to that work'; *tād-id-artha* 'having just that as an object'; *tād-okas* 'delighting in that'; *tād-ojas* 'possessing such power'; *tād-vaśā* 'having a desire for that'; *tād-vid-* (AV.) 'knowing that'.

2. Two other demonstrative pronouns are formed from *tā-*. a. One of them, *etā-*, formed by prefixing the pronominal element *e*<sup>6</sup>, means 'this here'. It is inflected exactly like *tā-* and is of common occurrence. The forms which occur are:

m. Sing. N. *etās* or *etā*<sup>2</sup>. A. *etām*. I. *etēna*. D. *etāsmāi* (TS.). Ab. *etāsmāt* (AV.). G. *etāsya* (AV.). — Du. N. *etā, etāu*. — Pl. N. *etā*. A. *etān*. I. *etābhis*, *etāis* (AV.). D. *etābhyas*.

f. Sing. N. *etā*. A. *etām*. I. *etāyā*. L. *etāsyām*. — Du. N. *etā*. — Pl. N. *etās*. A. *etās*. I. *etābhis* (AV.). L. *etāsu* (AV.).

n. Sing. N. *etād*. — Pl. N. *etā* (+ VS.), *etāni*.

a. The stem used in derivation and composition is *eta-*; thus *etā-vant* 'so great'; *etā-dīś* 'such'.

b. The other secondary demonstrative, *tyā-*, is derived from *tā-* with the suffix *-ya*<sup>7</sup> and means 'that'. It is common in the RV., but rare in the later Samhitās<sup>8</sup>. It is used adjectivally, being nearly always accompanied by its substantive. It is never found at the beginning of a sentence except when followed by *u*, *cid*, *ni*, or *śū*<sup>9</sup>.

The forms occurring are:

m. Sing. N. *tyā*<sup>10</sup> (+ VS.). A. *tyām*. G. *tyāsya*. — Du. N. *tyā*. — Pl. N. *tyā*. A. *tyān*. I. *tyābhis*.

f. Sing. N. *tyā*. A. *tyām*. I. *tyā* (for *tyāyā*). G. *tyāsyās*. — Du. N. *tyā*. — Pl. N. *tyās*. A. *tyās*.

n. Sing. N. *tyād* (+ TS.). — Pl. *tyā, tyāni*.

393. The demonstrative which appears as *ayām* in the nom. sing. masc. and means 'this here', employs the pronominal roots *a-* and (in various modifications) *i-* in its inflexion, the latter being used in nearly all the

<sup>1</sup> This suffix is once found in the RV., in the form of *-min*, attached to *yādīś* 'having what appearance', though the stem ends in a consonant.

<sup>2</sup> On the Sandhi of *sā-* and *etā-* see 78.

<sup>3</sup> The Pada text always reads *tēna*.

<sup>4</sup> *sāsmīn* occurs nearly half as often as *tāsmīn* in the RV.

<sup>5</sup> In IX, 66<sup>2</sup> this form (f.) seems to have a loc. sense; see LANMAN 343<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> According to BRUGMANN, KG. 495, 6, note 3, originally loc. sing. of *a-*.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 401 and 495, 2.

<sup>8</sup> It occurs two or three times also in B.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *tyā*.

<sup>10</sup> *syā-* and *tyā-* are often to be read with *Vyūha*.

nom. and acc. forms, the former in the other cases. The acc. sing. masc. and fem. starts from *i-m*<sup>1</sup>, the acc. of *i-*, and is followed by the nom. acc. du. and pl., all these forms having the appearance of being made from a stem *ima-*. The nom. sing. fem. is formed from *i-*<sup>2</sup>, and the nom. acc. sing. neut. from *i-d* (the N. A. n. of *i-*), both with the suffix *-am* added. The nom. sing. masc. is formed from *a-* with the suffix *-am* and interposing *-y-*. The remaining cases formed from *a-*<sup>3</sup> are inflected throughout like *tá-*.

The inflexion of this pronoun is accordingly as follows:

**Sing.** N. m. *a-yám*, f. *i-yám*, n. *i-dám*. A. m. *imám*, f. *imám*, n. *i-dám*. I. m. *e-ná*<sup>3</sup>, f. *ayá*<sup>4</sup>. D. m. *a-smái*<sup>5</sup>, f. *a-syái*. Ab. m. *a-smāt*<sup>6</sup>, f. *a-syās*. G. m. *a-syá*<sup>7</sup>, f. *a-syās*. L. m. *a-smín*, f. *a-syám*.

**Du.** N. A. m. *imā*, *imáu*, f. *imé*, n. *imé*. D. m. *ā-bhyám* (RV<sup>1</sup>). Ab. m. *ā-bhyām*. G. m. *a-yós* (RV.)<sup>8</sup>. L. m. *a-yós* (RV.).

**Pl.** N. m. *imé*, f. *imās*, n. *imā*, *imāni*. A. m. *imán*, f. *imās*, n. *imā*, *imāni*. I. m. *e-bhís*, f. *ā-bhís*<sup>10</sup>. D. m. *e-bhyás*, f. *ā-bhyás*. G. m. *e-śám*, f. *ā-śám*. L. m. *e-śú*, f. *ā-śú*.

394. The corresponding demonstrative employed to express remoteness, 'that there', 'yon', appears in the nom. sing. masc. fem. as *asáu*. The pronominal root employed throughout its inflexion is *a-*, but always in an extended form only. The fundamental stem used in every case, excepting the nom. sing., is *a-m*, acc. masc. of *a-*; this is extended by the addition of the particle *u* to *am-*, which has become the stem in the oblique cases of the sing. (with long *u* in the acc. fem.); in the plur. *am-ū-* is the fem. and *amī-* the masc. stem (except the acc.). The nom. sing. forms are quite peculiar. In the masc. and fem. the pronominal root *a-* seems to be compounded with *sa-* extended by the particle *u*: *a-sá-u* and *a-sá-u*<sup>11</sup>; while the neut. has the pronominal *-d* extended with the suffix *-as*: *a-d-ús*. Only one dual form has been noted, and several plural case forms are wanting. The forms found in the Samhitās are the following:

**m. Sing.** N. *asáu*. A. *amīm*. I. *amīnā* (VS.). D. *amī-śmai*. Ab. *amī-śmāt* (AV. TS.). G. *amī-śya*<sup>12</sup>. L. *amī-śmín* (AV.). — **Pl.** N. *amī*<sup>13</sup>. A. *amīn* (AV.). D. *amībhyas* (AV.). G. *amī-śām*.

**f. Sing.** N. *asáu*. A. *amūm*. I. *amuyá*<sup>14</sup>. D. *amī-śyai* (VS.). G. *amī-śyās* (AV.). — **Du.** N. *amū* (AV.). — **Pl.** N. *amās*. A. *amīs*.

**n. Sing.** N. *addś*. — **Pl.** N. *amū* (AV.).

395. A defective unaccented pronoun of the third person meaning 'he', 'she', and in the AV. 'it', is *e-na*<sup>15</sup>. It occurs almost exclusively in the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 495, 10.

<sup>2</sup> From *i-* is also formed the acc. *i-m* and the neut. *i-d*, both used as particles.

<sup>3</sup> The Pada text always reads *enā* (the unaccented *ena* occurred twice). This and all other oblique cases formed from *a-*, when used as nouns may lose their accent; see S5 § 3; cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *idám*. On *ayám* see BRUGMANN, KG. 498, 3.

<sup>4</sup> This inst. is fairly frequent in the RV.; instead of it *andya* occurs twice (IX. 65<sup>12.27</sup>), being probably a later correction to obviate the hiatus. Otherwise no forms of *ana-* (*anēna*, *andya*, *andya*) occur in the Samhitās. But *anēna* (n.) occurs in Kh. III, 16<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> *asmái* and *asya* are accented on the first syllable, the former four or five times, the latter about ten times, when specially emphatic at the beginning of a Pada in the RV.

<sup>6</sup> The abl. according to the nominal declension, *āt*, is used as a conjunction.

<sup>7</sup> The form *imāsya* also occurs once.

<sup>8</sup> To be read as *āyós*.

<sup>9</sup> Seems to be wrongly read as *āyós* in the Pada text; cp. LANMAN 344<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> *ābhís* occurs ten times in the RV.; it is thrice accented *ābhís* and thrice unaccented: cp. note <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 495, 6; 498, 4.

<sup>12</sup> This is the only instance of *-śya* being added to any but an *a-* stem.

<sup>13</sup> This form is Pragrhya (70). On its origin cp. IF. 18, 64, note.

<sup>14</sup> Used adverbially, with shifted accent.

<sup>15</sup> The same *e-* (loc. of *a-*) as in *e-ka-* 'one', *e-vá* 'thus'; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 495, 6.



acc. (the great majority of occurrences being masc. sing.). Otherwise it is found only twice in the inst. sing. and three or four times in the gen. dual. The forms occurring are: **m. Sing.** A. *enam*. I. *enena* (AV.). — **Du.** A. *enau* (AV.). G. *enos* (RV.), *enayos* (AV.). — **Pl.** A. *enān*.

**f. Sing.** A. *enīm*<sup>1</sup>. **Du.** A. *ene*. **Pl.** A. *enīs*. — **n. N.** *enad* (AV.; Kh. iv. 65).

396. Another demonstrative found nearly twenty times in the RV., but otherwise occurring only once in the AV., is the unaccented pronoun *tvā*<sup>2</sup> meaning 'one', 'many a one', generally repeated, in the sense of 'one — another'. The forms occurring are: **m. Sing.** N. *tvās*. A. *tvam*. I. *tvena*. **D. tvasmai**. **Pl.** N. *tvē*<sup>3</sup>. — **f. Sing.** N. *tvā*. **D. tvasyai**. — **n. Sing.** N. *tvad*.

**a.** The pronoun *avā*<sup>4</sup> 'this' is found two or three times in the RV., and only in the gen. du. form. *avās* in combination with *vām*, meaning 'of you two being such' (used like *sa*, e. g. *sā tvām* 'thou as such').

**b.** The pronoun *āma*<sup>5</sup> 'this' occurs only once in the AV.: *āmo 'hām asmi* (xiv. 27<sup>2</sup>), 'this am I'.

### 3. Interrogative Pronoun.

397. The interrogative *ka*-, 'who?', 'which?', 'what?' used both as substantive and adjective, is quite regular in its declension, excepting the alternative neuter form *kī-m*<sup>6</sup>, which instead of the pronominal *-d* has the nominal *-m* (never elsewhere attached to a stem in *-i*). The forms occurring are:

**m. Sing.** N. *kīs*. A. *kām*. I. *kēna*. **D. kāsmai**. **Ab. kāsmāt** (AV.). G. *kāsya*. L. *kāsmīn*. — **Du.** *kāu*. — **Pl.** N. *kē*. I. *kēbhīs*. L. *kēṣu* (VS.).

**f. Sing.** N. *kā*. A. *kām*. I. *kīyā*. G. *kāsyīs* (AV. VS.). — **Pl.** N. *kās*. A. *kās*. L. *kāsu*.

**n. Sing.** N. A. *kā-d*<sup>1</sup> (RV.) and *kī-m*. — **Pl.** N. A. *kā* and *kāni*.

**a.** In forming derivatives, which are numerous, the stem of the interrogative employed is not only *ka*-, but also *kī*- and *ku*-; e. g. *kā-ti* 'how many?'; *kī-yant* 'how great?'; *kū-ha* 'where?'. The neuter form *kim* is twice used in this way: *kim-yū* 'desiring what?'; *kim-māya* 'consisting of what?'.

**b.** In the formation of compounds *kad* occurs twice as first member: in *kat-payā* 'greatly swelling', and *kād-artha* 'having what purpose?'. *kim* is similarly used a few times in the later Samhitās; thus *kim-śilā* (VS. TS.) 'being in stony ground', *kim-karā* (AV.) 'servant'.

### 4. Relative Pronoun.

398. The relative pronoun *ya*- 'who', 'which', 'what' is perfectly regular in its declension. The forms occurring are:

**m. Sing.** N. *yās*<sup>8</sup>. — A. *yām*. I. *yēnā*<sup>9</sup> and *yēna*. **D. yāsmai**. **Ab. yāsmāt**<sup>10</sup>. G. *yāsya*. L. *yāsmīn*. — **Du.** N. A. *yā*, *yāu*. **D. yābhyām**. G. *yāyos*. L. *yāyos* and *yōs*<sup>11</sup> (RV.). — **Pl.** N. *yē*. A. *yān*. I. *yēbhīs*, *yāis* (AV.; Kh. i. 9<sup>2</sup>). **D. yēbhyas**. G. *yēṣām*. L. *yēṣu*.

<sup>1</sup> This form occurs once (VIII. 619) at the beginning of a sentence and is then accented as *enām*.

<sup>2</sup> The unaccented adverb *tvadānīm* (MS. iv. 2<sup>2</sup>) 'sometimes', is derived from this pronoun.

<sup>3</sup> See WHITNEY'S note on AV. VIII. 9<sup>9</sup> in his translation.

<sup>4</sup> This pronoun also occurs in the Avesta; cp. BRUGMANN 495, 10.

<sup>5</sup> From this pronoun are derived the inst. and abl. adverbs (with shifted accent) *amā* 'at home' and *anāt* 'from near at hand'.

<sup>6</sup> The nom. masc. is preserved as a petri-

fied form in *nā-kis* and *mā-kis* 'no one', 'nothing', 'never'.

<sup>7</sup> The relative frequency of *kād* to *kim* in the RV. is as 2 to 3.

<sup>8</sup> *yās* is the commonest declensional form in the RV., occurring more than 1000 times.

<sup>9</sup> *yēnā* is twice as common in the RV. as *yēna*; the Pada text, however, always reads *yēna* (cp. LANMAN 332).

<sup>10</sup> The ablative according to the nominal declension, *yāt*, is used as a conjunction.

<sup>11</sup> *yōs* for *yāyos*, like *yuvōs* for *yuvāyos*; cp. BB. 23, 183; ZDMG. 50, 589.

f. Sing. N. *yá*. A. *yám*. I. *yáyā*. G. *yásyās*. L. *yásyām*. — Du. N. *yé* (TS. AV.). G. *yáyos*. L. *yáyos*. — Pl. N. *yás*. A. *yás*. I. *yábhis*. D. *yábhyas*. G. *yásām*. L. *yásu*.

n. Sing. N. A. *yád*. — Du. *yé*. — Pl. *yá*, *yáni*.

a. The stem of *yá-* is used in the formation of many derivatives; e. g. *yá-thā* 'as'; it also appears as first member of a compound in *yá-dīś-* 'which like'. The neuter form *yad* is once used similarly in the RV.: *yát-kāma-* 'desiring what'.

b. The relative receives the indefinite meaning of 'whoever' by the addition of *kás ca*, *kás cid*, or *cid* alone; e. g. *yád vo vayāṁ cakrma kás cid āgah* (II. 27<sup>14</sup>) 'whatever sin we have committed against you'; *yát kin ca duritām māyi* (I. 23<sup>12</sup>) 'whatever sin (there is) in me'; *yé cid dhī tvām śrayah pūva itāye juhūrē* (I. 48<sup>14</sup>) 'whatever early seers have called on thee for aid'.

### 5. Indefinite Pronouns.

399. a. In the RV. there are found the two simple indefinite pronouns *sama* (unaccented) 'any', 'every' and *simá-* 'every', 'all'. The six forms of the former which occur are: m. Sing. A. *samam*. D. *samasmai*. Ab. *samasmāt*. G. *samasya*. L. *samasmín*. — Pl. N. *same*. From *simá-* are met with the five forms: Sing. V. *síma*. N. *simás*. D. *simásmai* (neut.). Ab. *simásmāt*. — Pl. *simá*.

b. Compound indefinite pronouns are formed by combining the particles *ca*, *caná*, or *cid* with the interrogative; thus *kás ca* 'any', 'any one'; *kás caná* 'any one soever', 'every'; *kás cid* 'any', 'some'; 'any one', 'some one'.

### 6. Reflexive Pronouns.

400. 1. The reflexive adjective is *svá-* 'own', which refers to the first and second as well as the third person of all numbers; e. g. *yád, indrāgnī, mādathahí své duroné* (I. 108<sup>7</sup>) 'when, O Indra and Agni, ye rejoice in your own abode'.

2. The substantive reflexive is *sva-y-ám* 'self', which is derived from *svá-* with the suffix *-am* and interposing *y* (as *a-y-ám* from *a-*). It is properly used as a nom. referring to all three persons; e. g. *svayāṁ yajasva diví, deva, devān* (x. 7<sup>6</sup>) 'do thou thyself, O god, worship the gods in heaven'. Sometimes, however, the nominative nature of the pronoun is forgotten and *svayám* is used agreeing in sense with another case; e. g. *vatsám . . svayāṁ gātūṇ . . icchámānam* (IV. 18<sup>10</sup>) 'the calf himself seeking a way'.

3. Other cases than the nom. are regularly expressed in the RV. by *tanú-* 'body'; e. g. *svayāṁ gātūṇ tanvā icchámānam* (IV. 18<sup>10</sup>) 'himself seeking a way for himself (*tanvè*)'; *yajasva tanvām* (x. 7<sup>6</sup>) 'worship thyself'; *mā hāsmahi prajdyā, mā tanúbhiḥ* (x. 128<sup>5</sup>) 'may we suffer no harm with (regard to our) offspring or ourselves'. The reflexive adjective and a possessive gen. may be added; e. g. *ágne, yajasva tanvām tva svām* (VI. 11<sup>2</sup>) 'Agni, worship thine own self'.

4. There are one or two instances in the RV. of the incipient use of *ātman-* 'soul' in a reflexive sense; thus *bālaṁ dādāhāna ātmāni* (IX. 113<sup>1</sup>) 'putting strength into himself'; *yákṣmaṁ sárvasmād ātmānas . . ví vṛhāmi* (x. 163<sup>6</sup>) 'I expel the disease from (thy) whole self'. The acc. *ātmānam*, though not met with in the RV. as a reflexive, is frequently found so used in the later Samhitās<sup>3</sup>; also in Kh. III. 10<sup>3</sup>.

a. In the formation of compounds *sva-* several times appears in the substantive as well as the adjective sense as first member; e. g. *svá-yukta-* 'self-yoked'; *sva-yúgrava-* 'own companion'. *svayám* is also thus used in a few compounds; thus *svayam-já-* 'self-born'; *svayam-bhū-* 'self-existent'.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK, Syntaktische Forschungen 5, 569—570.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK op. cit. 135, and GRASSMANN, s. v. *svá-* and *tanú-*.

<sup>3</sup> See DELBRÜCK op. cit. 155.

## 7. Possessive Pronouns.

401. Possessive pronouns are of rare occurrence because the genitive of the personal pronoun is generally used to express the sense which they convey.

a. The possessives of the first person are *māmaka-* (RV.) 'my', *māmaká-* 'my', (both formed from the genitive of the personal pronoun *māma*)<sup>1</sup>, and *asmāka-* 'our'. The commonest form of the latter is the N. A. neut. *asmākam*, which is used as the gen. plur. of the personal pronoun<sup>2</sup>. The other forms occurring are *asmākēna*, *asmākāśas*, and *asmākēbhis*. The VS. also has the form *āsmākās* (IV. 24) 'our' from a secondary derivative<sup>3</sup>.

b. The possessives of the second person are *tāvaka-* (RV.) 'thy', (from *tāva*), met with only in the form *tāvakēbhyas*; *tvā-*<sup>4</sup> (RV.) 'thy', found only in the inst. pl. *tvābhis* (II. 20<sup>2</sup>); and *yusmāka-* 'your', the N. A. neut. of which is used as the gen. pl. of the personal pronoun of the second person; it otherwise occurs only in the RV. in the two forms *yusmākēna* and *yusmākēbhis*.

c. Besides being used reflexively, *svā-* is fairly often employed as a simple possessive, generally as that of the third person, 'his', 'her', 'their', but also of the second, 'thy', 'your', and of the first, 'my', 'our'. It is, however, inflected like an ordinary adjective, having only two isolated forms according to the pronominal declension<sup>5</sup>. The forms which occur are:

m. sing. N. *svās*. A. *svām*. I. *svēna* and *svēnā*<sup>6</sup>. D. *svāya*. Ab. *svāt*. G. *svāsya*. L. *svē* and *svāsmīn* (RV.). — Pl. N. *svās* (AV.). A. *svān* (AV.). I. *svēbhis* and *svāis*. D. *svēbhyas* (Kh. v. 1<sup>2</sup>). G. *svānām* (AV.; Kh. II. 10<sup>4</sup>). L. *svēśu*.

f. sing. N. *svā*. A. *svām*. I. *svāyā*. D. *svāyai*. Ab. *svāyās*. G. *svāsyās* (RV.). L. *svāyām*. — Pl. N. *svās*. A. *svās*. I. *svābhis*. L. *svāsu*.

n. sing. N. A. *svām*. — Pl. A. *svā*.

## 8. Pronominal derivatives and compounds.

402. A certain number of derivatives are formed from the roots or stems of simple pronouns by means of suffixes which modify the pronominal sense. There are also a few pronominal compounds.

a. With the suffix *-ka*, conveying a diminutive or contemptuous meaning, derivatives are formed from the pronouns *tā-*, *yā-*, *sā-*, and *asāu*; thus *ta-kā-* (RV.) 'that little', of which the forms A. sing. m. *takā-m* and n. *takā-d* occur; *yā-ka-* 'who', 'which', the only forms met with being N. m. *yakās*, f. *yakā* (VS. XXIII. 22, 23), and N. pl. m. *yakē* (RV.); *sa-kā-* (RV. AV.) 'that little', of which only N. sing. f. *sakā* occurs; N. sing. f. *asakāu* 'that little' (VS. XXIII. 22, 23).

b. With the comparative suffix *-tara* derivatives are formed from *i-*, *kā-*, and *yā-*; and with the superlative suffix *-tama*, from the latter two; thus *i-tara-* 'other'; *kā-tarā-* 'which of two?'; *yā-tarā-* 'who or which of two'; *kā-tamā-* 'who or which of many?'; *yā-tamā-* 'who or which of many'.

c. With *-ti* derivatives with a numerical sense are formed from *kā-*, *tā-*, and *yā-*; thus *kā-ti* 'how many?', *tā-ti* (AV.) 'so many'; *yā-ti* 'as many'. No inflected forms of these words occur.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 524, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. 524, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Formed like *māmakā-* beside *māmaka-*.

<sup>4</sup> Used as a possessive probably under

Indo-ärische Philologie. I. 4.

the influence of *svā-*; cp. BRUGMANN, op. cit. 524, 2.

<sup>5</sup> That is, *svāsyās* and *svāsmīn*.

<sup>6</sup> The Pada text always reads *svāna*.

d. With *-yant*, expressing the quantitative meaning of 'much', derivatives are formed from *i-* and *ki-*: *i-yant* 'so much' (n. N. sing. *iyat*, pl. *iyānti*; f. D. sing. *iyatyai*); *ki-yant* 'how much?' (sing. N. n. adv. *kīyat*, D. m. *kīyate*, L. *kīyāti* for *kīyati*; N. f. *kīyati*).

e. With *-vant* are formed derivatives from personal pronouns with the sense of 'like', 'attached to', and from others in the quantitative sense of 'great'; thus *tvā-vant* 'like thee', *mā-vant* 'like me'; *yuvā-vant* (RV.) 'devoted to you two' (only D. *yuvāvate*); *yusmā-vant* (RV.) 'belonging to you' (only L. pl. *yusmāvatsu*); *etā-vant* and *tā-vant* 'so great'; *yā-vant* 'as great'; *i-vant* 'so great' (sing. N. n. *īvat*, D. m. n. *īvate*, G. *īvatas*; pl. A. m. *īvatas*); *kī-vant* 'how far?' (G. *kīvatas*).

f. With *-dṛś-*, *-dṛśa-*, *-dṛkṣa-* are formed the following pronominal compounds: *i-dṛkṣa-* (VS.) and *i-dṛś-* (VS. TS.) 'such'; *etā-dṛkṣa-* (VS.) and *etā-dṛś-* 'such' (N. sing. n. *etādṛk*); *kī-dṛś-* 'what like?' (N. sing. m. *kīdṛñ*); *tā-dṛś-* 'such' (N. sing. m. *tā-dṛk*); *yā-dṛś-* 'what like' (sing. m. N. *yādṛk*, L. *yādṛśmin*).

### g. Pronominal Adjectives.

403. Certain adjectives derived from pronominal roots or allied to pronominals in sense conform in varying degrees to the pronominal declension.

1. The adjectives which strictly adhere to the pronominal type of inflexion are *anyā-* 'other', and (as far as can be judged by the few forms occurring and by the usage of the later language) the derivatives formed with *-tara* and *-tama* from *kā-* and *yā-*. The specifically pronominal cases of the latter which have been met with are: sing. N. n. *katarād* (AV.), *yatarād*; *katamād*, *yatamād* (AV.); D. m. *katamāsmāi* (VS.); G. f. *katamāsyās* (AV.); L. f. *yatamāsyām* (AV.); Pl. N. m. *katamé* (AV.), *yatamé* (AV.). No such form of *itara-* has been found. The forms of *anyā-* which occur are:

m. sing. N. *anyās*. A. *anyām*. I. *anyēna*. D. *anyāsmāi* (AV.). G. *anyātsya*. L. *anyāsmīn*. — Pl. N. *anyé*. A. *anyān*. I. *anyēbhis* and *anyāis*. D. *anyēbhyas* (AV.). G. *anyēsām*. L. *anyēsu*.

f. sing. N. *anyā*. A. *anyām*. I. *anyāyā*. D. *anyāsyai*. G. *anyāsyās*. L. *anyāsyām*. — Du. N. *anyé*. — Pl. N. *anyās*. A. *anyās*. I. *anyābhis*. G. *anyāsām*. L. *anyāsu*.

n. sing. N. *anyād*. — Du. I. *anyābhyām* (AV.). — Pl. N. *anyā*.

2. The three adjectives *eka-* 'one', *viśva-* 'all', *sārva-* 'whole' are partially pronominal, following this declension except in the nom. acc. sing. neut., which takes the nominal *-m*. Thus sing. G. f. *ekasyās*, L. m. *ekasmin*<sup>1</sup>, pl. N. m. *ēke*, but sing. N. n. *ekam*; sing. D. *viśvasmāi*<sup>2</sup>, Ab. *viśvasmāt*<sup>2</sup>, L. *viśvasmin*<sup>2</sup>, pl. N. m. *viśve*, G. m. *viśveṣām*, f. *viśvāsām*, but sing. N. n. *viśvam*; sing. D. m. *sārvasmāi* (AV.), f. *sārvasyai* (AV.; AA. III. 2<sup>5</sup>), Ab. m. *sārvasmāt*, pl. N. m. *sārve*, G. *sārveṣām* (AV.), f. *sārvasām* (AV.), but sing. N. n. *sārvam*.

3. More than a dozen other adjectives which have pronominal affinities in form or sense occasionally show pronominal case-forms (but never *-d* in the N. A. sing. n.).

a. A few adjectives formed with the comparative and superlative suffixes *-ra* and *-ma* have such endings; thus *āpara-* 'lower' has *āpare* in the N. pl. m. beside *āparāsas*; *ūtara-* 'higher', 'later', forms the L. sing. f. *ūtaraśyām*

<sup>1</sup> The AV. once has *ēke* as a loc. sing.; see WHITNEY's note on AV. XIX. 56<sup>2</sup> in his translation.

<sup>2</sup> The RV. has the nominal forms D. *viśvāya*, Ab. *viśvāt*, L. *viśve*, once each; *viśvāt* (n.) also occurs Kh. II. 6<sup>18</sup>.

(AV.), N. pl. m. *uttare*; Ab. L. sing. *uttarasmāt* and *uttarasmin* beside *uttarāt* and *uttare*; *ūpara-* 'lower' has *ūpare* beside *ūparās* and *ūparāsa* in the N. pl. m.; *avamā-* 'lowest' has L. sing. f. *avamāsyām*; *upamā-* 'highest' has sing. L. f. *upamāsyām*; *paramā-* 'farthest' has sing. f. G. *paramāsyās* and L. *paramāsyām* (+ VS.); *madhyamā-* 'middlemost' has sing. L. f. *madhyamāsyām*.

b. A few other adjectives with a comparative or pronominal sense have occasional pronominal endings. Thus *pāra-* 'ulterior' has sing. D. m. *pārasmai* (AV.), Ab. m. *pārasmāt* (+ AV. VS.), G. f. *pārasyās*, G. pl. m. *pāreṣām*; L. sing. m. *pārasmin* beside *pāre*; and N. pl. m. *pāre* beside *pārāsa*. *pūrva-* 'prior' has sing. m. D. *pūrvasmai*, Ab. *pūrvasmāt*, G. pl. m. *pūrveṣām*, f. *pūrvāsām*; and the N. pl. m. *pūrve* is very common beside the very rare *pūrvāsa*. *nēma-* 'other'<sup>1</sup> has m. L. sing. *nēmasmin*, N. pl. *nēme*, but N. sing. n. *nēmam* and G. pl. m. *nemānām* (unaccented). *svā-* 'own', otherwise following the nominal declension, has once sing. G. f. *svāsyās* and once L. n. *svāsmīn*. *samānā-* 'similar', 'common', has once Ab. sing. n. *samānāsmāt* beside *samānāt*.

c. A few adjectives which are numerical in form or meaning have occasional pronominal forms; thus *prathamā-* 'first', has G. sing. f. *prathamāsyās* (AV.); *trītiya-* 'third' has L. sing. f. *trītiyasyām*<sup>2</sup> (AV.); *ūbhaya-* 'of both kinds' has m. pl. G. *ūbhayeṣām*, and N. *ūbhaye* beside *ūbhayāsa* and *ūbhayās*<sup>3</sup>; *kēvala-* 'exclusive' has once N. pl. m. *kēvale*.

### III. Numerals.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 764—771. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 475—488. — Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 441—451.

404. The series of the numerals is based on the decimal system of reckoning. The names of the first ten cardinals, which are of an adjectival character, form the foundation of the rest either by compounding or derivation; the ordinals and numerical adverbs being further derived from the corresponding cardinals.

#### A. Cardinals.

405. The names of the first ten cardinals are: *eka-* 'one'; *dva-* 'two'; *tri-* 'three'; *catv-* 'four'; *pañca-* 'five'; *ṣaṣ-* 'six'; *sapt-* 'seven'; *aṣṭ-* 'eight'; *nava-* 'nine'; *dāsa-* 'ten'.

a. The numbers intermediate between 'ten' and 'twenty' are Dvandva compounds formed by prefixing the accented unit to *dāsa* 'ten': *ekā-daśa*<sup>4</sup> ('one and ten') 'eleven'; *dva-daśa*<sup>5</sup> 'twelve'; *trāya-daśa*<sup>6</sup> (AV. VS. TS.) 'thirteen'; *cātur-daśa*<sup>7</sup> 'fourteen'; *pañca-daśa* 'fifteen'; *ṣo-daśa*<sup>8</sup> (VS. TS.) 'sixteen'; *saptā-daśa* (TS.) 'seventeen'; *aṣṭā-daśa* (TS.) 'eighteen'; *nava-daśa* (VS.) 'nineteen'.

b. The remaining cardinals are substantives. The names of the decades from 'twenty' to 'ninety' are either old Dvandva compounds or derivatives formed with the suffix *-ti*. They are *viṃśatī-* 'twenty'; *triṃśatī-* 'thirty';

<sup>1</sup> Cp. NEISSER, BB. 30, 303.

<sup>2</sup> The pronominal endings are recognized as alternative in the later language as regards *dvītiya-* and *trītiya-*; the Brhaddevatā (VIII, 95) has *prathamasyām* as well as *dvītiyasyām*.

<sup>3</sup> *ūbhā-* 'both' is declined in the dual only: N. A. m. *ūbhā* and *ūbhāu*, f. *ūbhā*, I. *ūbhābhyām* (once in RV.), G. *ūbhāyos* (twice in RV.).

<sup>4</sup> With *ekā-* for *eka-* under the influence of *dva-daśa*.

<sup>5</sup> Here the N. m. du. form *dva* is retained instead of the stem form *dva-*.

<sup>6</sup> In this and other numeral compounds the N. m. plural form remains in every case; e. g. *tān ... trāyas-triṃśatam ā vaha* (I. 45<sup>2</sup>) 'bring those thirty-three'.

<sup>7</sup> As first member of a compound *catv-* is regularly accented *cātur-*.

<sup>8</sup> For *ṣaṣ-daśa*, see above 43, b, 3; 56, b.

*catvāriṃśāt* 'forty'; *pañcāśāt* 'fifty'; *ṣaṣ-ṭi-* 'sixty'; *sapta-ṭi-* 'seventy'; *aṣṭi-ṭi-* 'eighty'; *nava-ṭi-* 'ninety'. The last four are abstract fem. nouns derived from the simple cardinal (except *aṣṭi-ṭi-*)<sup>1</sup> and meaning originally 'hexad etc. (of tens)'. The others are fem. compounds, the first member of which is 'two', 'three', 'four', or 'five', and the second a remnant of the I.E. word for 'ten'; thus *triṃśāt* meant 'three tens'. *viṃśati-* was probably in origin an old dual of this formation which ended in *-ī* but was transformed by the influence of *ṣaṣṭi-* etc. to a singular fem. in *-ṭi*<sup>2</sup>.

c. The numbers intermediate between these decades are Dvandva compounds formed by prefixing the accented unit to the decade; thus *aṣṭā-viṃśati-* (VS.) 'twenty-eight'; *eka-triṃśat* (VS.) 'thirty-one'; *trāyas-triṃśat* 'thirty-three'; *nāva-catvāriṃśat* (TS.) 'forty-nine'; *nāva-ṣaṣṭi-* (TS.) 'sixty-nine'; *nāvaśṭi-* (TS.) 'eighty-nine'; *pāñca-navati-* (TS.) 'ninety-five'; *ṣaṇṇ-navati-* (TS.) 'ninety-six'; *aṣṭā-navati-* (TS.) 'ninety-eight'.

a. In the TS., the number preceding a decade is also expressed by *ekān nā* 'by one not' = 'minus one'; thus *ekān nā viṃśati-* 'twenty less one' = 'nineteen'; *ekān nā catvāriṃśat* 'thirty-nine'; *ekān nā ṣaṣṭi-* 'fifty-nine'; *ekān nāśṭi-* 'seventy-nine'; *ekān nā śatām* 'a hundred less one', 'ninety-nine'<sup>3</sup>.

β. Intermediate numbers may also be expressed by adding together unit and decade with or without *ca*; e. g. *nāva ca navatiṃ ca* 'ninety and nine'; *navatiṃ nāva* 'ninety-nine'.

d. The numbers expressing 'a hundred' and its multiples are *śatā-* '100'; *sahāśra-* '1000'; *a-yūta-* (AV. TS.) '10000'; *ni-yūta-* (TS.; Kh. IV. 12<sup>8</sup>) '100000'; *pra-yūta-* (VS. TS.) '1000000'; *ārbuda-* (TS.; Kh. IV. 12<sup>8</sup>) '10000000'; *nyārbuda-* (AV. VS. TS.) '100000000'<sup>4</sup>.

a. Intermediate numbers are compounded in the same way with *śatā-* as with the preceding decades; e. g. *eka-śatām* 'a hundred and one'; *catuṣ-śatām* 'a hundred and four'; *triṃśāc-chatām* 'a hundred and thirty'.

β. Multiples may be expressed in two ways. Either the larger number is put in the dual or plural multiplied by the smaller one used adjectivally; e. g. *dvē śatā* (VII. 18<sup>22</sup>) 'two hundred'; *ṣaṣṭiṃ sahāśrā* (VI. 26<sup>6</sup>) 'sixty thousand'; *trīṇi śatā trī sahāśrāṇi triṃśāc ca nāva ca* (III. 99) 'three thousand three hundred and thirty-nine'. Or the multiplier may be prefixed to the larger number, forming with it a possessive compound accented on the final syllable; e. g. *trāyastriṃśat triśatāḥ ṣaṣṭasahasrāḥ* (AV.) 'six thousand three hundred and thirty-three'. Numbers below a hundred are sometimes used multiplicatively in these two ways; e. g. *navatiṃ nāva* (I. 84<sup>13</sup>) 'nine nineties' = 'eight hundred and ten'; *tri-ṣaṭā-*<sup>5</sup> 'thrice seven'; *tri-nāva-* (VS.) 'having thrice nine'.

### Inflexion.

406. With regard to their inflexion, which in many respects is peculiar, the cardinals may be divided into three groups.

a. The first group comprises the first four numerals. These are the only cardinals which, like other adjectives, distinguish the genders. They also distinguish the numbers as far as the sense admits: *eka-* 'one', while inflected chiefly in the singular, forms a plural also in the sense of 'some'; *dvā-* 'two' is of course inflected in the dual only; and *tri-* 'three' and *catūr-* 'four' in the plural only.

i. *éka-* is declined like the second group of pronominal adjectives<sup>6</sup>. The only form of the abl. sing.<sup>3</sup> met with follows the nominal declension,

<sup>1</sup> *aṣṭi-* is radically related to *aṣṭáu*, cp. 56, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 443, I.

<sup>3</sup> In the TS. (B.) are also met with *ekasmān nā pañcāśāt* and *ekasyai nā pañcāśāt* (VII. 4. 7<sup>3</sup>) 'forty-nine': WHITNEY 477, b.

<sup>4</sup> In TS. VII. 2<sup>20</sup> these numerals, followed by *samudrā-*, *mādhya-*, *ānta-*, *parārdhā-*, occur

in succession: we may infer from the first few that each successive number is equal to ten times the preceding one; cp. WHITNEY 475, c. The contents of TS. VII. 2. 11—20 are almost entirely numerals.

<sup>5</sup> Inflected according to the *a-* declension: inst. *trisaptāis*.

<sup>6</sup> See above 403, 2.

viz. *ekāt*, used in the compound numerals *ekān nā trīṃśat* 'twenty-nine' etc. occurring in the TS. A single dual case, from *eka-* in the sense of 'a certain', appears in *ēke yuvatī* (AV. x. 7<sup>42</sup>) 'a certain pair of maidens'. The forms to be found in the Samhitās are: m. sing. N. *ēkas*. A. *ēkam*. I. *ēkena*. G. *ēkasya*. L. *ēkasmin*; pl. N. *ēke*. D. *ēkebhyaḥ*. — f. N. *ēkā*. A. *ēkām*. I. *ēkayā*. G. *ēkasyās*; du. N. *ēke* (AV.); pl. N. *ēkās* (AV.). — n. N. sing. *ēkam*; pl. *ēkā*.

2. *dvā-* 'two', declined in the dual only, is quite regular. The forms occurring are: m. N. *dvā*, *dvōu*. I. *dvābhyām*. G. *dvāyos*. L. *dvāyos*. — f. N. *dvē*. I. *dvābhyām*. — n. N. *dvē*. L. *dvāyos*.

a. The dual form *dvā* is retained in the first member of the numeral compound *dvā-daśa* 'twelve'. Otherwise *dvi-* is used as the stem of *dva-* in derivation, e. g. *dvi-dhā* 'twofold'; and as the first member of compounds, e. g. *dvi-pād-* 'biped'.

3. The cardinal *tri-* 'three' is, in the masc. and neut., inflected like a regular *i-* stem. The fem. stem is *tisṛ-*: the gen. pl. is once (v. 69<sup>2</sup>) written *tisṛṇām* (though the *r* is actually long metrically)<sup>1</sup>. The forms occurring are: m. N. *trīyas*. A. *trin*. I. *tribhīs*. D. *tribhyās*. G. *trīṇām*. L. *triṣh*. — f. N. *tisrās*. A. *tisrās*. I. *tisṛbhīs*. D. *tisṛbhyas*. G. *tisṛṇām*<sup>2</sup>. L. *tisṛṣu*. — n. N. A. *trī*, *trīpi*.

a. The stem used in derivation and compounding is regularly *tri-*, e. g. *tri-dhā* 'in three ways'; *tri-pād-* 'three-footed'. But *tr-* appears in *tr-id-* (AV.) 'third', as a N., and in the secondary ordinal *tr-tīya-* 'third'; and in numeral compounds *triṃ* appears in *triṃśat* 'thirty', and *trīyas* in *trīyo-daśa* 'thirteen', and *trīyas-trīṃśat* 'thirty-three'.

4. *catūr-* 'four' has the stem *catvār-* in the strong forms of the masc. and neut. In the gen. it has the peculiarity of taking *n* before the ending *ām*, though the stem ends in a consonant<sup>3</sup>. The fem. stem is *cātasy-*, which is inflected like *tisṛ-* and shifts its accent like *pāñca*. The forms occurring are: m. N. *catvāras*. A. *cātīras*. I. *cātūrbhīs*. D. *cātūrbhyas* (AV.). G. *caturṇām*<sup>4</sup>. — f. N. *cātasras*. A. *cātasras*. I. *catasṛbhīs*<sup>5</sup>. — n. N. A. *catvāri*.

a. The stem used in derivation and compounding is regularly *catūr-*; e. g. *catur-dhā* 'in four ways'; *catur-daśa* 'fourteen'; *catur-pād-*<sup>6</sup> 'four-footed'. But it is once *catvārim-* (from the n. pl.) in the numeral compound *catvāriṃśat* 'forty'.

b. The second group, comprising the cardinals from 'five' to 'nineteen', though used adjectivally, does not distinguish gender, and takes no ending in the nom. and acc. These numerals also share the same peculiarities of accentuation<sup>7</sup>.

5. N. A. *pāñca* 'five'. I. *pañcābhīs*. D. *pañcābhyas*. L. *pañcāsu*.

6. *ṣaṣ-* 'six': N. A. *ṣaṭ*. I. *ṣaḍbhīs*. D. *ṣaḍbhyās*<sup>8</sup>.

7. N. A. *saptā* 'seven'. I. *saptābhīs*. D. Ab. *saptābhyas*. G. *saptāṇām*.

8. That the cardinal for 'eight' was an old dual<sup>9</sup> is indicated by its forms in the N. A. *aṣṭā*, *aṣṭū* and in the only other cases occurring, I. *aṣṭābhīs*, D. *aṣṭābhyas* (TS.). According to the analysis of the Pada text in a late passage of the RV. (x. 27<sup>15</sup>), *aṣṭōttarāttit* contains the N. *aṣṭā*, doubtless because it is preceded by *saptā* and followed by *nāva* and *dāśa*.

a. The stem used in compounding has mostly the dual form *aṣṭā*; thus *aṣṭā-pād-* 'eight-footed', *aṣṭā-vandhura-* 'eight-seated'<sup>10</sup>; *aṣṭā-daśa-* (TS.) 'eighteen', *aṣṭā-viṃśā-* (AV.)

<sup>1</sup> See above 12, 13; cp. BENFEY, *Vedica und Verwandtes* 4.

<sup>2</sup> On the accentuation, see 94, 2 a.

<sup>3</sup> It shares this peculiarity with *sat-ṇām*, the gen. plur. of *śat-*, which however does not seem to occur in any of the Samhitās.

<sup>4</sup> With accent on the final syllable like the genitives of *pāñca* etc.

<sup>5</sup> G. *catasṛṇām* and L. *catasṛṣu* occur in B.

<sup>6</sup> On the Sandhi, see above 78.

<sup>7</sup> That is, of accenting -ā before the terminations -bhīs, -bhyas, -su, and the final syllable in the gen. See above, 93.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. note 3.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 441, 8.

<sup>10</sup> These are the only two occurrences in the RV., for in *aṣṭa-karṇā-* (x. 62<sup>7</sup>) the first member is doubtless a past participle.

'twenty-eightfold', *aṣṭā-cakra-* (AV.) 'eight-wheeled', *aṣṭā-pakṣa-* (AV.) 'eight-sided', *aṣṭā-yogā-* (AV.) 'yoke of eight'. The form *aṣṭa-* begins to appear in the AV. in the derivative *aṣṭa-dhā* 'in eight ways'; and in the compounds *aṣṭa-kṛtvā* 'eight times', *aṣṭa-yoni-* 'having eight wombs', *aṣṭa-vṛṣā-* 'eight times chief'.

9. N. A. *nāva* 'nine'. I. *navābhis.* D. *navābhyas* (TS.). G. *navānām.*

10. N. A. *dāśa* 'ten'. I. *daśābhis.* D. *daśābhyas* (TS.). G. *daśānām.* L. *daśāsu.*

11. N. A. *ekādaśa* 'eleven'. D. *ekādaśābhyas* (TS.).

12. N. A. *dvādaśa* 'twelve'. D. *dvādaśābhyas* (TS.).

13. N. A. *trāyodaśa* 'thirteen'. I. *trayodaśābhis* (TS.). D. *trayodaśābhyas* (TS.).

14. N. A. *cāturdaśa* 'fourteen'. D. *caturdaśābhyas* (TS.).

15. N. A. *pāñcadaśa* 'fifteen'. D. *pañcadaśābhyas* (TS.).

16. N. A. *ṣoḍaśa* (VS.) 'sixteen'. D. *ṣoḍaśābhyas* (TS.).

17. 18. The N. of the cardinals for 'seventeen' and 'eighteen' does not seem to occur in Mantras. D. *saptadaśābhyas* (TS.); *aṣṭadaśābhyas* (TS.).

19. N. A. *nāvadaśa* (VS.) 'nineteen'. I. *navadaśābhis* (VS.). D. *ekān nā viṃsatyāi* (TS.).

c. The third group of cardinals, comprising the numbers from 'twenty' onwards, are substantives inflected regularly according to the declension of the stem final; e. g. N. *viṃsatī-s* 'twenty', A. *viṃsatī-m*, I. *viṃsaty-ā*; N. *triṃśat* 'thirty', A. *triṃśat am*, I. *triṃśat-ā*, L. *triṃśat-i*. The decades 'twenty' to 'ninety' and their compounds are fem. and nearly always inflected in the sing.; but if the sense requires it they may be used in the plural; e. g. *nāvā navatīḥ* 'nine nineties'; *navānām navatinām* (I. 191<sup>13</sup>) 'of nine nineties'.

a. *śatā-* 'a hundred' and *sahasra-* 'a thousand' are neuters, which may be declined in all numbers; e. g. *dvē śatē* 'two hundred'; *saptā śatāni* 'seven hundred'.

### Syntactical employment of the Cardinals.

407. a. The numerals from 'one' to 'nineteen' are used adjectivally; e. g. *trīyo vīrāḥ* (III. 56<sup>8</sup>) 'three heroes'; *saptābhiḥ putrāḥ* (x. 72<sup>9</sup>) 'with seven sons'; *jāneṣu pañcāsu* (III. 37<sup>9</sup>) 'among the five races'. The bare stem (in the numerals of the second group) is, however, sometimes used in the oblique cases; e. g. *saptā hōtrbhiḥ* (III. 10<sup>4</sup>) 'with seven priests'; *ādhi pāñca kṛṣṭīṣu* (II. 2<sup>10</sup>) 'over the five tribes'.

a. Exceptionally these numerals are, however, to be met with governing a genitive; e. g. *dāśa kalāśānām* (IV. 32<sup>19</sup>) 'ten jars'.

b. The third group of numerals (from 'twenty' upwards), as singular substantives, is treated in two ways.

1. They may govern a genitive; e. g. *pañcāśtām āśvānām* (v. 18<sup>5</sup>) 'fifty horses'; *ṣaṣṭīm āśvānām* (VIII. 46<sup>29</sup>) 'sixty horses'; *śatām gónām* (I. 126<sup>2</sup>) 'a hundred kine'. So also when *śatā-* and *sahasra-* are in the du. or pl.; e. g. *gávām śatāni* (VII. 103<sup>10</sup>) 'hundreds of kine'; *sahásrāṇi gávām* (VIII. 51<sup>2</sup>) 'thousands of kine'.

2. They may, remaining singular, agree in case with the following plural, being then used adjectivally (not appositionally, because they always precede the substantive in this use); e. g. *triṃśád devāḥ* (III. 9<sup>9</sup>) 'thirty gods'; *triṃśatām yījanāni* (I. 123<sup>8</sup>) 'thirty leagues'; *triṃśatā hárībhiḥ* (II. 18<sup>5</sup>) 'with thirty bays'; *śatēna hárībhiḥ* (II. 18<sup>6</sup>) 'with a hundred bays'; *śatām pūrah* (IV. 27<sup>1</sup>) 'a hundred forts'; *sahásraṃ hārayaḥ* (IV. 46<sup>3</sup>) 'a thousand bays'. The following word, agreeing with *sahasra-*, may be in the singular as a collective; thus *śīnaś cic chēpaṃ nīditaṃ sahasrād yūpād amuñcaḥ* (v. 2<sup>7</sup>) 'Sunahšepa, who was bound, thou didst release from a thousand posts'.

a. *śatā-* and *sahasra-* have, in their adjectival use, the peculiarity of sometimes either being put in the plural themselves or retaining the N. A. neuter sing. form (like *pāñca*) when in agreement with an inst. pl.; e. g. *śatā pūrah* (I. 53<sup>8</sup>) 'a hundred forts'; *sahásrāṇy*



*ādhirathāni* (x. 98<sup>9</sup>) 'a thousand wagonloads'; *śatām pūrbbhiḥ* (vi. 48<sup>8</sup>) 'with a hundred forts'; *sahasram īśibhiḥ* (i. 189<sup>8</sup>) 'with a thousand seers'.

β. The numeral pronouns *kāti* 'how many?', *tāti* 'so many', *yāti* 'as many', remain uninflected in agreement with nominatives and accusatives plural, which are the only cases found occurring with them in the *Saṃhitās*.

### B. Ordinals.

408. The ordinals, being all adjectives ending in *-a*, are declined throughout in the masc. and neut. according to the nominal *a*-declension. The feminine is formed with *-ī*<sup>2</sup>, except in the first four, which take *-ā*, viz. *prathamā*<sup>3</sup>, *dvitīyā*, *tṛtīyā*<sup>3</sup>, *turiyā* (TS.). The ordinals may best be divided into four groups according to the formation of their stems.

1. The ordinals from 'first' to 'tenth' are formed with various suffixes, viz. *(-t)-īya*, *-tha*, *-thamā*, *-mā*, the first four in a somewhat irregular manner.

a. *pra-thamā* 'first' was doubtless formed from *pra-* with the superlative suffix *-tama*<sup>4</sup>, meaning 'foremost', the initial of the suffix being probably changed under the influence of other ordinals formed with *-tha* (*śaṣṭhā*, etc.).

b. The next three ordinals are formed with the suffix *-īya*: *dvit-īya* 'second', *tṛt-īya* 'third', secondarily through *dvi-tā* 'second', and *tṛ-tā* 'third', both used as names; *tur-īya* 'fourth' for *\*ktur-īya* (beside *catur-thā*). The latter when used in the fractional sense is accented *tūrīya* (AV.) 'quarter'<sup>5</sup>.

c. The ordinal for 'sixth', besides the alternative forms for 'fourth' and 'seventh', is formed with *-tha*: *ṣaṣ-ṭhā* (AV. VS.), *catur-thā* (AV. VS.), *saptā-tha* (RV.).

d. The ordinals for 'fifth' and 'seventh' to 'tenth' are formed with *-ma*: *pañca-mā* (AV. VS.), *sapta-mā* (VS.) beside *saptā-tha*, *aṣṭa-mā*, *nava-mā*, *daśa-mā*.

2. The stems of the ordinals for 'seventh' to 'nineteenth' are the same as those of the cardinals, except that they are accented on the final syllable. In inflexion they differ from the cardinals in following the ordinary nominal *a*-declension; thus from *ekādaśā* 'eleventh' are formed: sing. m. A. *ekādaśam*; pl. N. *ekādaśāḥ*, A. *ekādaśīm*, I. *ekādaśīs*.

3. The ordinals for 'twentieth' to 'ninetieth' (including their compounds) seem, judged by some three examples met with in the *Saṃhitās* (and some four others in B.), to have been abbreviated forms of the cardinals, ending in *-ā*: *eka-viṃśā* 'twenty-first' (B.) 'consisting of twenty-one' (VS.), *catvāriṃśā* (RV.) 'fortieth', *aṣṭā-catvāriṃśā* (VS.) 'forty-eighth'; *catus-triṃśā* (B.) 'thirty-fourth', *dvā-pañcāśā* (B.) 'fifty-second', *eka-ṣaṣṭā* (B.) 'sixty-first'.

4. The ordinals for 'hundredth' and 'thousandth' are formed with the superlative suffix *-tama*: *śata-tamā*; but *sahasra-tamā* has been noted in B. passages only (TS. ŚB.).

### C. Numeral Derivatives.

409. A number of derivatives, chiefly adverbs, are formed from the cardinals.

a. There are a few **multiplicative adjectives** derived with the suffixes *-a*, *-ya*, *-taya*, *-vaya*; thus *tray-ā* 'threefold' (from *tri*); *dva-yā* 'twofold'; *daśa-taya* 'tenfold'; *catur-vaya* 'fourfold'.

b. **Multiplicative adverbs** are formed in three different ways. 'Once'

<sup>1</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK 50.

<sup>2</sup> Inflected like stems in derivative *-ī*: 377.

<sup>3</sup> Both *prathamā* and *tṛtīyā* have one form each according to the pronominal declension in the AV. (403, 3, c).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. the adverbial acc. *pra-tamām* (B.) 'specially'. See BRUGMANN, KG. 447, I.

<sup>5</sup> Similarly in B. passages *caturtha* 'quarter', *tūrīya* 'third'.

is expressed by *sa-kṛt*, which originally seems to have meant 'one making'. The next three are formed with the suffix *-s*: *dvī-s* 'twice'; *tri-s* 'thrice', *catvīs* (AV.) 'four times' (for *\*catvī-s*, cp. Av. *čathru-š*)<sup>1</sup>. Others are expressed by the cardinal and the form *kṛtvās* 'times' (probably = 'makings', acc. pl. of *\*kṛtu-*), which, except in *aṣṭa-kṛtvās* (AV.) 'eight times', is a separate word; thus *dśa kṛtvās* (AV.) 'ten times', *bhūri kṛtvās* (RV.) 'many times'<sup>2</sup>.

c. Numeral adverbs of manner are formed with the suffix *-dhā*; thus *dvī-dhā* 'in two ways or parts'; similarly *tri-dhā* and *tre-dhā*, *catur-dhā*, *pañca-dhā* (AV.), *ṣoḍhā*<sup>3</sup>, *sapta-dhā* (AV. VS. TS.), *aṣṭa-dhā* (AV.), *nava-dhā* (AV.), *sahasra-dhā*.

## VII. THE VERB.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 788—920. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 527—1073. — DELBRÜCK, Das altindische Verbum, Halle 1874. — AVERY, Contributions to the history of verb-inflection in Sanskrit, JAOS. x. (1876), 219—276; 311—324. — JUL. V. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte des Veda. Das Verbalsystem des Atharva-Veda, Berlin 1898.

410. General characteristics. — The verbal system comprises the two groups of forms which include, on the one hand, the finite verb and, on the other, the nominal formations connected with the verb. The former group represents the forms made with personal endings, viz. indicative, subjunctive, injunctive, optative, and imperative. The latter group consists of infinitives (nouns of action) and participles (agent nouns). These differ from ordinary nouns inasmuch as they participate in the characteristics of the verb, governing cases, being connected with particular tenses, being used in different voices, and being liable to tmesis when compounded with prepositions.

A. The finite verb distinguishes the **primary conjugation** of the root and the **secondary conjugation** of derivative formations, viz. desiderative, intensive, causative, and denominative. The latter class does not, however, differ in origin from the former; but doubtless because (in contrast with the present stems of the primary conjugation) it preserves the distinctive meaning of the stem, it extends the form of the present stem beyond the present system to the whole conjugation.

The finite verb further distinguishes voice, tense, mood, number, and person.

a. There are **two voices**, active and middle, which are distinguished throughout the inflexion of the verb (largely also in the participle, though not in the infinitive). The middle forms may be employed in a passive sense, except in the present system where there is a special passive stem inflected with middle terminations. Some verbs are conjugated in both active and middle; e. g. *kṛṇṇ-ti* and *kṛṇṇ-té* 'makes'; others in one voice only, e. g. *ās-ti* 'is'; others partly in one and partly in the other; e. g. pres. *vārtā-te* 'turns', but perf. *vavārt-a* 'has turned'.

b. There are **five tenses** in ordinary use, viz. the present, the imperfect, the perfect, the aorist, and the future. The terms imperfect, perfect, and aorist are here used in a purely formal sense, that is, as corresponding in formation to the Greek tenses bearing those names. No Vedic tense has an imperfect meaning, while the perfect sense is generally expressed by the aorist.

c. Beside the indicative there are **four moods**, the subjunctive, the injunctive, the optative, and the imperative, all formed from the stem of the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 450, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 1105, a.

<sup>3</sup> For *ṣaṣ-dhā*; cp. above 43, b, 3; 56, b; and p. 307, note 8.

present, the perfect, and the aorist. The imperfect has no moods; and the only modal form occurring in the future is the unique subjunctive *kariṣyās*, from *kṛ-* 'make'.

d. The finite verb is, as in other languages, used in **three persons** in all tenses and moods excepting the imperative, where the first persons are supplied from the subjunctive. As in declension, the three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, are in regular use throughout.

**B. The nominal verb-forms** comprise:

a. **Participles.** The tense-stem of the present, future, aorist, and perfect each forms an active and a middle participle; e. g. *gúcchant-*, *gúccha-māna-* 'going'; *karisyānt-* 'going to do', *yakṣyā-māna-* 'going to sacrifice'; *kránt-*, *krāná-* 'making'; *cakṛvāns-*, *cakṛāná-* 'having done'. Besides these, there are passive participles, present, perfect, and future. The present form is made from the passive stem in *-ya*; e. g. *stīryā-māna-* 'being praised'. The perfect passive participle, on the other hand, is formed from the root; e. g. *kṛ-tá-* 'made'; as is also (with few exceptions) the future passive participle or gerundive; e. g. *vánd-ya-* 'praiseworthy'.

b. **Gerunds.** These are stereotyped cases (chiefly instrumentals) of verbal nouns, and have the value of indeclinable active participles with a prevailingly past sense; e. g. *gatvī* and *gatvāya* 'having gone'.

c. **Infinitives.** There are about a dozen differently formed types of infinitives, which are cases of verbal nouns made directly or with a suffix from the root, and hardly ever connected with a tense stem; e. g. *ídḥ-am* 'to kindle'; *gán-tavdi* 'to go'.

### A. The Finite Verb.

411. All forms of the finite verb<sup>1</sup> may be classed under **four groups**: (1) the **present system**, comprising the present tense together with its moods and participles, and its augmented past tense, the imperfect; (2) the **perfect system**, comprising the perfect tense together with its moods and participles, and its augmented past tense, the pluperfect<sup>2</sup> (494); (3) the **aorist system**, comprising the aorist tense together with its moods and participles; (4) the **future system**, comprising the future tense<sup>3</sup> together with its participles, and its augmented past form, the conditional<sup>4</sup>.

### Personal Endings.

412. The characteristic feature of the finite verb is the addition of personal endings<sup>5</sup>. These are divided into active and middle; in each of which groups, again, **primary and secondary forms** are to be distinguished. The primary forms appear throughout the present and future indicative, but in the middle only of the perfect indicative<sup>6</sup>. The secondary forms appear in augmented indicatives, in injunctives (which are identical in form with un-augmented past indicatives), in the imperative (several forms of which are identical with the injunctive)<sup>7</sup>, and in the optative. The subjunctive fluctuates between the primary and the secondary endings, but the latter are about

<sup>1</sup> Over 18000 occurrences of verb-forms have been noted by AVERY (221) in the RV.

<sup>2</sup> This term is used in a purely formal sense, as this rare tense has not a pluperfect meaning.

<sup>3</sup> There is no periphrastic future in the *Saṃhitās*.

<sup>4</sup> There is only a single occurrence of this formation in the *Saṃhitās*.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. AVERY 225 f.; BRUGMANN, KG. 771-798.

<sup>6</sup> The 3. pl. has here the peculiar ending *-vā*.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 729.

twice as frequent as the former<sup>1</sup>. The perfect indicative active has some of the regular secondary endings (*-va, -ma, -ur*), but the rest are of a peculiar type.

### Active endings.

Primary. Sing. 1. *-mi*<sup>2</sup>. 2. *-si*. 3. *-ti*<sup>3</sup>. Du. 1. *-vas*<sup>4</sup>. 2. *-thas*<sup>5</sup>. 3. *-tas*<sup>5</sup>. Pl. 1. *-masi, -mas*<sup>6</sup>. 2. *-tha, -thana*<sup>7</sup>. 3. *-anti*<sup>8</sup>.

Secondary. Sing. 1. *-m*. 2. *-s*<sup>9</sup>. 3. *-t*<sup>10</sup>. Du. 1. *-va*. 2. *-tam*. 3. *-tām*. Pl. 1. *-ma*. 2. *-ta, -tana*<sup>11</sup>. 3. *-an, -ur*<sup>12</sup>.

### Middle endings.

Primary. Sing. 1. *-e*. 2. *-se*<sup>13</sup>. 3. *-te*<sup>14</sup>. Du. 1. *-vahe*<sup>15</sup>. 2. *-āthe*<sup>16</sup>. 3. *-āte*<sup>16</sup>. Pl. 1. *-mahe*<sup>17</sup>. 2. *-dhve*<sup>18</sup>. 3. *-ante*<sup>19</sup>.

Secondary. Sing. 1. *-i*<sup>20</sup>. 2. *-thās*<sup>21</sup>. 3. *-ta*<sup>22</sup>. Du. 1. *-vahi*. 2. *-āthām*<sup>23</sup>. 3. *-ātām*<sup>23</sup>. Pl. 1. *-mahī*. 2. *-dhvam*<sup>24</sup>. 3. *-anta*<sup>25</sup>.

a. Beside the perfect endings containing *r*, act. du. 2. *-athur*, 3. *-atur*, pl. 3. *-ur*, middle *-re*, some verbs have endings with initial *r* in the 3. pl. mid. ind. and opt. of most tenses. These endings are *-re* and *-rate* in the pres. ind.; *-rire* in the perf. ind.; *-rau* in the opt. pres. and the ind. imperfect, pluperfect, and aorist; *-ram* in the ind. aor.; *-ranta* in the pluperfect; *-rata* in the opt. In the AV. *-rām* and *-ratām* appear in the 3. pl. impv. mid.<sup>26</sup>

b. More than twenty roots have forms in which certain endings are added to the root with the connecting vowel *i* or less commonly *ī*. These roots are *an-* 'breathe', *am-* 'injure', *as-* 'be', *īd-* 'praise', *is-* 'rule', *cid-* 'impel', *jan-* 'beget', *tu-* 'be strong', *dhvan-* 'sound', *brū-* 'speak', *vam-* 'vomit', *vas-* 'clothe', *vṛs-* 'rain', *śnath-* 'pierce', *śru-* 'hear',

<sup>1</sup> AVERY 227 (middle).

<sup>2</sup> The subjunctive has *-āni* and instead of it (13 times) *-ā*; cp. AVERY 225 (mid.) and BRUGMANN, KG. 772.

<sup>3</sup> The perf. ind. has the peculiar endings 1. *-a* or *-au*, 2. *-tha*, 3. *-a* or *-au* in the sing.

<sup>4</sup> This ending does not occur in the RV.; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> The perf. act. du. has the peculiar endings 2. *-athu*, 3. *-atur*.

<sup>6</sup> *-masi* occurs 109 times in the RV., being more than 5 times as frequent as *-mas* (cp. WHITNEY 548; AVERY 226), but in the AV. *-mas* has become commoner than *-masi* in the proportion of 4 to 3. On these endings cp. NEISSER, BB. 30, 311—315.

<sup>7</sup> In the RV. *-tha* occurs more than 6 times as often as *-thana* (AVERY 226). The perf. ind. has the peculiar ending *-a*.

<sup>8</sup> The *an* is replaced by *a* (for the sonant nasal) in reduplicated verbs and a few others treated as such; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 51 (mid.).

<sup>9</sup> The impv. act. adds *-dhi, -hi, -āna, -tāt* or no ending.

<sup>10</sup> The 3. impv. has *-tu* instead of *-t*; in the RV. and TS. also *-tāt*; see 418 b.

<sup>11</sup> In the RV. *-ta* occurs more than 4 times as often as *-tana* (560 occurrences to 125; AVERY 226).

<sup>12</sup> In the ind. perf., the ind. *s*-aorist, and the optative, *-ur* always appears, sometimes also in the imperfect; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 52. The impv. has *-antu*, which loses its *n* under the same conditions as *-anti*.

<sup>13</sup> In the AV. *-sai* is the only form of the subjunctive (WHITNEY 561, a).

<sup>14</sup> *-tai* occurs once in the RV. for *-te* in the subjunctive; it is the usual form in the AV. In the RV. *-e* sometimes occurs for *-te* in the ind. pres.; it is the only ending in the perf. ind.

<sup>15</sup> The subjunctive has *-vahi*.

<sup>16</sup> In the *a*-conjugation *-ethe* and *-ete*; *aithe* and *-aite* appear in the RV. as subjunctives in several forms; *-aite* occurs once as an indicative; cp. WHITNEY 547, c and 561, a; DELBRÜCK, Verbum 106 and p. 45 (mid.).

<sup>17</sup> *-mahai* is the usual form in the subjunctive in the RV. and AV.

<sup>18</sup> In the RV. once *-dhvai* in the subjunctive.

<sup>19</sup> In the impv. *-antām* and *-atām*.

<sup>20</sup> In the optative (*īy*)-*a*.

<sup>21</sup> In the impv. *-sva*.

<sup>22</sup> In the impv. *-tām*.

<sup>23</sup> In the *a*-conjugation *-ethām* and *-etām*.

<sup>24</sup> Once *-dhva* in the RV.

<sup>25</sup> In the impv. *-antām*; both this ending and *-anta* lose their *n* under the same conditions as *-anti*. The perf. ind. has *-re*.

<sup>26</sup> See DELBRÜCK, Verbum 76—78; AVERY 226; BRUGMANN, KG. 797; cp. also BOLLENSEN, ZDMG. 22, 599; KUHN, KZ. 18, 400; BENFEY, Ueber die Entstehung und Verwendung der im Sanskrit mit *r* anlautenden Personalendungen, Abh. d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen 15, Göttingen 1870; WINDISCH, Berichte der sächsischen Gesellschaft d. Wiss. 1889, p. 1 ff.; ZIMMER, KZ. 30, 224 ff.

*śvas-* 'breathe', *śidh-* 'repel', *śtan-* 'thunder', *śambh-* 'prop'. There are also a few 3. plurals in *-i-re*, viz. *ṛṇvire*, *ṇivire*, *śṛṇvire*, *śuvire* and *hinvire*, in which the connecting vowel *i* appears.<sup>2</sup>

### The Augment.

413. The augment<sup>3</sup> (originally doubtless an independent temporal particle) consists of the syllable *a-*, which is prefixed to the imperfect, pluperfect, aorist, and conditional, giving to those forms the signification of past time. It invariably bears the acute when the verb is accented, like the preposition immediately preceding a verb in a principal sentence (111). The augment sometimes appears lengthened before *n*, *y*, *r* or *v*, the only examples being *ā-naṭ*, from *naṣ-* 'attain'; *ā-yunak* (beside *a-yunak*), *ā-yukta* (beside *a-yukta*), and *ā-yukṣātām*, from *yuj-* 'join'; *ā-riṇak* and *ā-raik*, from *ric-* 'leave'; *ā-var*, from *vṛ-* 'cover'; *ā-vṛṇi*, from *vṛ-* 'choose'; *ā-vṛnak*, from *vṛj-* 'turn'; *ā-vidhyat* (beside *a-vidhyat*), from *vyadh-* 'wound'. The only one of these forms written with *ā* in the Pada text is *ā-var* (but once also *a-var*). There is also one passage (II. 17.9) in which the metre seems to require that *yās tī* 'vidhat should be read *yās ta āvidhat*.

a. With the initial vowels *i*, *u*, *r* the augment irregularly contracts to the Vṛddhi vowels *ai*, *au*, *ār*; e.g. *āicchas*, 2. sing. imperf. of *iṣ-* 'wish'; *āunat*, 3. sing. imperf. of *ud-* 'wet'; *ārta*, 3. sing. aor. of *r-* 'go'. This appears to be a survival of a prehistoric contraction of *ā* with *i*, *u*, *r* to *āi*, *āu*, *ār*, which is otherwise almost invariably represented by *e*, *o*, *ar*<sup>5</sup>.

b. The augment is very often dropped. This optional loss is to be explained as a survival from the Indo-European period when, being an independent particle, the augment could be dispensed with if the past sense was clear from the context. In the RV. the number of examples in which the augment is wanting (about 2000) is considerably more than half that of forms in which it is prefixed (about 3300), more than one half of these unaugmented forms being aorists. In the AV. the number of forms which lose the augment is less than half that of those which retain it, more than four fifths of these unaugmented forms being aorists. In sense, the forms which drop the augment are either indicative or injunctive. The indicatives have for the most part a past, but often also (generally when compounded with prefixes) a present meaning. In the RV., the indicative and injunctive unaugmented forms are about equal in number<sup>6</sup>; the injunctives being used in nearly one-third of their occurrences with the prohibitive particle *mā*. In the AV. about nine-tenths of the unaugmented forms are injunctive, some four-fifths of these being construed with *mā*.

### Formation of the Moods.

414. 1. Subjunctive<sup>7</sup>. The subjunctive is a very common mood in the RV. and the AV., occurring three or four times as often as the optative. It is formed from the present, the perfect, and the aorist<sup>8</sup>. The stem is formed by adding *a* to the indicative stem. When a strong and weak stem are distinguished, the *a* is attached to the former; while it coalesces to *ā* with the final of the stem in the *a*-conjugation. Thus the subjunctive stem of

<sup>1</sup> AVERY 226.

<sup>2</sup> AVERY 227 (top).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. AVERY 225; BRUGMANN KG. 626.

<sup>4</sup> WHITNEY 585, a.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. above 19 a, 4. 5.

<sup>6</sup> WHITNEY 587, a. According to AVERY 225, the unaugmented forms of the RV.

have a historical sense in 488 instances only.

<sup>7</sup> See especially W. NEISSER, Zur vedischen Verballehre (Inaugural-Dissertat.), Göttingen 1882 = BB. 7 (1883), 211—241.

<sup>8</sup> Only a single form of the future subjunctive occurs.

the root *dūh-* 'milk' is *dōh-a-*; of *yuj-* 'join' *yundj-a-*; but of *bhū-* 'be' *bhāv-ā-*. Owing to the analogy of the *a-* conjugation, other verbs sometimes add *ā* instead of *a*, e. g. *brav-ā-thā* from *brū-* 'speak'<sup>1</sup>. The subjunctive is on the whole inflected like an indicative, but with fluctuations between the primary and the secondary endings, besides some variations in the endings themselves. Thus in the active, (1) the ending of the 1. sing. is *-āni*, of which the *ni* is dropped thirteen times in the RV., e. g. *dōh-āni*, *yundj-āni*, *bhāv-āni*; *bhāv-ā*; (2) the 1. du. and 1. 3. pl. have the secondary endings *-va*, *-ma*, *-an* only; e. g. *dōh-āva*, *dōh-āma*, *dōh-an*; *bhāv-āva*, *bhāv-āma*, *bhāv-an*; (3) the 2. 3. sing. may take the secondary endings as well as the primary; e. g. *dōh-a-si* or *dōh-a-s*; *bhāv-ā-ti* or *bhāv-ā-t*<sup>2</sup>.

In the middle, (1) the only secondary ending is found in the 3. pl., *-anta*, which occurs beside and more frequently than *-ante*; (2) the ending *-ai*, which is normal in the 1. sing. (being = *a + e*), has spread from that person to forms in which *e* would be normal. Thus the 1. du. has *-āvahai* only; in the 1. pl., *-āmahai* is the usual form in the RV. and AV. beside the rarer *-āmahe*; in the 2. sing., *-sai* always appears for *-se* in the AV., though it does not occur in the RV.; in the 2. pl., *-dhvai* occurs once for *-dhve*<sup>3</sup> in the RV.; in the 2. 3. du., *-aithe* and *-aite* occur several times in the RV., being doubtless intended for subjunctive modifications<sup>4</sup> of the indicative *-etthe* and *-ete* of the *a-* conjugation; in the 3. sing., *-tai* occurs once in the RV. for *-te*, and is the usual form in the AV.

a. The subjunctive endings in combination with the *-a* of the stem are accordingly the following:

Active			Middle		
sing.	du.	pl.	sing.	du.	pl.
1. <i>āni</i> , <i>-ā</i>	<i>-ā-va</i>	<i>-ā-ma</i>	1. <i>-ai</i>	<i>-ā-vahai</i>	<i>-ā-mahai</i> , <i>-ā-mahe</i>
2. <i>-a-si</i> <sup>5</sup> , <i>-a-s</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>-a-thas</i>	<i>-a-tha</i>	2. <i>-a-se</i> , <i>-a-sai</i>	<i>-aithe</i>	<i>-a-dhve</i> , <i>-a-dhvai</i>
3. <i>-a-ti</i> <sup>7</sup> , <i>-a-t</i>	<i>-a-tas</i>	<i>-a-n</i>	3. <i>-a-te</i> , <i>-a-tai</i>	<i>-aite</i>	<i>-a-ntē</i> , <i>-a-nta</i> .

415. **Injunctive.** The unaugmented forms of past tenses used modally, are sometimes called improper subjunctives<sup>8</sup>, but they are more suitably termed injunctives, as they appear to have originally expressed an injunction. This is borne out by the fact that since the IE. period the second and third persons imperfect (except the 2. sing. act.) had come to be used as regular imperatives expressing a command<sup>9</sup>. But the unaugmented forms of the imperfect that could be distinguished from the regular imperative (as *bhāras*, *bhārat*, *bharan*) and especially unaugmented aorists<sup>10</sup>, are often used in a sense fluctuating between that of the subjunctive (requisition) and of the optative (wish)<sup>11</sup>. Thus *bhāratu* 'let him bear', but *bhārat* 'may he bear', *bhāt* 'may he be'.

416. **Optative.** This mood, which is comparatively rare in the Samhitās, is formed from the present, the perfect, and the aorist. The stem is formed with *-yā* or *-ī*, which, when strong and weak stem are distinguished,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 560e; BRUGMANN, KG. 719.

<sup>2</sup> The subjunctive in *ā* is in origin an old injunctive: BRUGMANN, KG. 716 (end).

<sup>3</sup> In the form *mādayādhvai* 'may ye rejoice'.

<sup>4</sup> *kṛnvaitē*, however, appears once as an indicative; see DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> In the aor. subj., *-si* occurs only once in the RV.

<sup>6</sup> In the *a-* conjugation *ā* appears throughout: *-ā-si*, *-ās*, etc.

<sup>7</sup> In the aor. subj., *-ti* occurs only six times in the RV.

<sup>8</sup> WHITNEY 563.

<sup>9</sup> The 3. sing. and pl., e. g. *bhārat-u* and *bhārant-u*, are explained as injunctives and the particle *u*: BRUGMANN, KG. 729, 1.

<sup>10</sup> The aorist injunctives were probably used originally with the prohibitive particle *mā* only: BRUGMANN, KG. 716, 2 (end).

<sup>11</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 575.

are attached to the latter. In the *a*- conjugation *-ī* is added (coalescing with *a* to *e*) throughout; in other verbs *-ī* is added in the middle only, and *-yā* (often to be read as *-iā*) in the active only<sup>1</sup>.

a. Roots ending in *ā* usually change that vowel to *e* before *-yā*: e. g. *de-yām* (perhaps to be explained as *dāiā*)<sup>2</sup> 'I would give'. But *ā* is sometimes retained, as in *yā-yām* 'I would go'.

b. The endings are the secondary ones. There are, however, some irregularities in the 1. sing. and the 3. pl. 1. The 3. pl. mid. always takes *-an* instead of *-an*. 2. The 3. pl. act. always takes *-ur*, before which the *ā* of *-yā* is dropped, while in the *a*- conjugation *y* is interposed between *e*<sup>3</sup> and *-ur*. 3. The 1. sing. mid. has the peculiar ending *a* with *y* interposed between it and the modal *-ī*. 4. The 1. sing. act. of the *a*- conjugation attaches *-am* instead of *-m* (the termination *-em* being unknown), interposing *y* between it and the *e*<sup>3</sup> of the stem.

a. The endings of the optative in combination with the modal suffix are accordingly the following:

### 1. Graded conjugation.

Active			Middle		
sing.	du.	pl.	sing.	du.	pl.
1. <i>-yā-m</i>	<i>-yā-va</i>	<i>-yā-ma</i>	1. <i>-ī-y-ā</i>	<i>-ī-vāhi</i>	<i>-ī-māhi</i>
2. <i>-yā-s</i>	<i>-yā-tam</i>	<i>-yā-ta</i>	2. <i>-ī-thās</i>	<i>-ī-y-āthām</i>	<i>-ī-dhvām</i>
3. <i>-yā-t</i>	<i>-yā-tām</i>	<i>-y-ūr</i>	3. <i>-ī-tā</i>	<i>-ī-y-ātām</i>	<i>-ī-r-ān</i>

### 2. a- conjugation.

1. <i>-e-y-am</i>	<i>-e-va</i>	<i>-e-ma</i>	1. <i>-e-y-a</i>	<i>-e-vahi</i>	<i>-e-mahi</i>
2. <i>-e-s</i>	<i>-e-tam</i>	<i>-e-ta</i>	2. <i>-e-thās</i>	<i>-e-y-āthām</i>	<i>-e-dhvam</i>
3. <i>-e-t</i>	<i>-e-tām</i>	<i>-e-y-ur</i>	3. <i>-e-ta</i>	<i>-e-y-ātām</i>	<i>-e-r-an</i> .

417. **Precative.** This is a form of the optative which adds an *-s* after the modal suffix in several persons, and is made almost exclusively from aorist stems. In the RV. there occur a few forms of the precative in three persons (1. 3. sing., 1. pl.) active, and in two persons (2. 3. sing.) middle; thus **active**: 1. sing. *bhū-yā-s-am* (aor.) 'may I be'; 3. sing. *aś-yās* (for *\*aś-yā-s-t*) 'may he attain' (aor.); *babhū-yās* 'may he be' (perf.); 1. pl. *kri-yā-s-ma* 'may we do' (aor.); **middle**: 2. sing. *maṇ-s-ī-s-thās* (aor.) and 3. sing. *maṇ-s-ī-s-ṭa* (aor.), from *man*- 'think'.

418. **Imperative.** This mood has no mood-sign of its own, as all the first persons are subjunctives and the second and third persons are mostly old injunctives. The purely injunctive forms are the 2. 3. du. and 2. pl. active and middle, ending in *-tam*, *-tām*, *-ta*; *-āthām*, *-ātām*, *-dhvam*. The 3. sing. pl. act. in *-tu*<sup>4</sup> and *-antu*<sup>5</sup>, and the 3. pl. mid. in *-antām*<sup>5</sup> may be modifications of injunctives. The imperative has, however, distinctive forms of its own in the 2. sing. act.: *-dhi*, *-hi*, *-āna*, *-tāt*; and in the middle: 2. sing. *-sva* and 3. sing. *-tām* or *-ām*.

a. The 2. sing. act. in the *a*-conjugation has no ending, employing the bare stem (like the vocative singular of the *a*- declension); e. g. *bhāra* 'support'; *neṣa* 'lead' (aor. of *√nī*-). In the graded conjugation, when a strong and weak stem are distinguished, the ending is attached to the latter: *-dhi* is added after both consonants and vowels, *-hi* (the later form of *-dhi*) after vowels only; thus *ad-dhi* 'eat'; *śru-dhi* and *śṛṇu-dhi* 'hear'; *i-hi* 'go'; *jāgr-hi* 'awake'; *pīpī-hi* 'save'; *śṛṇu-hi* 'hear'. In the *nā*- class, *-hi* is added

<sup>1</sup> On the accentuation cp. above 9 and 24 a.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 555 (bottom).

<sup>3</sup> The *e* (for *a*) is here probably due to the influence of the other forms *-es*, *-et*, etc.: BRUGMANN, KG. 728.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 729, 1; IF. 18, 71; DELBRÜCK, Vergl. Syntax 2, p. 357.

<sup>5</sup> The ending *-antu* and *-antām* lose their *n* under the same conditions as *-anti* (p. 314, note <sup>4</sup>).

only when the root ends in a vowel, but *-āna*<sup>1</sup> when it ends in a consonant; thus *pu-nīhi* 'purify', but *as-āna* 'eat'.

b. The ending *-tāt* occurs some twenty times in the RV. When strong and weak stem are distinguished, it is added to the latter; e. g. *vit-tāt* 'thou shalt regard', *dhat-tāt* 'thou shalt place', *kṛṇu-tāt* 'thou shalt make', *punī-tāt* 'thou shalt purify', etc.<sup>2</sup> Its use is almost restricted to the 2. sing. It is, however, once<sup>3</sup> found in the RV. and once in the TS. in the sense of the 3. sing., once as 2. du. in the RV., once as 2. pl. in the TS., and once as 1. sing. in AV.<sup>4</sup> It appears to have the value of a future imperative, expressing an injunction to be carried out at a time subsequent to the present. It may originally have been identical with the abl. *tād* 'after that', 'then'; *kṛṇu-tāt* would thus have meant 'do (it) then'<sup>5</sup>.

### I. The Present System.

419. This group consists of a present indicative together with a subjunctive, an injunctive, an optative, an imperative, and participles, besides a past augmented tense called the imperfect because formed analogously to the Greek tense. This is the most important system, as its forms are about three times as common as those of the three other systems taken together<sup>6</sup>. Hence roots are generally classified according to the manner in which their stems are formed in the present system. Here two distinct conjugations may be conveniently distinguished.

The first or *a*- conjugation, all the stems in which end in *-a*, retains the stem unaltered (like the *a*- declension) in every tense, mood, and participle, accenting the same syllable throughout the present indicative, its moods and participles, as well as the unaugmented imperfect<sup>7</sup>. The secondary conjugations in *-a* (desideratives, intensives, causatives, denominatives) as well as the future<sup>8</sup>, follow this conjugation in their inflexion.

The second or graded conjugation is characterized by shift of accent between stem and ending, accompanied by vowel gradation. Minor differences consist in the loss of *n* in the 3. pl. middle, in the addition of another suffix (*-āna* instead of *-māna*) in the middle participle, in the employment of an ending in the 2. sing. impv. act., and in vowel gradation, with shift of accent, in the modal suffix of the optative.

#### a. The first or *a*- conjugation.

420. The special characteristics of this conjugation are:

1. The *-a* of the stem is lengthened before the endings of the 1. du. and pl. which begin with *v* and *m*; e. g. *jayāmasi* 'we conquer'; while the initial *a* of the endings of the 3. pl. *-anti*, *-ante*, *-an*, *-anta*, is dropped; e. g. *bhāra-nti* 'they bear'.

2. The optative sign is throughout *-ī*, which combines with the *-a* of the present stem to *e*; e. g. *bhāves*.

3. The 2. sing. impv. act. has no ending except the comparatively few instances (about sixteen) in which *-tāt* is added.

<sup>1</sup> On the origin of this peculiar imperative form cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 839, 5.

<sup>2</sup> See DELBRÜCK, Verbum 38.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. 77; WHITNEY 571, b. AVERY, however (225, bottom), states that it occurs 5 times in the RV. as a 3. sing.

<sup>4</sup> WHITNEY, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> BRUGMANN, KG. 732.

<sup>6</sup> WHITNEY 600, a.

<sup>7</sup> But when the augment was added, it received the accent just like the verbal preposition in a principal sentence (the verb itself remaining unaccented).

<sup>8</sup> Also aorist stems ending in *-a*.



4. The 2. 3. du. mid. substitute *e* for the *ā* of the endings *-āthe*, *-āte*; e. g. 2. *vahethe* 'ye two travel', 3. *vardhete* 'they two thrive'.

5. The middle participle regularly ends in *-māna*.

a. Five classes or types may be distinguished in the present stems of the *a*- conjugation. These are: 1. Stems in which the radical syllable has a strong grade accented vowel<sup>1</sup>; e. g. *bhāra-ti*, from *bhṛ-* 'bear'. 2. Stems in which the radical syllable has a weak grade vowel, the thematic *a* being accented<sup>2</sup>; e. g. *rujā-ti*, from *ruj-* 'break'. 3. Stems formed with the suffix *-ya*, being either (a) ordinary transitive or intransitive verbs<sup>3</sup>, e. g. *ās-ya-ti* 'throws'; or (b) passives, e. g. *nī-yā-te* 'is led'. 4. Stems ending in *-aya*, being either (a) causatives (*-āya*) or (b) denominatives (*-āyā*)<sup>4</sup>. 5. Stems formed with the suffix *-sa*, added to the reduplicated root, being desideratives; e. g. *pī-pā-sa-* 'desire to drink'. The last two classes, which retain the present stem throughout their inflexion, constitute three of the secondary conjugations which will be treated separately below (541—570).

### 1. The radically accented *a*- class (*bhāva-*).

421. This is by far the commonest type of the *a*- conjugation, about 300 such present stems occurring in the *Samhitās*<sup>5</sup>. The radical vowel takes *Guṇa*, unless it is medial and long by nature or position; thus from *jī-* 'conquer': *jāy-a-*; *nī-* 'lead': *nāy-a-*; *bhū-* 'be': *bhāv-a-*; *budh-* 'awake': *bódh-a-*; *śṛp-* 'creep': *sārpa-*; but *jinu-* 'quicken': *jīnu-a-*; *krīḍ-* 'play': *krīḍ-a-*. Roots with medial *a* remain unchanged, e. g. *vad-* 'speak': *vād-a-*.

a. There are, however, several irregularities in the formation of the present stem: 1. *ūh-* 'consider' takes *Guṇa*: *śha-* (but *ūh-* 'remove' remains unchanged: *ūha-*); *guh-* 'hide' lengthens its vowel: *gūha-*; *kram-* 'stride' lengthens its vowel in the active: *krāma-* (but *krama-* in the middle); *kṛp-* 'lament' retains its vowel unchanged: *kṛpa-*. — 2. The roots *daṃś-* 'bite' and *sañj-* 'hang' lose their nasal: *dāśa-*, *saja-*. — 3. *gam-* 'go', *yam-* 'reach', *yu-* 'separate' form their stem with the suffix *-cha-*: *gāccha-*, *yāccha-*, *yiccha-*. — 4. Four stems are transfers from the reduplicating class<sup>6</sup>: *pība-* from *pā-* 'drink', *tiṣṭha-* from *sthā-* 'stand', *śīda-*<sup>7</sup> (for *\*śi-sad-a-*) from *sad-* 'sit', *sāśa-*<sup>8</sup> (for *\*śa-sac-a-*) from *sac-* 'accompany'; four others<sup>9</sup> are transfers from the *nu*- class, being either used beside or having entirely superseded the simpler original stems: *i-nu-a-* from *i-* 'send', beside *i-nó-ti*; *jī-nu-a-* from *jī-* 'quicken', beside *jī-nó-ṣi*; *hi-nu-a-* from *hi-* 'impel', beside *hi-nó-ti*; *pīnu-a-* 'fatten' was doubtless originally *\*pī-nu-* from the root *pī-*<sup>10</sup>.

422. Present indicative. The forms of this tense which actually occur, if made from *bhāva-*, would be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *bhāvā-mi*, 2. *bhāva-si*, 3. *bhāva-ti*. Du. 1. *bhāvā-vas* (TS.), 2. *bhāva-ṭhas*, 3. *bhāva-tas*. Pl. 1. *bhāvā-masi* and *bhāvā-mas*, 2. *bhāva-ṭha*<sup>11</sup>, 3. *bhāva-nti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *bhāv-e*, 2. *bhāva-se*, 3. *bhāva-te*<sup>12</sup>. Du. 1. *bhāvā-vahe*, 3. *bhāv-ete*. Pl. 1. *bhāvā-mahe*<sup>13</sup>, 2. *bhāva-dhve*, 3. *bhāva-nte*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

<sup>1</sup> The first class of the Indian grammarians.

<sup>2</sup> The sixth class of the Indian grammarians.

<sup>3</sup> The fourth class of the Indian grammarians.

<sup>4</sup> The nominal *a* preceding the *-ya* is here sometimes dropped or changed to *ā* or *ī*. See below 562. Some of these verbs in *-aya*, having lost their special stem meaning, are treated as a class (the tenth) of primary verbs.

<sup>5</sup> See WHITNEY 214—216, cp. 744.

<sup>6</sup> *dād-a-* occasionally appears for the regular *dādā-*, from *dā-* 'give'.

<sup>7</sup> See ROZWADOWSKI, BB. 21, 147.

<sup>8</sup> A reminiscence of its reduplicative origin is the loss of the nasal (the sonant becoming *a*) in the ending of the 3. pl.: *sāścati*, *sāścata*.

<sup>9</sup> *ṛnu-d-*, beside *ṛ-nó-ti* from *ṛ-* 'send', is a similar transfer to the sixth class.

<sup>10</sup> See WHITNEY, Roots, under *pīnu*.

<sup>11</sup> *vāda-thana* is the only example of the ending *-thana* in the indicative of the *a*- conjugation.

<sup>12</sup> The RV. once has *śībhe* as 3. sing. for *śībhatē*.

<sup>13</sup> DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 30 (top), AVERY p. 235, WHITNEY 735, b, and GRASSMANN, under *man* 'think', give *manāmahē* (IX. 41<sup>2</sup>),

## Present Indicative.

Active. Sing. 1. *acāmi*, *ārcāmi*, *āvāmi*, *ūhāmi* (AV. VS.), *khānāmi*, *gācchāmi* (AV.), *carāmi*, *codāmi*, *jānāmi*, *jayāmi*, *tapāmi* (AV.), *tiṣṭhāmi* (AV.), *dahāmi*, *dhāvāmi* (AV.), *nāyāmi* (AV. TS.), *pacāmi* (AV.), *patāmi*, *plbāmi*<sup>1</sup>, *bhajāmi*, *bhārāmi*, *bhāvāmi* (AV.), *mānāmi* (TS. IV. 2. 6<sup>1</sup>), *yacchāmi* (AV.), *yajāmi* (AV.), *yācāmi*, *rapāmi*, *rājāmi*, *rohāmi* (AV.), *vādāmi*, *vapāmi* (AV.), *vāhāmi*, *śāṃsāmi*, *śikṣāmi*, *śumbhāmi*, *sajāmi*, *sapāmi*, *sīdāmi*<sup>1</sup> (AV.), *svadāmi*, *harāmi*.

2. *atasi*, *arṣasi*, *arhasi*, *āvasi*, *invasi*<sup>2</sup>, *ūhasi*, *kṣayasi*, *cārasī*, *jayasi*, *jinvasi*<sup>2</sup>, *jūrvasi*, *tapasi* (AV.), *tarasi*, *tiṣṭhasi*<sup>1</sup>, *tūrvasi*, *dāsasi*, *dhanvasi*, *dhāvasi*, *nāyasi*, *pātasi*, *pinvasi*<sup>2</sup>, *plbasi*<sup>1</sup>, *bhāvasi*, *bhūṣasi*, *madasī* (AV.), *yācchasi*, *yājasi*, *rākṣasi*, *rājasi*, *rohasi*, *vañcasi* (AV.), *vādasi*, *vapasi*, *varṣasi* (AV.), *vāhasi*, *śaṃsasi*, *śikṣasi*, *sārpasi* (AV.), *saścasi*<sup>1</sup>, *sīdasi*<sup>1</sup>, *harasi* (AV.).

3. *acati* (AV.), *ājati*, *ānati* (AV.), *ayati*, *ārcati*, *ardati* (AV.), *arṣati*, *arhati*, *āvati*, *invati*<sup>2</sup>, *iṣati*, *iṭhati* (Kh. II. 10<sup>5</sup>), *ūhati*, *ējati*, *oṣati*, *krāndati*, *krāmāti* (AV.), *krīḷati*, *kṣīyati*, *kṣarati*, *khanati* (AV.), *khādāti*, *gācchati*, *gūhāti* (AV.), *cāratī*, *cētati*, *jāyati*, *jīnvati*<sup>2</sup>, *jīvati*, *jūrvati*, *jrayati*, *tapati*, *tārati*, *tiṣṭhati*<sup>1</sup>, *tsārati* (AV.), *dadati*<sup>1</sup>, *dahati* (AV.), *dāsati*, *dāsati*, *dhāmāti*, *dhāvati* 'runs' and 'washes', *nāṣati*, *nāndati* (AV.), *nāyati*, *navati* (AV.) 'praises', *pācāti*, *pātati*, *pinvati*<sup>2</sup>, *plbati*<sup>1</sup>, *piyati*, *bīdhati*, *bhājati*, *bhānati*, *bhārati*, *bhārvati*, *bhāvati*, *bhāṣati* (AV.), *bhūṣati*, *bhēdati*, *mādāti*, *mārdhati*, *mehati* (AV.), *yācchati*, *yājati*, *yātati*, *yabhāti* (TS. VII. 4. 19<sup>2</sup>), *yāmāti*, *yācāti* (AV.), *yūcchati*, *rākṣati*, *rādāti*, *rapati*, *rājati*, *rādhati*, *reḅhati*, *reḅhati*, *roṣati*, *rohāti*, *vāñcāti* (AV.), *vādāti*, *vāpāti*, *varjati*, *vardhati*, *varṣati* (AV.), *vasati* 'dwells', *vahati*, *vāsati*, *venāti*, *śaṃsati*, *śāsati*<sup>3</sup>, *śikṣati*, *śundhati*, *śilmbhati*, *śūcati* (AV. TS.), *sarjati*, *sārpāti*, *sādhati*, *sīdāti*<sup>1</sup>, *sēdhati*, *skandati*, *stobhati*, *sphūrjati* (AV.), *sredhati*, *hārati*, *hīṃsati*<sup>4</sup> (Kh. IV. 5<sup>11</sup>).

Du. 1. *cārāvas* (TS. I. 5. 10<sup>1</sup>). — 2. *acathas*, *ārcathas*, *arhathas*, *āvathas*, *invathas*<sup>2</sup>, *karṣathas*, *kṣāyathas*, *gācchathas*, *ghoṣathas*, *cetathas*, *janathas*, *jīnvathas*<sup>2</sup>, *jīrvathas*, *tapathas*, *tiṣṭhathas*<sup>1</sup>, *dhāmāthas*, *nāṣathas*, *nayathas*, *pātathas*, *pinvathas*<sup>2</sup>, *bhārathas*, *bhāvathas*, *bhūṣathas*, *mādathas*, *yātathas*, *rākṣathas* (AV. TS.), *rājathas*, *rohathas*, *vanathas*, *varathas*, *vahathas*, *śikṣathas*, *sadathas*, *sādhatas*, *sīdathas*<sup>1</sup>, *svādathas*.

3. *invatas*<sup>2</sup>, *ējatas* (AV.), *kṣayatas*, *khādātas* (AV.), *gācchatas* (AV.), *ghoṣatas*, *cāratas*, *tiṣṭhathas*<sup>1</sup> (AV.), *dravatas* (AV.), *dhāvatas* 'wash', *nāṣatas*, *pācātas* (AV.), *pinvatas*<sup>2</sup>, *plbātas*<sup>1</sup>, *bhāvatas*, *bhūṣatas*, *manthatas*, *mardhatas*, *yācchatas* (AV.), *yūcchatas*, *rākṣatas*, *rājatas*, *vardhatas* (AV.), *vasatas*, *vāhatas*.

Pl. 1. *ārcāmāsi*, *ārkāmāsi*, *khanāmāsi* (AV.), *cārāmāsi* and *cārāmāsi* (AV.), *janāmāsi*, *jayāmāsi*, *tarāmāsi*, *dāyāmāsi* (AV.), *dahāmāsi* (AV.), *namāmāsi* (AV.), *nāyāmāsi* and *nayāmas* (AV.), *plbāmāsi*<sup>1</sup> (AV.), *bīdhāmāsi*, *bhājāmas* (AV.), *bhārāmāsi*, *mādāmāsi* and *madāmas*, *methāmāsi*, *yājāmāsi* and *yājāmas*, *vādāmāsi* and *vadāmas*, *vasāmāsi* (AV.), *śāṃsāmas* (AV.), *sajāmāsi* (AV.), *harāmāsi* (AV.) and *hārāmas* (AV.).

2. *ājatha*<sup>5</sup>, *āvatha*, *ējatha*, *krīḷatha*, *kṣāyatha*, *khādatha*, *gācchatha*, *caratha* (AV.), *cetatha*, *jīnvatha*<sup>2</sup>, *tāksatha*, *tūrvatha*, *dhāvatha* (AV.), *nāyatha*, *naśatha*, *patatha*, *pinvatha*<sup>2</sup> (TS. III. 1. 11<sup>8</sup>), *bhāratha*, *bhāvatha*, *bhūṣatha*, *mādatha*, *moṣatha*, *rākṣatha*, *rājatha*, *rejatha*, *vahatha*, *sārpātha*. —

With *-thana* only *vādathana*.

3. *acanti* (AV.), *ajanti*, *ārcanti*, *arṣanti*, *ārhanti*, *āvanti*, *krandanti*,

but this is due to Sandhi (108), *manāmāhe* standing for *manāmāhe dū* (Pp.).

<sup>1</sup> A transfer from the reduplicating class.

<sup>2</sup> A transfer from the *nu*-class.

<sup>3</sup> A transfer from the root class for *śāsti*.

<sup>4</sup> A transfer from the infixing class.

<sup>5</sup> The *Samhitā* lengthens the final vowel in at least ten of the following forms.

*krāmanti* (AV.), *krīṣanti*, *krósanti*, *kṣāranti*, *kṣodanti*, *khananti* (AV.), *khādanti* (AV.), *gacchanti*, *gāmanti*, *gūhanti*, *cāranti*, *jīyanti*, *jāranti*, *jīnvanti*<sup>1</sup>, *jīvanti*, *tīkṣanti*, *tīpanti*, *taranti*, *tīṣṭhanti*<sup>2</sup>, *trāsanti*, *tsāranti*, *dabhanti*, *dahanti*, *dāsanti* (AV.), *drāvanti*, *dhanvanti*, *dhāmanti*, *dhāvanti*, *dhāvanti*, *nakṣanti*, *nandanti*, *namanti*, *nāyanti*, *naśanti* 'they attain', *nīkṣanti* (AV.), *nindanti*, *pācanti*, *pātanti*, *pīnvanti*<sup>1</sup>, *pībanti*<sup>2</sup>, *pīyanti*, *bhājanti*, *bhananti*, *bhāranti*, *bhāvanti*, *bhūṣanti*, *majjanti*, *mādanti*, *mānṭhanti*, *maranti*, *mardhanti*, *mimanti*<sup>2</sup> (*mā-* 'bellow'), *mehanti*, *yācchanti*, *yājanti*, *yācanti* (AV.), *yodhanti* (AV.), *rākṣanti*, *rāpanti*, *rādanti*, *rājanti*, *rebhanti*, *rōhanti*, *vādanti*, *vananti*, *vāpanti*, *vārdhanti*, *vārṣanti*, *vaḡsanti* (AV.), *vāsanti*, *vasanti* (AV.), *vāhanti*, *vénanti*, *śāmsanti*, *śīkṣanti*, *śīcanti*, *śīcanti*, *śapanti*, *sarpanti* (AV.), *śīdanti*<sup>2</sup>, *sedhanti*, *skandanti*, *stobhanti*, *srāvanti*, *svādanti*, *svāranti*, *hāranti* (AV.), *hīmsanti*<sup>3</sup>.

## Indicative Middle.

Sing. I. *aje*, *āme*, *arce*, *īkṣe*, *gacche* (TS. I. I. 10<sup>2</sup>), *daye* (AV. TS.), *name*, *nīkṣe* (AV.), *bāḍhe* (AV.), *bhāre*, *bhīkṣe*, *mande*, *yāje*, *rabhe*, *lābhe* (AV.), *vade*, *vānde*, *varte*, *śraye* (AV.), *sāhe* (AV.), *stāve*, *svaje* (AV.), *hāve*.

2. *aṣase* (AV.), *ohase*, *garhase*, *gāhase*, *cākṣase*, *cayase*, *jarase*, *joṣase* (AV.), *tīṣṭhase*<sup>2</sup>, *toṣase*, *dohase*, *nakṣase*, *nayase*, *pavase*, *pīnvase*<sup>1</sup>, *bādhase*, *bhrājase*, *maṇhase*, *mandase*, *modase*, *yacchase*, *yajase*, *yamase*, *rakṣase*, *ramase* (AV.), *rōcase*, *rohase*, *vārdhase*, *vahase*, *śūmbhase*, *śobhase*, *śācase*, *stāvase*, *harṣase*.

3. *ajate*, *ayate*, *īkṣate* (AV.), *īṣate*, *īṣate*, *ejate*<sup>4</sup>, *edhate*, *ihate*, *kṛpate*, *kalpate* (AV.), *kramate*, *kriḍate* (AV.), *gacchate*, *gūhate*, *gūhate*, *ghoṣate*, *cāyate*, *cētate*, *codate*, *cyāvate* (AV.), *jārate*, *jīmbhate*, *tandate*, *tīṣṭhate*<sup>2</sup>, *tejate*, *toṣate*, *dākṣate*, *dadate*<sup>2</sup> (AV.), *dadhate*<sup>2</sup> (TS. II. 2. 12<sup>4</sup>), *dīhate*<sup>5</sup>, *dyotate* (AV.), *dhāvate*, *nākṣate*, *nāmte*, *nāyate* (AV.), *nāsate*, *nāsate*, *pācate* (AV.), *pāyate*, *pāvate*, *pīnvate*<sup>1</sup>, *pībate*<sup>2</sup>, *prāthate*, *plāvate*, *bādhate*, *bhājate*, *bhandate*, *bhayate*, *bhārate*, *bhīkṣate*, *bhījate*, *bhrījate*, *bhrēṣate*, *māṇhate*, *madate* (AV.), *mārate*, *modate*, *yājate*, *yamate*, *yamate*, *yojate*, *raṇhate*, *rakṣate*, *rapsate*<sup>6</sup>, *rāmte*, *rambate*, *rējate*, *rōcate*, *rohate*, *lāyate* (AV.), *vañcate* (AV.), *vadate*, *vanate*, *vāndate*, *vapate*, *vārate* 'covers', *vārtate*, *vārdhate*, *varṣate* (AV.), *vāsate* (x. 37<sup>3</sup>), *vāhate*, *vēpate*, *vyathate*, *śapate* (AV.), *śīkṣate*, *śūmbhate*, *śrayate* (AV.), *śīcate*, *sahate*, *sādhate*, *śēcate*, *śēvate*, *stārate*, *sayate*, *stāvate*, *smayate*, *syāndate*, *svādte*, *hārṣate*, *hāvate*, *hāsate*<sup>7</sup>, *hūrate*. — With -e for -te: *joṣe*, *toṣe*<sup>8</sup>, *mahe*, *śāye*, *śēve*, *stāve*.

Du. I. *sācāvahe*.

2. *jayethe*, *jarethe*, *rakṣethe*, *varethe*, *vahethe*, *śrayethe*, *sacethe*.

3. *carete*, *javete*, *tarete*, *name*, *bādhete* (AV.), *bhayete*, *bharete*, *methete*, *yatete*, *rejete*, *vādete*, *vartete*, *vārdhete*, *vēpete*, *vyathete*, *sacete*, *smayete*, *havete*.

Pl. I. *kṣadāmahe* (AV.), *cāyāmahe*<sup>9</sup> (AV.), *jarāmahe*, *nākṣāmahe*, *nāvāmahe*, *nāsāmahe*, *bādhāmahe*, *bhājāmahe*, *bhāyāmahe*, *bharāmahe*, *mānāmahe*<sup>10</sup>, *māndāmahe*, *marāmahe*, *yājāmahe*, *yācāmahe*, *rabhāmahe*, *vānāmahe*, *vāndāmahe*, *sahāmahe* (AV.), *starāmahe*, *stāvāmahe*, *svajāmahe*, *hāvāmahe*.

2. *cayadhve*, *dhavadhve*, *bādhadhve*, *bhāradhve*, *mandadhve*, *vāhadhve*, *sayadhve*, *sācadhve* (AV.).

<sup>1</sup> Transfer from the -nu class.

<sup>2</sup> A transfer form from the reduplicating class.

<sup>3</sup> A transfer from the infixing nasal class.

<sup>4</sup> In *āpejate* in IV. 48<sup>2</sup>, v. 64<sup>3</sup>: Pp. *āpa ījate*.

<sup>5</sup> *dohāte* (x. 1337), DELBRÜCK, Verbum 97, and AVERY 233, is a mistake for *dōhate* (a transfer from the root class).

<sup>6</sup> Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 10, 18.

<sup>7</sup> From *hās-* 'go emulously', a secondary

form of *hā-* 'leave' (IX. 275; x. 1273); cp. p. 322, note 3. This form is given by AVERY 258 as subjunctive of the *s-* aorist of *hā-*.

<sup>8</sup> (iv. 38<sup>1</sup>). With irregular accent, like that of similar forms in the graded conjugation.

<sup>9</sup> Conjecture for *cayāmahe*, AV. XIX. 48<sup>1</sup>: see WHITNEY's note on the passage in his Translation.

<sup>10</sup> See note on *bhāvāmahe*, above, p. 319, note 13.

3. *dyante*, *ikṣante* (AV. TS.), *īṣante*, *édhante*, *keṣádante*, *gúcchante* (TS. IV. 2. 6<sup>2</sup>), *cltante*, *cyávante*, *jáyante*, *jarante* 'sing', *tiṣṭhante*<sup>1</sup>, *dīdante*<sup>1</sup> (AV.), *dhavante*, *nakṣante*, *namante*, *navante*, *pávante*, *pībante*<sup>1</sup>, *phuvante* (AV.), *bīdhante*, *bhajante*, *bhūyante*, *bhīrante*, *bhrājante*, *mīdante* (AV.), *yājante*, *yatante*, *yācante*, *raṁṣante*, *rante*<sup>2</sup>, *rapṣante* (AV.), *rabhante*, *ramante*, *réjante*, *rīcante*, *vadante*, *vārante*, *vārtante*, *vārdhante*, *vahante*, *vyathante*, *śayante*, *śumbhante*, *śrayante*, *sācante*, *sāpante*, *sāhante*, *stīvante*, *spārdhante*, *svajante*, *svadante*, *hārate*, *hāvante*, *hāsante*<sup>3</sup> (AV.).

#### Present Subjunctive<sup>4</sup>.

423. Active. Sing. 1. *ajāni* (TS. VII. 4. 19<sup>1</sup>; VS. XXIII. 19), *carāni*, *jīvāni* (AV.), *tarāni* (AV.), *ndyāni*, *pacāni*, *bhajāni*, *rājāni*, *vādāni* (AV.), *vāhāni*, *hārāni* (AV.). — Without -ni: *arcā*.

2. a. With -si: *djāsi*, *gúcchāsi* (AV.), *jayāsi*, *tiṣṭhāsi*<sup>1</sup> (AV.), *nayāsi* (AV.), *pībāsi*<sup>1</sup>, *bhājāsi*, *bhāvāsi*, *bhāsāsi* (AV.), *yājāsi*, *vadāsi*, *vahāsi*.

b. With -s: *dvās*, *gacchās*, *jáyās*, *jīvās* (AV.), *jūrvās*<sup>5</sup>, *tiṣṭhās*<sup>1</sup>, *bhārās*, *vadās* (AV.), *vānās* (AV.), *vārdhās*, *śīkṣās*.

3. a. With -ti: *djāti*, *ejāti* (AV.), *gúcchāti*, *jayāti*, *jīvāti*, *tāpāti*, *tiṣṭhāti*<sup>1</sup>, *dabhāti*, *dahāti*, *dhanvāti*, *ndyāti*, *pácāti*, *pátāti*, *padāti*, *pībāti*<sup>1</sup>, *bódhāti*, *bhājāti*, *bhārāti*, *bhāvāti*, *marāti*, *yājāti*, *raṁṣāti* (AV.), *vadāti*, *vahāti* (AV.), *śāmsāti*, *śāpāti* (AV.), *śumbhāti* (AV.), *śrayāti* (AV.), *stātāti*<sup>1</sup>, *svādāti*, *svarāti*.

b. With -t: *ārcāt*, *arṣāt*, *ārhāt*, *dvāt*, *invāt*<sup>6</sup>, *ejāt*, *gúcchāt*, *ghṛṣāt*, *janāt* (AV. VI. 81<sup>3</sup>), *jīvāt*, *tiṣṭhāt*<sup>1</sup>, *dāsāt* (AV.), *dāsāt*, *dhāvāt* (AV.), *ndyāt* (AV.), *nindāt*, *pácāt*, *pátāt*, *pībāt*<sup>1</sup>, *bhajāt* (AV.), *bhārāt*, *bhūṣāt*, *yacchāt*, *yajāt*, *rīṣāt* (AV.), *rīṣāt* (AV.), *vārdhāt*, *vahāt* (AV. TS.), *śāmsāt*, *śāpāt* (AV.), *śīkṣāt*, *sarpāt* (AV.), *skāndāt* (TS. I. 6. 2<sup>2</sup>), *smārāt* (AV.), *hārāt* (AV.).

Du. 1. *cārāva*, *jáyāva*, *pībāva*<sup>1</sup>, *vānāva*, *śāmsāva*.

2. *dvāthas*, *tarāthas* (AV.), *tiṣṭhāthas*<sup>1</sup>, *ndyāthas* (AV.), *pībāthas*<sup>1</sup>, *bhāvāthas* (AV.), *vadāthas*, *smarāthas*.

3. *cārātas*<sup>1</sup>, *pībātas*<sup>1</sup>, *vāhātas*, *śāpātas*.

Pl. 1. *ārcāma*, *krāmāma*, *khānāma* (TS. IV. 1. 2<sup>3</sup>), *takṣāma*, *namāma* (TS. V. 7. 4<sup>1</sup>), *patāma* (Kh. p. 171. 6), *bhajāma*, *bhārāma*, *bhāvāma*, *madāma*, *manthāma*, *marāma*, *yajāma*, *rādhāma*, *vadāma*, *vārdhāma*, *vāsāma*, *śreṣāma*<sup>8</sup>, *hārāma*.

2. *dvātha*, *gacchātha*, *jayātha*, *jīvātha* (TS. V. 7. 4<sup>1</sup>)<sup>9</sup>, *yacchātha* (AV.), *vāhātha*.

3. *ārcān*, *krīlān*, *gúcchān*, *ghṛṣān*, *cārān*, *jīvān* (AV.), *dāsān* (AV.), *patān*, *yacchān* (AV.), *vādān*, *vārdhān*<sup>10</sup>, *vahān*, *śīkṣān* (AV.), *stādān*<sup>1</sup> (AV.), *hārān* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 1. *gúcchai* (AV.), *mānai*, *marai*, *stāvai*. — 2. *vārdhāse*; *nayātai* (AV.). — 3. *jarāte*, *tiṣṭhāte*<sup>1</sup>, *pavāte*, *bhayāte*, *yājāte*, *vādhāte*, *śrayāte*, *svajāte*; *carātai* (AV.), *jayātai* (TS. AV.), *yajātai*, *śrayātai* (AV.), *svajātai* (AV.).

<sup>1</sup> A transfer form from the reduplicating class.

<sup>2</sup> According to ROTH, ZDMG. 20, 71, for \**raṇ-ante*; WHITNEY, Roots = *r-ante*, under *r* 'go'; also GRASSMANN, under root *ar*.

<sup>3</sup> From *hās* 'go emulously': see WHITNEY's note on AV. IV. 36<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> No forms of the 2. 3. pl. subj. middle occur in this class.

<sup>5</sup> DELBRÜCK p. 37 (top) gives *takṣās*, which I cannot trace.

<sup>6</sup> A transfer from the -nu class.

<sup>7</sup> DELBRÜCK, Verbum 82, gives *tiṣṭhātas*, but I cannot trace it.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps from *śrīṣ* = *ślīṣ* 'clasp': cp. WHITNEY, Roots.

<sup>9</sup> DELBRÜCK 48 gives *pībātha* also.

<sup>10</sup> *vārdhān* (I. 70<sup>4</sup>; VI. 17<sup>11</sup>) as well as *ārcān* (IV. 55<sup>2</sup>; V. 31<sup>5</sup>) are given as indicatives by DELBRÜCK, Verbum 91; cp. p. 327, note 3.

Du. I. *rabhāvahai* (TS. IV. 4. 7<sup>2</sup>), *sācāvahai*, *sahāvahai*. — 3. *yātaite*.  
Pl. I. *nāsāmahai*, *bhājāmahai* (AV.), *yājāmahai*, *vānāmahai*.

## Present Injunctive.

424. Active. Sing. I. *cyāvam*, *takṣam*, *tiṣṭham*<sup>1</sup>, *bhojam*, *yojam*.

2. *āvas*, *eṣas* (AV.), *oṣas*, *gūhas*, *caras*, *tiṣṭhas*<sup>1</sup> (AV.), *dāhas*, *namas* (AV.), *madas* (AV.), *yamas*, *vadas* (VS. XXIII. 25), *vanas*, *vapas*, *vāras*, *vasas*, *venas*, *śocas*.

3. *arcat*, *arṣat* (AV.)<sup>3</sup>, *karṣat*, *krandat*, *krāmat*<sup>1</sup> (AV.), *kṣarat*, *cārat*, *cetat*, *cōdat*, *janat*, *jāyat*, *jōṣat*, *takṣat*, *tandrat*<sup>5</sup>, *tapat*, *tamat*, *tārat*, *tiṣṭhat*<sup>1</sup>, *dadat*<sup>1</sup>, *dābhat*, *dāsāt*, *dāsāt*, *dāsāt*, *drāvāt*, *nāksāt*, *ṇayāt*, *naśāt*, *pācat*, *pātāt*, *pinvat*<sup>2</sup>, *pibat*<sup>1</sup>, *prīthāt*, *bīdhat*, *bhārat*, *bhavāt* (AV.), *bhāsāt*, *bhramśāt* (AV.), *madat* (AV.)<sup>6</sup>, *minat*, *yāmat*<sup>7</sup>, *rapāt*, *rādat*, *rāpāt*, *rādhat*, *rejat*, *reṣāt*, *rodhat*, *vādat*, *vārat*, *vārtāt*, *vārdhat*, *vāsāt*, *śakat*, *śardhat*, *śikṣāt*, *śnāthāt*, *śramāt*, *sadat*, *sārpat*, *saścat*<sup>1</sup>, *svājāt*.

Pl. 3. *arcan*, *cāran*, *dabhan*, *dhāvan*, *nāksan*, *nāsan* ('lose' and 'reach'), *bharan* (AV.), *bharan* (AV.), *yaman*, *rāṇan*, *vaman*, *vardhan*, *śāsan*, *sādhan*<sup>8</sup>, *sīdan*<sup>1</sup>.

Middle. Sing. 2. *gūhathās* (AV.), *bādhatthās*, *rabhatthās* (AV.).

3. *īṣata*, *bharata*, *rocata*, *vārdhata*, *sacata*, *sādhata*.

Pl. 3. *ānanta*, *dyanta*, *caranta*, *cyavanta*, *jananta*, *tiṣṭhanta*<sup>1</sup>, *nakṣanta*, *namanta*, *nāyanta*, *navanta*, *naśanta*, *nasanta*, *pinvanta*<sup>2</sup>, *pravanta*, *bhājanta*, *bhananta*, *bhāraanta*, *bhikṣanta*, *yakṣanta*, *yavanta*, *rapanta*, *raṇta* (I. 61<sup>11</sup>; VII. 39<sup>3</sup>)<sup>9</sup>, *ramanta*, *rējanta*, *vanta*<sup>10</sup>, *vāraanta* ('cover'), *vardhanta*, *vārdhanta*, *śacanta*, *sācanta*, *sāpanta*, *sādhanta*, *stāvanta*, *smayanta*, *hāvanta*.

## Present Optative.

425. Active. Sing. I. *careyam* (AV.), *bhaveyam* (TS. IV. 7. 12<sup>2</sup>), *vadheyam* (AV.), *śikṣeyam*. — 2. *āves*, *bhaves*, *mades*, *vanes*. — 3. *āvet*, *gūcchet* (AV.), *caret*, *taret*, *pātet*, *bhāvet* (AV.), *yacchet* (AV.), *lūbhet* (AV.), *vadet* (AV.), *vaśet*<sup>11</sup> (AV.), *śravet*, *haret* (AV.). — Du. 3. *grāseṭām*.

Pl. I. *krāmema*, *kṣayema* (AV.), *khanema* (TS. IV. I. 2<sup>4</sup>), *gacchema* (AV. TS.), *cayema*, *carema*, *jāyema*, *jīvema*, *tārema*, *tiṣṭhema*<sup>1</sup>, *dāṣema*, *patema* (TS. IV. 7. 13<sup>1</sup>), *bhārema* (AV. TS.), *bhāvema*, *bhūṣema*, *mādemā*, *māhema*, *yatema*, *rapema*, *rāhema* (AV.), *vatema*, *vadema*, *śikṣema*, *sapema*, *sīdema*<sup>1</sup> (AV.), *hārema* (AV.). — 3. *tāreyur*, *yāceyur* (AV.), *vaheyur*, *saheyur* (SA. XII. 32).

Middle. Sing. I. *saceya*. — 3. *ajeta*, *kalpeta* (SA. XII. 20), *kṣameta*, *jareta*, *bhikṣeta*, *yajeta*, *vadeta*, *śāmseta* (AV.), *saceta*, *saheta* (SA. XII. 20), *staveta*.

Du. I. *sacevahi* (AV.).

Pl. I. *gāhemahi*, *bhājemahi*, *bhāremahi*, *yātemahi*, *rabhemahi*, *sācemahi*. — 3. With ending *-rata*: *bharerata*.

## Present Imperative.

426. Active. Sing. 2. *aca*, *dja*, *ārca*, *ārṣa*, *āva*, *inva*<sup>2</sup>, *ūha* (AV.), *ūṣa*, *karṣa*, *kranda*, *krāma*, *kṣāra*, *khāda* (AV. TS.), *gūccha*, *gada* (AV.), *cāra*,

<sup>1</sup> Transfer form from the reduplicating class.

<sup>2</sup> A transfer from the *-nu* class.

<sup>3</sup> AV. X. 4<sup>1</sup>, some Mss. *riṣat*: see WHITNEY's note in his Translation.

<sup>4</sup> Emendation for *kṣāmat*, AV. VII. 63<sup>1</sup>: see WHITNEY's Translation.

<sup>5</sup> II 30<sup>1</sup>, perhaps to be emended to *tandāt*.

<sup>6</sup> AV. XX. 49<sup>2</sup> emendation for *mada*.

<sup>7</sup> DELBRÜCK 56 (top) adds *rākṣat*.

<sup>8</sup> DELBRÜCK, Verbum 89 (p. 63), takes *hāvan* as an unaugmented imperfect, but it seems to occur only as a N. sing. m. participle.

<sup>9</sup> According to DELBRÜCK 113 for *\*raṇanta*; WHITNEY, Roots, *r-anta*. Cp. p. 322, note 2.

<sup>10</sup> DELBRÜCK I. c., for *\*van-anta*.

<sup>11</sup> AV. XII. 4<sup>17</sup>: should probably be *vaset*. Cp. p. 324, note 3.

*cīda*, *jāya*, *jinva*<sup>1</sup>, *jīva*, *jūrva*, *jōsa*, *tāpa*, *tara*, *tiṣṭha*<sup>2</sup>, *daśa* (AV.), *dōha*, *dīṃha* (AV.), *drava*, *dhanva*, *dhūma*, *dhāva*, *nama*, *nīya*, *nikṣa* (AV.), *pata*, *pava*, *pinva*<sup>1</sup>, *pība*<sup>2</sup>, *protha*, *bōdha*, *bhāja*, *bhāra*, *bhāva*, *bhūsa*, *mada*, *māntha* (AV.), *manda*, *myakṣa*, *mrada*, *yāccha*, *yāja*, *yābha* (AV.), *yoja*, *rākṣa*, *rāṇa*, *rāda*, *rāja* (AV.), *rīha*, *vada*, *vadha* (AV.), *vapa*, *vārdha*, *vaśa*<sup>3</sup> (AV.), *vasa* (AV.), *vāha*, *vāñcha*<sup>4</sup> (AV.), *śāmsa*, *śārdha*, *śikṣa*, *śumbha*, *śoca*, *śraya* (AV. TS.), *sāra*, *sarpa*, *saha* (SA. XII. 31), *sādha*, *sīda*<sup>2</sup>, *sēdha*, *skanda* (AV.), *stana* (AV.), *srava*, *svada*, *svapa*, *svara*, *hara*, *hinva*<sup>1</sup>. — With ending *-tāt*: *avatāt*, *oṣatāt*, *gacchatāt* (AV.), *jinvatāt*<sup>1</sup> (AV.), *dahatāt*, *dhāvatāt* (AV. 'run', *bhavatāt*, *yacchatāt*, *yācatāt*, *rākṣatāt*, *vahatāt*, *śrayatāt* (TS. VII. 4. 19<sup>2</sup>).

3. *ajatu*, *añcatu* (AV.), *arcatu*, *aṣatu* (AV.), *āvatu*, *invatu*<sup>1</sup>, *iṣatu* (AV.), *ejatu*, *ēṣatu* (AV.), *oṣatu* (AV.), *krandatu*, *krāmatu* (TS. VII. 3. 11<sup>1</sup>), *kroṣatu* (AV.), *gacchatu*, *caratu* (AV.), *jayatu*, *jinvatu*<sup>1</sup>, *jīvatu* (AV.), *tapatu*, *tiṣṭhatu*<sup>2</sup>, *dahatu* (AV.), *dīṃhatu* (AV.), *dravatu* (AV.), *dhāvatu*, *nakṣatu* (AV.), *nayatu*, *patatu* (AV.), *pībatu*<sup>2</sup>, *bōdhatu*, *bhavatu*, *bhūṣatu*, *manthatu* (AV.), *māndatu*, *yacchatu*, *yajatu*, *rākṣatu*, *rājatu* (AV.), *rohatu*, *vadatu* (AV.), *vapatu* (TS. AV.), *vārdhatu*, *varṣatu* (Kh. II. 13<sup>3</sup>), *vasatu* (AV.), *vahatu*, *śikṣatu*, *śocatu*, *sarpatu*, *sīdatu*<sup>2</sup>, *sedhatu*, *hinvatu*<sup>1</sup>. — With ending *-tāt*: *gacchatāt*, *smaratāt* (AV.).

Du. 2. *ajātam*, *āvātam*, *invatām*<sup>1</sup>, *oṣātam*, *gacchatām*, *jāyatām*, *jaratām*, *jinvatām*<sup>2</sup>, *takṣatām*, *tāpatām*, *tiṣṭhatām*<sup>2</sup>, *tūrvatām*, *dahatām* (AV.), *dhāvatām*, *nayatām*, *patatām*, *pinvatām*, *pībatām*<sup>2</sup>, *bōdhatām*, *bhajatām*, *bhāratām*, *bhōvatām*, *bhūṣatām*, *manthatām* (Kh. I. 10<sup>2</sup>), *yacchatām*, *yātātām*, *rākṣatām*, *rohatām* (TS. I. 8. 12<sup>3</sup>), *vānatām*, *vardhatām*, *vāhatām*, *venatām*, *śikṣatām*, *sīdatām*<sup>2</sup>, *sēdhatām*.

3. *ayātām* (AV.), *āvātām*, *invātām*<sup>1</sup>, *kroṣātām* (AV.), *gacchatām*, *cetātām*, *jāyātām* (AV.), *jīvātām* (AV.), *drāvātām*, *pībatām*<sup>2</sup> (AV.), *bharātām* (AV.), *bhavātām*, *madātām*, *mehātām* (AV.), *yacchatām*, *rākṣātām*, *vāhatām*, *veṣātām* (AV.), *sīdatām*<sup>2</sup>.

Pl. 2. *ārcata*, *aṣata*<sup>5</sup>, *avata*, *gacchata*, *gūhata*, *carata*, *codata*, *janata*, *jayata*, *jinvata*<sup>1</sup>, *jīvata*, *takṣata*, *tapata*, *tarata*, *tiṣṭhata*<sup>1</sup>, *trasata*, *dakṣata*, *dīṃhata*, *dhāvata*, *nāyata*, *nindata*, *pācata*, *patata* (AV.), *pinvata*<sup>1</sup>, *pībata*<sup>2</sup>, *bhājata* (AV.), *bhārata*, *bhāvata*, *bhūṣata*, *madata*, *mānthata*, *yācchata*, *yajata*, *yācata*, *rākṣata*, *rohata*, *vadata*, *vanata*, *vapata*, *vardhata*, *vahata*, *vrajata* (AV.), *śāmsata*, *śundhata* (Kh. III. 16<sup>6</sup>), *śumbhata*, *śocata* (AV.), *sacata*, *sarpata*, *saścata*<sup>2</sup>, *sīdata*<sup>2</sup>, *sēdhata*, *stobhata*, *sredhata*, *harata* (AV.). — With ending *-tana*: *bhajatana*.

3. *ārcantu*, *aṣantu*, *āvantu*, *kasantu* (AV.), *kroṣantu* (AV.), *kṣarantu*, *gacchantu*, *carantu*, *jāyantu*, *jīvantu*, *takṣantu*, *tapantu* (AV. TS.), *tiṣṭhantu*<sup>2</sup>, *trasantu* (AV.), *dahantu*, *drāvantu*, *dhanvantu* (AV.), *dhāvantu* (AV.), *dhūrvantu*, *namantu* (AV. TS.), *nayantu*, *pacantu*, *patantu*, *pībantu*<sup>2</sup>, *bōdhantu*, *bhajantu* (AV.), *bharantu* (AV.), *bhāvantu*, *mathantu* (AV.), *madantu*, *manthantu* (AV.), *māndantu*, *yācchantu*, *yajantu*, *yicchantu*, *rākṣantu*, *radantu*, *rohantu*, *lapantu* (AV.), *vāddantu*, *vapantu*, *vārdhantu*, *vārṣantu* (AV.; Kh. II. 5), *vasantu* (AV.), *vāhantu*, *vāñchantu*, *śundhantu*, *śumbhantu* (AV.), *śroṣantu*, *sajantu* (AV.), *sarpantu* (AV.), *sīdantu*<sup>2</sup>, *sedhantu*, *stobhantu*, *sravantu*, *svāddantu*, *svarantu*, *harantu* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *ācasva* (AV.), *edhasva* (AV.), *kalpasva*, *kramasva*, *gacchasva* (AV.), *codasva*, *cyavasva* (AV. TS.), *jārasva*, *tapasva*, *dayasva* (AV.),

<sup>1</sup> Transfer from the *-nu* class.

<sup>2</sup> Transfer from the reduplicating class.

<sup>3</sup> AV. III. 4<sup>7</sup>, perhaps to be read *vasa*.

<sup>4</sup> AVERY 243 adds *vena*(?).

<sup>5</sup> The form *aṣata* in AV. VI. 28<sup>2</sup> is a corruption: see WHITNEY's note in his Translation.

*nakṣasva*, *nabhasva* (AV.), *namasva*, *nayasva*, *pāvasva*, *pīnvasva*<sup>1</sup>, *pībasva*<sup>2</sup>, *prathasva*, *plavasva*<sup>3</sup> (Kh. II. 16), *bādhasva*, *bhajasva*, *bhārasva*, *mādasva* (AV.), *mandasva*<sup>4</sup>, *yajasva*, *yatasva*, *raṁsasva*, *rabhasva*, *ramasva*, *vasvasva*, *vāndasva*, *vārtasva*, *vārdhasva*, *vāhasva*, *śocasva*, *śrayasva*, *śvañcasva*, *śdeasva*, *sāhasva*, *sīdasva*<sup>2</sup>, *sevasva* (AV.), *syandasva*, *svajasva* (AV.), *svādasva*, *hārṣasva*.

3. *edhatām* (TS. VII. 4. 19<sup>2</sup>), *kalpatām* (AV.), *gacchatām*, *jaratām*, *tiṣṭhatām*<sup>2</sup> (AV.), *dadatām*<sup>2</sup>, *dayatām* (AV.), *dyotatām* (AV.), *nabhatām* (AV.), *pīvatām*, *pīnvatām*<sup>1</sup>, *prathatām*, *bādhatām*, *bhayatām* (AV.), *yajatām*, *rabhatām* (AV.), *ramatām* (AV.), *rocātām*, *vanatām*, *varatām*, *vārdhatām*, *śrayatām* (AV.), *sacātām*, *sahātām* (AV.).

Du. 2. *kalpethām* (TS. IV. 2. 5<sup>1</sup>), *gāhethām* (AV.), *cīdethām*, *cyavethām* (AV.), *jarethām*, *bādhetthām*, *yajethām*, *rabhetthām* (AV.), *vartethām* (AV.), *vārdhetthām*, *vahethām*, *śrayethām*, *sacethām* (AV.), *smarethām*.

3. *kalpetām* (TS. IV. 4. 11<sup>1</sup>), *śrayetām*, *sacetām*.

Pl. 2. *ajadhvam*, *kṣāmadhvam*, *gacchadhvam*, *cyavadhvam* (TS. IV. 7. 13<sup>4</sup>), *tiṣṭhadhvam*<sup>2</sup>, *nayadhvam*, *namadhvam*, *pavadhvam*, *pīnvadhvam*<sup>1</sup>, *pībadhvam*<sup>2</sup>, *bādhadhvam*, *bhajadhvam* (AV.), *bharadhvam*, *modadhvam*, *yacchadhvam*, *yajadhvam*, *rabhadhvam*, *rāmadhvam*, *vadadhvam*, *vartadhvam*, *śrayadhvam*, *sacadhvam* (AV.), *sāhadhvam*, *syandadhvam* (AV.), *svajadhvam*, *harṣadhvam* (AV.). — With ending *-dhva*: *yājadhva*.

3. *ayantām* (AV.), *kālpantām* (TS. IV. 4. 11<sup>1</sup>), *jāyantām*, *tiṣṭhantām*<sup>2</sup>, *namantām*, *pāvantām*<sup>5</sup>, *bādhantām* (TS. IV. 2. 6<sup>4</sup>), *bharantām* (AV.), *yajantām*, *yatantām*, *radantām* (AV.), *rabhantām* (AV.), *ramantām* (AV.), *layantām*, *vartantām*, *vārdhantām*, *śrayantām*, *sacantām*, *sādhantām*, *syandantām*, *hārṣantām* (AV.).

### Present Participle.

427. a. The active form made with the suffix *-ant*<sup>6</sup> is very common. Stems of forms which occur are: *ājant-*, *ātant-*, *ārcant-*, *ārṣant-*, *ārhan-*, *āvant-*, *invant*<sup>1</sup>, *īkṣant-*, *ējant-*, *ēśant-*, *īdant-*, *ūśant-* (AV.), *kālpant*<sup>1</sup> (AV.), *kūjant-* (AV.), *krāndant-*, *krāmant-*, *krīṣant-*, *krōśant-*, *kṣāyant-*, *kṣārant-*, *khānant-* (AV.), *khādant-* (AV.), *gacchant-*, *gūhan-*, *ghṣant-*, *cātant-*, *cārant-*, *cētant-*, *cēṣtant-* (AV.), *jājṣhant-*, *jājṣhant-*, *jāyant-*, *jārant-*, *jīvant*<sup>1</sup>, *jīvant-*, *jīrvant-*, *tāksant-*, *tāpant-*, *tārant-*, *tiṣṭhant*<sup>2</sup>, *tīrvant*<sup>8</sup>, *dāsant-*, *dīhant-*, *dāsant-*, *drāvant-*, *dhāmant-*, *dhāvant-*, *dhūrvant-*, *dhṛjant-*, *nāksant-*, *nāddant-* (AV.), *nāyant-*, *nāvant-*, *pācant-*, *pātant-*, *pīnvant*<sup>1</sup>, *pībant*<sup>2</sup>, *pīṣant-*, *prāthant-*, *bhājant-*, *bhārant-*, *bhārvant-*, *bhāvant-*, *bhāsant-*, *bhūśant-*, *bhrājant-*, *māddant-*, *mīrvant-* (AV.), *mēhant-* (AV.), *mīrcant-*, *yāksant-*, *yācchant-*, *yājant-*, *yātant-*, *yācant-*, *yīcchant-*, *yīśant-*, *rāksant-*, *rādant-*, *rāpant-* (TS. VII. 1. 11<sup>1</sup>), *rājant-*, *rēbhant*<sup>9</sup>, *rīhant-*, *lāpant-* (AV.), *vātant-*, *vādant-*, *vāpant-*, *vārdhant-*, *vārṣant-* (AV.), *vāsant-*, *vāhant-*, *vēnant-*, *vēśant-*, *vrājant-*, *vrādhant-*, *sāmsant-*, *sāpant-*, *sārdhant-*, *śāsant-*, *śīksant-*, *śōcant-*, *svāyant*<sup>10</sup>, *sānant-*, *sāpant-*, *sārjant-* (AV.), *sārpant-*, *sādhant-*, *sāhant-* or *sāhant-*, *sīdant*<sup>2</sup>, *sēdhant-*, *skāndant-* (AV.), *stībhan-*, *srāvant-*, *srēdhant-*, *hāyant-*, *hārant-*, *hārṣant-*, *hēśant-*.

b. The middle participles almost invariably formed with the suffix *-māna* are also numerous: *ātāmāna-*, *āmāmāna-* (AV.), *dyāmāna-*, *īkṣāmāna-* (AV.), *īṣāmāna-*, *kālpāmāna-* (TS. IV. 2. 10<sup>2</sup>), *kṣpāmāna-*, *krāksāmāna-*, *krōśāmāna-*, *kṣūmāmāna-*,

<sup>1</sup> Transfer from the *-nu* class.

<sup>2</sup> Transfer form from the reduplicating class.

<sup>3</sup> Accented *plavāsva*.

<sup>4</sup> AVERY 243 adds *yacchasva* (?).

<sup>5</sup> AVERY 246 adds *pīnvantām* (?).

<sup>6</sup> On the declension of these stems see § 314.

<sup>7</sup> If *kālpat*, AV. XI. 52<sup>6</sup>, is with WHITNEY in his Translation emended to *kālpant*.

<sup>8</sup> From *tīrv-* a secondary form of *tur-*.

<sup>9</sup> Fem. *rēbhatyau* (Kh. I. 37).

<sup>10</sup> The form *svāyant*, VII. 50<sup>1</sup>, seems to be regarded by DELBRÜCK (p. 56, middle) as an injunctive of *svi-*.

*kṣānamāna-*, *gāhamāna-*, *gāhamāna-*, *cāyamāna-*, *jānamāna-*, *jāramāna-*, 'singing' and 'approaching', *jāsamāna-*, *jāhamāna-*, *tiñjamāna-*, *iñjamāna-*, *iśsamāna-* (AV.), *dāksamāna-* (AV.), *dāsamāna-*, *dyūtamāna-*, *dhāvamāna-*, *nāksamāna-*, *nāmamāna-*, *nāyamāna-*, *nāvamāna-*, *nādhamāna-*, *pāvamāna-*, *pīvamāna-*<sup>1</sup>, *pīdamāna-*, *prāthamāna-* (AV. TS.), *prīthamāna-*, *bādhamāna-*, *bhāndamāna-*, *bhāyamāna-*, *bhāramāna-*, *bhīksamāna-*, *bhrājamāna-*, *māpnamāna-*, *mādamāna-*, *māghamāna-*, *mādamāna-*, *yācchamāna-*, *yājamāna-*, *yātamāna-*, *yācamāna-* (AV.), *yādamāna-*, *rāpnamāna-*, *rāksamāna-*, *rābhamāna-*, *rāmbamāna-*, *rāsamāna-* (AV.), *rējamāna-*, *rēcāmāna-*, *vāndamāna-*, *vārtamāna-*, *vārdhamāna-*, *vādamāna-*, *vēpamāna-* (AV.), *vyāthamāna-*, *śīksamāna-*, *śīmbhamāna-*, *śībhamāna-*, *śrīyamāna-*, *śrīsamāna-*, *śvāncāmāna-*, *sācamāna-*, *sāhamāna-*, *stāvamāna-*, *spārdhamāna-*, *smāyamāna-*, *syādamāna-*, *hārsamāna-*, *hāvamāna-*, *hāsamāna-*.

a. A few middle participles in *-āna* instead of *-māna*, seem to be formed from present stems of this class: thus *cyāvāna-*, *prāhāna-*, *yātāna-* and *yātāna-*, *śīmbhāna-*<sup>3</sup>; but it is probably better to class them as somewhat irregular or isolated root aorist participles<sup>4</sup>.

### Imperfect Indicative.

428. It is to be noted that the longer ending of the 2. pl. active never occurs in the imperfect of this or any other class of the *a-* conjugation. Unaugmented forms are fairly common; used injunctively they are in the 3. sing. very nearly as frequent (424) as the regular subjunctive<sup>5</sup> (423).

Active sing. 1. *āgaccham* (AV.), *acaram*, *ataksam*, *ataram*, *anamam*, *anayam*, *apinvam*<sup>1</sup>, *abharam*, *abhavam*, *abhedam*, *arodham*, *aroham*, *asīdam*; *āvam*; *yamam*.

2. *ākrandas*, *akṣaras*, *agacchas*, *ācaras*, *ājanas*, *ājayas*, *ātaras*, *ātiṣṭhas*<sup>2</sup>, *ādahas*, *ādhamas*, *ānayas*, *āpinvas*<sup>1</sup>, *apibas*<sup>2</sup>, *ābhajas*, *ābharas*, *ābhavas*, *āmadas*, *āyajas*, *āramhas*, *āradas*, *avadas*, *āvapas*, *āvahas*, *āsīkṣas*, *āsadas*, *āsarpas* (AV.), *asīdas*<sup>2</sup>, *asedhas*, *asravas*; *ājas*, *āvas*; *tapas* (AV.), *bhūtras*.

3. *ākrandat*, *ākrāmat*, *ākṣarat*, *akhanat* (AV.), *āgacchat*, *āgūhat*, *ācarat*, *ācalat* (AV.), *acetat*, *ājanat*, *ājayat*, *ajinvat*<sup>1</sup>, *ātaksat*, *atapat*, *atarat*, *ātiṣṭhat*<sup>2</sup>, *ādadat*<sup>2</sup> (AV.), *ādahat*, *ādāsāt*, *ādṛmhat* (AV.), *ādravat*, *adhamat*, *anamat*, *ānayat*, *āpacat*, *āpatat* (AV.), *āpinvat*<sup>1</sup>, *āpibat*<sup>2</sup>, *ābhajat*, *ābharat*, *ābhavat*, *ābhūsat*, *āmadat*, *amanthat*, *āmandat*, *āmūrchat* (AV.), *āyacchat*, *ārakṣat*, *arapat*, *arohat*, *āvapat*, *āvasāt*, *āvasat*, *āvahat*, *āvenat*, *āśayat*, *āśāsāt*<sup>6</sup> (Kh. I. 9<sup>3</sup>), *āsocat*, *asajat*, *asadat*, *āsīdat*<sup>2</sup>, *asedhat*, *askandat* (AV.), *āharat* (AV.); *ājat*, *ārcat*, *āvat*; *āirat* (*√ir-*)<sup>7</sup>, *auhat* (*nḥ-* 'push'); *krāndat*, *carat* (AV.), *taksat*, *tsīrat*, *drīmhat*, *naksat*, *nayat*, *pibat*<sup>2</sup>, *bhārat*, *rābhat*, *vāhat*.

Du. 2. *ājinvatam*<sup>1</sup>, *ātaksatam* (AV.), *āpinvatam*<sup>1</sup>, *āprathatam*, *ābhavatam*, *āmanthatam*, *aradatam*, *āsīksatam*, *āsāscatam*<sup>2</sup>, *āsīdatam*<sup>2</sup>; *ājatam*, *āvatam*; *āiratam*<sup>7</sup> (*ir-* 'set in motion').

3. *ātiṣṭhatām*<sup>2</sup> (AV.), *ābhavatām* (TS. IV. 7. 15<sup>6</sup>), *āvardhatām*; *āvatām*; *auhatām* (AV. VS. TS.).

Pl. 1. *ātaksāma*, *ābharāma* (AV.). — 2. *ātaksata*, *ātiṣṭhata*<sup>2</sup>, *ānadata* (TS. V. 6. 1<sup>2</sup>), *ānayata*, *āpinvata*<sup>1</sup>, *ābhavata*, *āvartata* (AV.), *āvalgata* (TS. V. 6. 1<sup>2</sup>), *āsarpata*; *āvata*; *auhata* (AV.).

3. *ākaṣan* (AV.), *ākramān*<sup>8</sup> (AV.), *ākṣaran*, *akhanan* (AV.), *agūhan*,

<sup>1</sup> Transfer from the *-m* class.

<sup>2</sup> Transfer form from the reduplicating class.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 741 a, and LINDNER, Nominalbildung 54 (top).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Root Aorist 506.

<sup>5</sup> See WHITNEY 743.

<sup>6</sup> Transfer from the root class.

<sup>7</sup> Transfer from the root class, in which the verb *ir-* is also middle.

<sup>8</sup> *akramus* is given by AVERY 249 as an impf. of this class with *-us*, but it is doubt-



*ācaran* (AV.), *acalan* (AV.), *ajanan*, *ājayan* (AV.), *ātakṣan*, *ātaran*, *ātīṣṭhan*<sup>1</sup>, *atrasan*, *ādāśan*, *adrāvan*, *adhrajan*, *anakṣan*, *ānaman* (AV.), *ānayan*, *āpinvan*<sup>2</sup>, *apiban*<sup>1</sup> (AV.), *ābharan*, *ābhavan*, *ābhūsan*, *āmādan*, *āmāndan*, *āyacchan* (AV.), *āyācan* (AV.), *āraṣan*, *drājan* (AV.), *āvadan*, *āvapan* (AV.), *āvardhan*<sup>3</sup>, *āvahan*, *areṣan* (√*ṛis*-), *āsamsan*, *āsikṣan* (AV.), *āśrayan* (AV.), *āṣṭhīvan*<sup>4</sup> (AV.), *āsredhan*, *āsvaran*; *ājan*, *āyan* (AV.), *ārcan*<sup>5</sup>, *āvan*<sup>5</sup>, *dījan* (ej- 'stir'), *auhan*<sup>6</sup> (AV.); *jīvan*, *tākṣan*, *tsāran* (AV.), *dādan*<sup>1</sup> (AV.), *bharan*, *bhūsan*, *śrōsan*, *sīdan*<sup>1</sup>.

Middle. Sing. 1. *atiṣṭhe*<sup>1</sup> (AV.). — 2. *dgāhathās* (AV.), *āpavathās*, *āmāndathās*, *ārocathās*; *gāhathās* (AV.).

3. *akalpata*<sup>8</sup> (AV.), *ataksata*, *apinvata*<sup>2</sup>, *abādhatā*, *āmāmhata*<sup>3</sup>, *āmanthata*, *āmāndata*, *ārāṇhata*, *araksata*, *ārocata*, *āvartata*, *āvardhata*, *āvalgata* (AV.), *āśopata*; *ājata*, *āyata*; *āikṣata*<sup>10</sup> (AV.), *auhata* (ūh- 'remove'); *cakṣata*, *janata*, *nakṣata*, *nīpsata*, *bādhatā*, *rejata*.

Du. 2. *ābādhetām*, *ārabhetām* (AV.). — 3. *akṛpetām*, *aprathetām*, *ābhyasetām*<sup>11</sup>, *ārejetām*; *āikṣetām*<sup>10</sup>.

Pl. 3. *ākālpanta* (AV.), *akṛpanta*, *ākhananta*, *āgacchanta*, *ajananta*, *atiṣṭhanta*<sup>1</sup>, *ādadanta*<sup>1</sup>, *adhavanta*<sup>12</sup>, *anamanta* (TS. IV. 6. 2<sup>6</sup>), *ānayanta*, *ānavanta*, *apacanta*, *oprathanta*, *ābhajanta*, *ābhayanta*, *ābharanta*, *āyajanta*, *aramanta*, *ārejanta*, *āvadanta*, *āvartanta*, *āvardhanta*, *arepanta* (AV.), *āvaradanta*, *āśamanta* (TS. IV. 6. 3<sup>2</sup>), *āsacanta*, *āsapanta*, *āsakanta*; *āikṣanta*<sup>10</sup> (AV. TS.); *īṣanta*, *kṛpanta*, *jananta*, *navanta*, *prathanta*, *bhājanta* (AV.), *bhananta*, *mananta*, *vapanta*.

## 2. The suffixally accented *ā*- class (*tudā*)<sup>13</sup>.

429. Nearly one hundred roots belong to this class. The radical vowel is almost always medial, being regularly *i*, *u* or *y*. If the vowel is final, which is very rare, it is almost invariably short. As the *-a* is accented, the radical vowel appears in its weak form; e g. *huv-ā* (but according to the radically accented class, *hāv-a*) from *hū-* 'call'.

a. There are, however, some irregularities in the formation of the present stem. 1. Several roots instead of appearing in their weak form, are nasalized: *kṛt-* 'cut': *kṛntā*; *īṣ-* 'be pleased': *īṣmā*; *piś-* 'adorn': *piśmā*; *muc-* 'release': *muñcā*; *lip-* 'smear': *limpā*; *luṣ-* 'break': *luṣmā*; *vid-* 'find': *vindā*; *sic-* 'sprinkle': *sīncā*. A few other roots occasionally have nasalized forms according to this class: thus *tundate*, beside the regular *tudāti* etc., from *tud-* 'thrust'; *dṛmhethe*, beside *dṛmḥata*, etc., from *dṛh-* 'make firm'; *śumbhānt*,

less an aorist: see WHITNEY, Roots, under √*krām*.

<sup>1</sup> Transfer form from the reduplicating class.

<sup>2</sup> Transfer from the *-nu* class.

<sup>3</sup> *ārcān* (IV. 552; v. 315) and *vārādhān* are given as indicatives by DELBRÜCK 91, followed by AVERY 249. Cp. p. 322, note <sup>10</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> From *śhīṭo-* 'spue', originally \**śhīṭo-*: cp. v. NEGELEIN 24, note <sup>6</sup>: the root is there wrongly given as *śhīṭo*.

<sup>5</sup> *āsthan* (AV. XIII. 15) is given by v. NEGELEIN 18, note <sup>1</sup> as imperfect of *as*; but see WHITNEY's note on AV. XIII. 15.

<sup>6</sup> *akṛpṛan* being formed with the ending *-ran* (DELBRÜCK 124) is doubtless an aorist; cp. WHITNEY, Roots under √*kṛp*. See below, 500.

<sup>7</sup> *śran* (IV. 219) according to DELBRÜCK, Verbum 89 (p. 63, middle), followed by AVERY 249, for \**asara-n*; but *avasran* is 3. pl. aor.

of *vas-* 'shine' with ending *-ran* (not *ava-sran*: accent!). Cp. WHITNEY, Roots, under *vas* 'shine'.

<sup>8</sup> DELBRÜCK 176 and AVERY 247 give *akṛṇvata* as (once) a 3. sing. If this is correct, the form would be a transfer for *akṛṇvata*.

<sup>9</sup> *āmata* is given by DELBRÜCK 101 and AVERY 247 as belonging to this class (presumably from the root *am-*), but it is doubtless 3. sing. mid. aor. of *man-* 'think'; see WHITNEY, Roots, under √*man*.

<sup>10</sup> From *īkṣ-* 'see'.

<sup>11</sup> From *bhyas-* 'fear'.

<sup>12</sup> VII. 1815: from *dhav-* 'run' = *dhanv-*.

<sup>13</sup> Cp. E. LEUMANN, Die Herkunft der 6. Praesensklasse im Indischen (Actes du X. Cong. Intern. Orient. II. 1, 39—44; IF. 5, Anz. 109; KZ. 34, 587 ff.).

beside *śimhate* and *śōbhate*, from *śubh-* 'shine'; *synthati* (TS<sup>1</sup>), beside the regular *śrathnās* etc., from *śrath-* 'loosen'. — 2. Four roots form their stem with the suffix *-chā*: *i-* 'wish': *i-ccā-*; *r-* 'go': *r-ccā-*; *prā-* 'ask': *pr-ccā-*; *vas-* 'shine': *u-ccā-*. — 3. Two stems are transfers from the nasal class of the second conjugation: *ṛṇā-*, beside *ṛṇ-*, from *ṛ-* 'fill'; *mṛnā-*, beside *mṛ-*, from *mṛ-* 'crush'; *ṛñjā-* 'stretch' has become the regular stem beside 3. pl. *ṛñjate*; and 2. pl. *umbha-ta* (AV.), appears beside *ubh-nā-*, from *ubh-* 'confine'. — 4. Beside the normal *-nu* stem *ṛ-nu-*, the root *ṛ-* also has the transfer stem *ṛṇv-ā-*. — 5. While roots ending in *i* or *ū* change these vowels into *iy* or *uv* before *-ā* (e. g. *ksiy-ā-*, from *ksi-* 'dwell', *yuv-ā-* from *yū-* 'join'), the TS. has *ksy-dnt-* beside RV. *ksiyānti* 'dwelling'.

b. The present stems *chyā-* (AV.) 'cut up', *dyā-* (AV.) 'divide', *śyā-* 'sharpen', *syā-* 'bind', though regarded by the Indian grammarians as belonging to the *-ya* class, should most probably be classified here, because the *a* is accented, *i* appears beside *ā* in various forms from these roots, and *-yā* is here often to be read as *-ia*, while this is never the case in the *-ya* class.

430. The inflexion is exactly the same as that of *bhāva-*. The forms which actually occur are the following:

### Present Indicative.

**Active. Sing. 1.** *icchāmi*, *ukṣāmi* (AV.), *kirāmi* (AV.), *khidāmi* (AV.), *girāmi*<sup>2</sup> (AV.), *ṛtāmi* (AV.), *tirāmi*, *dyāmi* (AV.), *disāmi* (TS. AV.), *dhuvāmi* (AV.), *prcchāmi*, *muñcāmi*, *rujāmi*, *līpāmi* (AV.), *vindāmi*, *viśāmi* (AV.), *vr̥scāmi* (AV.), *vr̥hāmi*, *siñcāmi*, *sulāmi* (TS. VII. 4. 19<sup>4</sup>), *suṇāmi*, *srjāmi*, *spr̥śāmi*, *syāmi* (AV. TS.).

2. *icchasi* (AV.), *ucchasi* (TS. IV. 3. 11<sup>5</sup>), *tirasi*, *ṣṣipasi* (AV.), *ṛmpāsi*, *prcchasi*, *mṛnasi*, *vindasi*, *vr̥scasi*, *suṇasi*.

3. *anāti* (AV.), *icchati*, *ucchati*, *ṛccati* (AV.), *ṛṇvati*, *ṛṇtāti* (AV.), *ṛṣati* (TS. IV. 2. 5<sup>6</sup>), *ṛṣyati* (AV.), *khidāti*, *girati* (AV.), *chyati* (TS. V. 2. 12<sup>1</sup>), *dyati* (AV.), *piṇṣati*, *prcchati*, *prnāti*, *miṣati*, *muñcati* (AV.), *yuvāti*, *rujāti*, *ruvāti*, *vindāti*, *viśati* (AV.), *vr̥scati*, *vr̥hati*, *siñcati* (AV.), *suṇāti*, *srjāti*, *sphurāti* (AV.), *syati*.

**Du. 2.** *ṛṇvathas*, *bhasāthas*, *muñcathas*, *viśathas* (AV.), *vr̥hathas*, *srjāthas*.

3. *icchatas* (AV.), *muñcatas* (AV.), *siñcatas*.

**Pl. 1.** *girāmas* (AV.), *ṛtāmasi* (AV.), *tirāmasi*, *dyāmasi* (AV.), *nudāmasi* (AV.) and *nudāmas* (AV.), *prcchāmas* (AV.), *mṛśāmasi*, *vr̥hāmasi* (AV.) and *vr̥hāmas* (AV.), *suṇāmasi* (AV.), *srjāmasi* (AV.) and *srjāmas* (AV.), *spr̥śāmasi*.

2. *muñcātha*, *siñcātha* (TS. AV.).

3. *anānti* (AV.), *icchānti*, *ukṣānti*, *ucchānti*, *ṛccānti*, *ṛñjānti*, *ṛṣānti*, *ṛṣyānti* (AV.), *khidānti* (AV.), *ṛtānti*, *tirānti*, *tuñjānti*, *prcchānti*, *miśānti*, *muñcānti*, *muñcānti*, *mṛśānti*, *rujānti*, *vindānti*, *viśānti*, *vr̥scānti*, *śumbhānti*, *siñcānti*, *suṇānti*, *srjānti*, *spr̥śānti*, *sphurānti*, *syānti*.

**Middle. Sing. 1.** *īṣe* 'send', *nude* (AV.), *prcchē*, *muñce* (AV.), *mṛje*, *vindhe*, *viśē* (AV.), *śuṣe*, *siñce*, *huvē*.

2. *icchase*, *ṛñjase*, *juṣase* (AV.), *prcchase*, *mṛśase*, *yuvase*, *vindase*, *siñcāse*.

3. *icchate* (AV.), *ukṣāte*, *ṛñjāte*, *kirate*, *ṛṣāte* (AV.), *tirāte*, *tundate*, *turāte* (TS. II. 2. 12<sup>4</sup>), *nudate* (AV.), *piṇṣāte*, *prcchate*, *pr̥ncāte*, *muñcate*, *mṛśate*, *yuvāte*, *vindāte*, *vindhāte*, *viśāte*, *vr̥scate* (AV.), *srjate*. — With ending *-e*: *huvē*.

**Du. 2.** *dyṛnhēthe*, *nudethe* (AV. TS.), *yuvethe*, *vindethe* (Kh. I. 12<sup>8</sup>).

3. *tujete*.

**Pl. 1.** *nudāmahe* (AV.), *yuvāmahe*, *viśāmahe*, *siñcāmahe*, *huvāmahe*.

3. *icchante* (AV.), *ukṣānte*, *tirānte*, *vijānte* (AV.), *vindante* (AV.), *viśānte*, *vr̥scante* (AV.), *srjante* (AV.).

<sup>1</sup> The suffix *-cha* has in this instance attached itself throughout the conjugation to the root, which thus becomes for practical

purposes *prcch-* (but *prāś-nā-* 'question'); cp. *prec-or* and *posco* for *\*porc-sco* in Latin.

<sup>2</sup> From *gy-* 'swallow'.

## Present Subjunctive.

431. Active. Sing. 1. *srjāni*; *mṛkṣā*. — 2. *kirāsi*, *muñcāsi* (AV.), *rujāsi*; *siñcāsi*. — 3. *tirāti*, *bhrjyāti*, *mṛhāti*, *mṛdhāti*, *vanāti*, *vidhāti*, *viśāti* (AV.), *suvāti*, *srjāti* (AV.); *icchāt*, *ucchāt*, *ṛcchāt*, *nudāt* (ŚA. XII. 29), *prcchāt*, *prñāt*, *muñcāt* (AV.), *mṛlāt*, *mṛśāt* (AV.), *vṛścāt*, *siñcāt*, *srjāt*, *sprśāt* (AV.).

Du. 1. *viśāva* (AV.). — 3. *mṛlātas*.

Pl. 2. *viśātha* (AV.). — 3. *ucchān*, *prcchān*, *sphurān*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *prcchāi*, *viśāi* (TS. III. 5. 6<sup>1</sup>). — 2. *yuvāse*. — 3. *juṣāte*, *tirāte*. — Du. 2. *prñādīthe*. — 3. *yuvādīte*. — Pl. 1. *siñcāmāhai*.

## Present Injunctive.

432. Active. Sing. 2. *icchas* (AV.), *guhas*, *rujās*, *vṛhas*, *vṛścas*, *sicas*, *srjās*.

3. *ucchat*, *kṛntāt*, *kṣipāt*, *khidat*, *juṣāt*, *mṛnat* (AV.), *rujāt*, *rudhat*, *ruvāt*, *vidhat*, *viśat*, *vṛhat*, *siñcat*, *srjāt*<sup>1</sup>, *sprśat* (AA. V. 2<sup>2</sup>), *sphurat*, *huvat*.

Pl. 3. *trpān*, *vidhān*, *vindan*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *juṣata*, *tirata*. — Pl. 3. *icchānta*, *iṣanta*, *juṣānta*, *tirānta*, *nudānta*, *bhurānta*, *yuvānta*, *vidhānta*, *srjānta*.

## Present Optative.

433. Active. Sing. 1. *udeyam*<sup>2</sup> (AV.), *tireyam* (Kh. I. 9<sup>3</sup>), *vindeyam* (Kh. II. 6<sup>2</sup>). — 3. *icchet*, *ucchet* (AV.), *khidāt* (AV.), *prcchet*, *lumpāt* (AV.), *siñcāt* (AV.), *srjāt* (AV.). — Du. 1. *vṛheva*. — 2. *tiretam*. — Pl. 1. *iṣema*, *kṣiyema* (AV.), *rujema*, *ruhema* (Kh. II. 4<sup>1</sup>), *vanēma*, *vidhēma*, *viṣema*, *huvēma*. — 2. *tireta*; *tiretana*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *huvēya*. — 3. *iccheta* (AV.), *juṣēta*.

Pl. 1. *vanemahi*, *vidhemahi*. — 3. *juṣerata*.

## Present Imperative.

434. Active. Sing. 2. *icchā*, *ucchā*, *ubja* (AV.), *kira*, *kṛntā* (AV.), *kṣipa*, *kṣiya* (AV.), *khida* (AV.), *cṛta*, *chya* (AV.), *tira*, *tuda*, *trmpā*, *nuda* (AV.), *pimśā* (AV.), *prccha*, *prñca*<sup>3</sup> (AV.), *prña*, *pruśa*, *muñcā*, *mṛnā*, *mṛlā*, *mṛśa*, *yuva*, *rikha*, *rujā*, *ruva*, *viśa*, *vinda*, *vṛścā*, *vṛhā*, *śṛṇa* (AV.), *siñca*, *suva*<sup>4</sup>, *srjā*, *sprśa*, *sphura*, *sva*. — With ending *-tāt*: *mṛdatāt* (AV.), *vṛhatāt*, *viśatāt* (TS. VII. I. 6<sup>6</sup>), *suvatāt*.

3. *icchatu*, *ukṣatu* (AV.), *ucchatu*, *ubjatu* (AV.), *ṛcchatu*, *kirātu* (TS. III. 3. 11<sup>5</sup>), *kṛṣatu* (AV.), *cṛtatu* (AV.), *tiratu* (Kh. II. 11<sup>2</sup>), *trmpatu*, *disatu* (AV.), *dyatu* (AV.), *nudatu* (AV.), *pimśatu*, *muñcatu* (AV. TS.), *mṛlatu*, *viśatu* (AV. TS.), *vindatu* (AV.), *vṛścatu* (AV.), *siñcatu*, *suvalu*, *syatu*. — With *-tāt*: *viśatāt* (Kh. IV. 6<sup>1</sup>; 8<sup>3</sup>).

Du. 2. *ukṣatam*, *ubjātam*, *tiratam*, *trmpatam*, *nudatam* (AV.), *bṛhatam* (AV.), *muñcātām*, *mṛlātām*, *viśatām* (AV.), *vṛhatām*, *siñcatām*, *srjātām*, *sphuratām* (AV.), *syatām*.

3. *juṣatām* (Kh. I. 3<sup>1</sup>), *trmpatām*, *dyatām* (AV.), *muñcatām*, *viśatām* (TS. VII. 3. 13<sup>1</sup>), *suvatām* (AV.), *syatām*.

<sup>1</sup> AVERY adds *srjhat*(?): perhaps the aor. injunctive *sridhat* is meant.

<sup>2</sup> With Samprasāraṇa. This verb otherwise follows the radically accented *a*-class.

<sup>3</sup> Transfer from the infixing nasal class (*√prc*): that it would have been accented

*prñcā* is to be inferred from the fem. part. *prñcat-ī* (RV. AV.), though the AV. has also *prñcat-ī*.

<sup>4</sup> In AV. VII. 14<sup>3</sup> *suva* appears in the Pp. as *sva*.

Pl. 2. *icchata*, *ukṣata*, *ucchata*, *umbhata* (AV.), *rñjāta*, *khudāta*, *gṛñāta* (AV.), *tirata*, *tudata* (AV.), *nudata*, *pīṃsata*, *pricchāta*, *prñata*, *muñcāta*, *mṛlāta*, *mṛñāta* (AV.), *viśata* (AV.), *vṛhata*, *śundhata*, *siñcata*, *srjāta*, *sprśāta*.

3. *ukṣantu* (AV.), *ucchāntu*, *ubjantu*, *rcchantu*, *ṛdantu*, *kṣantu*, *chyantu* (TS. v. 2. 12<sup>1</sup>), *tirantu*, *tudantu* (AV. TS.), *disantu* (Kh. III. 10<sup>1</sup>), *nudantu* (AV.), *bhurantu*, *muñcāntu*, *mṛlantu*, *viśantu*, *siñcantu*, *suvantu*, *srjantu*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *icchasva*, *kṣasva*, *gurasva*, *juṣṣasva*, *nudāsva*, *prichhasva* (Kh. II. 13<sup>1</sup>), *prñdsva*, *mṛśāsva*, *yurāsva*, *vindāsva* (AV.), *viśāsva*, *vṛśasva*, *siñcasva*, *srjasva*, *sprśasva* (AV.), *syasva*.

3. *icchatām* (AV.), *juṣātām*, *nudatām* (AV.; ŚA. XII. 9), *prñatām*, *muñcatām* (AV.), *viśatām*, *srjatām* (AV.).

Du. 2. *ukṣsthām*, *juṣsthām*, *nudsthām*, *prñethām*, *vṛsethām*, *srjethām* (AV. TS.). — 3. *juṣsthām*.

Pl. 2. *kramādhvam* (TS. IV. 6. 5<sup>1</sup>), *juṣādhvam*, *tirādhvam*, *prñādhvam*, *viśādhvam* (AV.), *siñcādhvam*, *srjādhvam*, *syādhvam*.

3. *juṣāntām*, *muñcantām* (AV.), *riśantām*, *vijantām* (AV.), *vṛścantām* (AV.), *sprśantām* (AV.).

### Present Participle.

435. Active. *icchānt-*, *ukṣānt-* (AV.), *ucchānt-*, *ubjānt-*, *rṣānt-*, *kṛntānt-*, *kṣānt-*, *kṣipānt-*, *kṣiyānt-*, *khidānt-* (AV.), *guhānt-*, *citānt-*, *jurānt-*, *tirānt-*, *tujānt-*, *tudānt-*, *tṛpānt-*, *disānt-*, *dīṃhānt-* (AV.), *nudānt-*, *nuvānt-*, *pricchānt-*, *pruśānt-* (AV.), *bhujānt-*, *mithānt-*, *miśānt-*, *muñcānt-*, *mṛjānt-*, *mṛśānt-*, *riśānt-*, *rujānt-*, *rudhānt-*, *ruvānt-*, *vidhānt-*, *viśānt-*, *vṛścānt-*, *śucānt-*, *śumbhānt-*, *śuśānt-* and *śvasānt-*, *siñcānt-*, *suvānt-*, *srjānt-*, *sphurānt-*, *huvānt-*<sup>1</sup> (*hū-* 'call').

Middle. *icchāmāna-*, *ukṣāmāna-*, *uśāmāna-* (√*vas-*), *uśāmāna-* (*vas-* 'wear'), *guhāmāna-*, *juṣāmāna-*, *dhr̥śāmāna-*, *nr̥tāmāna-*, *pricchāmāna-*, *bhurā-māna-*, *muñcāmāna-* (AV. TS.), *yuvāmāna-*, *vijāmāna-* (AV.), *śucāmāna-*.

### Imperfect Indicative.

436. Active. Sing. 1. *atiram* (TS. IV. 1. 10<sup>3</sup>), *āpriccham*, *ārujam*.

2. *ātiras*, *anudas*, *āpr̥nas*, *āmuñcas*, *āmṛ̥nas*, *ārujas*, *āvindas*, *āvṛhas*, *āsr̥jas*, *āsp̥huras*, *āsyas* (AV.); *āicchas*, *āucchas*; *vindas*, *vṛścas*, *sr̥jas*.

3. *ākṛntat*, *akhidat*, *ājuṣat*, *ātirat*, *aduhat* (TS. IV. 6. 5<sup>1</sup>), *āpīṃsat*, *āpr̥ñat*, *āmuñcat*, *āmṛ̥ñat*, *āmṛ̥śat* (AV.), *ārujat*, *āvidhat*, *āvindat*, *āviśat*, *āvṛścat*, *āsiñcat*, *āsuvat*, *āsr̥jat*, *āspr̥śat*, *āsp̥hurat*, *āyat*; *āicchat* (AV.), *dukṣat*, *āucchat*, *aubjat*; *tudat*, *tṛm̥hāt*, *rujāt*, *likhat* (AV.), *vindat*, *vṛścāt*, *syat*, *siñcat*, *sr̥jāt*.

Du. 2. *atiratam*, *amuñcatam*, *āmṛ̥ñatam*, *āvindatam* (Kh. I. 3<sup>1</sup>), *āsiñcatam*.

3. *āmuñcatām*, *āsiñcatām* (AV.).

Pl. 1. *āicchāma*. — 2. *āpīṃsata* (√*piś-*), *āpricchata*, *āmuñcata*, *āsr̥jata*. — 3. *āpīṃsan*, *āpīṣan*<sup>2</sup> (AV. IV. 6<sup>1</sup>), *āvindan*, *āviśan* (AV.), *āvṛścan* (AV.), *āsiñcan*, *āsr̥jan*, *āspr̥śan* (AV.); *ārdan* (√*rd-*); *dukṣan*; *ukṣan*, *rujan*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *ājuṣe* (AV.), *āviṣe*, *āhuve*. — 2. *amuñcathās*, *āviśathās* (AV.). — 3. *ājuṣata*, *amuñcata*, *āsiñcata* (AV.), *āsr̥jata*; *dīṃhata*.

Du. 2. *anudethām*, *āvindethām*.

Pl. 2. *ājuṣadhvam*. — 3. *ājuṣanta*, *atiranta*, *atviśanta*, *ānudanta* (AV.), *amuñcanta* (AV.), *āyuvanta* (AV.), *āvindanta*, *āviśanta*, *āsr̥janta*, *āspr̥śanta* (AV.), *āhuvanta*; *disanta* (*iś-* 'send'); *gṛñanta*, *juṣanta*.

<sup>1</sup> The fem. is regularly formed from the strong stem in *-ant-*; but the weak stem in *-at* appears in *siñcat-ī*, beside *siñcānt-ī*.

<sup>2</sup> Anomalous form for \**āpīṃsan*, from *piś-* 'crush'.

3. The *ya-* class<sup>1</sup>.

437. The present stems formed with this suffix fall into two groups. In the first, consisting of about 70 transitive or intransitive verbs, the suffix is unaccented; in the second, consisting of rather more than 80 verbs with a passive meaning, the suffix is accented. In all probability both groups were identical in origin, with the accent on the suffix. This is indicated by the fact that the root though accented in the first group appears in its weak form; and that this group consists largely of intransitive verbs and to some extent of verbs with a passive sense. The latter are manifestly transfers from the *-yá* or passive group with change of accent. Thus *jāyate* 'is born' is an altered passive beside the active *jānati* 'begets'. The accent moreover occasionally fluctuates. Thus the passive *mucyāte* 'is released' once or twice occurs (in the RV. and AV.) accented on the root; and there is no appreciable difference of meaning between *kṣiyate* and *kṣiyāte* 'is destroyed'; *jīyate* and *jīyāte* 'is overcome'; *pācyate* and *pācyāte* 'is cooked'; *mīyate* and *mīyāte* (AV.) 'is infringed'<sup>2</sup>.

A. The radically accented *ya-* class.

438. The root nearly always appears in a weak form. Thus roots that otherwise contain a nasal, lose it: *dṛṇh-* 'make firm': *dṛh-ya-*. The root *vyadh-* 'pierce' takes Samprasāraṇa: *vidh-ya-*. The root *spāś-* 'see' loses its initial: *pāś-ya-*. Several roots ending in *ā* shorten the vowel before the suffix: *dhā-* 'suck': *dhaya-*; *mā-* 'exchange': *maya-*; *vā-* 'weave': *vāya-*; *vyā-* 'envelope': *vyāya-*; *hvā-* 'call': *hvāya-*<sup>3</sup>.

a. Several other roots usually stated as ending in *ā* remain unchanged: *gā-* 'sing': *gāya-*; *glā-* 'be weary': *glāya-* (AV.); *trā-* 'save': *trāya-*; *pyā-* 'fill up': *pyāya-*; *rā-* 'bark': *rāya-*; *vā-* 'blow': *vāya-*; *śrā-* 'boil': *śrāya-*<sup>4</sup>.

b. The root *śram-* 'be weary' lengthens its vowel: *śrāmya-*<sup>5</sup>.

c. The final of roots in *-ṛ* sometimes becomes both *ū*<sup>6</sup> and *ūr*; thus *jṛ-* 'waste away' becomes *jūrya-* and *jūrya-* (AV.); *tṛ-* 'cross': *tūrya-* and *tūrya-*<sup>7</sup> (AV.). The root *ṣṛ-* 'fill' because of its initial labial becomes *pūrya-* only.

439. The forms actually occurring in this class are the following:

## Present Indicative.

Active. Sing. 1. *asyāmi* (AV.), *īsyāmi*, *nahyāmi*, *pāsyāmi* (AV.), *vidhyāmi* (AV.), *hvāyāmi*.

2. *āsyasi*, *īsyasi*, *ucyasi* (√uc-), *gāyasi*, *nāsyasi*, *pāsyasi*, *pūsyasi*, *rānyasi*, *rāyasi*, *riṣyasi*, *haryasi*.

3. *āsyati*, *īyati* (RV<sup>1</sup>), *īsyati*, *krudhyati* (AV.), *gāyati*, *jūryati* (AV.), *jūryati*, *tanyati*, *dāsyati*, *dāhyati* (AV.), *dīyati*, *dīvyati* (AV.), *duṣyati* (SA. XII. 23), *dhayati*, *nāsyati*, *nṛtyati* (AV.), *pāsyati*, *pūsyati*, *raṇyati*, *riṣyati*, *vayati* (AV.), *vāyati*, *vidhyati*, *vyayati*, *śimiyati* (TS. v. 2. 12<sup>1</sup>), *śuṣyati* (Kh. IV. 5<sup>38</sup>), *sidhyati*, *haryati*, *hṛsyati*, *hvāyati*.

Du. 2. *dīyathas*, *raṇyathas*. — 3. *asyatas* (AV.), *nāsyatas*, *pāsyatas*, *pūsyatas*, *riṣyatas* (AV.), *vayatas* (AV.), *vāyatas*, *śrāmyatas* (AV.).

<sup>1</sup> Cp. LORENTZ, IF. 8, 68—122.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Brāhmaṇa passages of the TS. *ricyate* 'is left' beside *ricyāte* (V.), *lūpyate* 'is lost' beside *lūpyāte* (AV.), *hīyate* 'is left' beside *hīyāte* (V.).

<sup>3</sup> These are reckoned by the native grammarians as ending in *e* and belonging to the *a-* class. This seems preferable from the point of view of vowel gradation: see 27, a, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Such roots are reckoned by the native

grammarians as ending in *-ai* and belonging to the *a-* class. The latter form is preferable from the point of view of gradation. Cp. 27, a, 1; BB. 19, 166.

<sup>5</sup> In B. this analogy is followed by several roots in *-am*.

<sup>6</sup> In the *ā-* class *-ṛ* becomes *-ir*, e. g. *tṛ-*: *tīrā-*.

<sup>7</sup> Only in an emendation *ava-tūryati* (AV. XIX. 9<sup>8</sup>) for *āvatūryatīḥ*, Pada *āvatīḥ yatīḥ*.

Pl. 1. *asyāmasi, pśyāmasi* and *paśyāmas* (AV.), *vidhyāmas* (AV.), *vyayāmasi* (AV.TS.), *haryāmasi, hdyāmasi*.

2. *āsyatha, pśsyatha, pśsyatha, riśyatha, hāryatha*.

3. *āsyanti* (AV.), *āryanti, gāyanti, jūryanti, dasyanti, dīyanti, dhāyanti* (AV.), *naśyanti* (AV.), *nāhyanti, nītyanti* (AV.), *pśsyanti, puśyanti, rānyanti, riśyanti, vāyanti, vīyanti, vidhyanti* (AV. TS.), *śrānyanti, hāryanti, hdyanti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *iśye, padye* (AV.), *gāye, nahye* (TS. I. 1. 10<sup>4</sup>), *mānye, mṛśye, vyaye* (AV.), *hvaye*.

2. *īyase* (i-'go'), *jāyase, trāyase, dāyase, pātyase, pyāyase, mānyase, mīyase, mīcyase*.

3. *iśyate, īyate, rīyate, kśīyate, jāyate, jīyate, tṛsyate* (AV.), *dāyate, dīpyate* (AV.), *pācyate, pātyate, pādāyate, pśsyate, pśsyate* (AV.), *budhyate* (AV.), *manyate, mīyate, mṛsyate, rīyate, haryate*.

Du. 3. *jāyete* (AV.), *hdyete*.

Pl. 1. *hdyāmahe*. — 2. *trāyadhve*. — 3. *īyante, kśīyante, jāyante, trāyante, pādāyante, manyante* (AV.), *mayante, mṛsyante, yidhyante, rīyante, hdyante*.

### Present Subjunctive.

440. Active. Sing. 1. *pśsyāni* (AV.). — 2. *pśsyāsi, haryāsi* (AV.); *paśyās* (AV.); *riśyās, hāryās*. — 3. *riśyāti; pśsyāt, pśsyāt, riśyāt* (TS. I. 6. 2<sup>1</sup>).

Pl. 1. *pśsyāma* (AV.). — 3. *pśsyān*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *yidhyai*. — 2. *paśyāsai* (AV.). — 3. *manyāte, mīcyātai* (AV.). — Pl. 1. *hvayāmahai* (AV.).

### Present Injunctive.

Active. Sing. 2. *dhūyas*. — 3. *gāyat, dīyat, pśsyat, vidhyat*. — Pl. 3. *pśsyān*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *manyathās*. — 3. *jāyata, manyata*. — Pl. 3. *dāyanta*.

### Present Optative.

Active. Sing. 1. *vyayeyam*. — 2. *paśyes*. — 3. *dasyet, dīayet* (AV.), *riśyet*. — Du. 3. *hvayetām* (TS. III. 2. 4<sup>1</sup>). — Pl. 1. *pśsyema, pśsyema, būdhyema* (AV.), *riśyema*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *paśyeta, manyeta* (AV.), *mīyeta* (ŚA. XII. 20). — Pl. 1. *jāyemahi*.

### Present Imperative.

441. Active. Sing. 2. *asya, gāya, dīya, dhya, naśya, nahya* (AV.), *nṛtya* (AV.), *pśya, yudhya, vaya, vidhya, śusya* (AV.), *śīya* (AV.), *harya, hvaya*. — With ending -tāt: *asyatāt* (AV.).

3. *asyatu, ucyatu* (AV.), *tṛpyatu* (AV.), *naśyatu, nṛtyatu* (AV.), *rādhyatu* (AV.), *vidhyatu* (AV.), *śusyatu, śīyatu, hdyatu* (AV.).

Du. 2. *asyatam, iśyatam* (AV.), *dīyatam, nahyatam* (AV.), *puśyatam* (AV.), *vidhyatam, haryatam*. — 3. *asyatām* (AV.TS.), *nahyatām* (ŚA. XII. 32), *vidhyatām*.

Pl. 2. *iśyata, gāyata, jasyata, nāśyata* (AV.), *nahyata* (AV.), *pśsyata, puśyata, muhyata* (AV.), *vayata, vidhyata, haryata*. — With ending -tana: *nahyatana*.

3. *gāyantu* (AV.), *tṛpyantu* (AV.), *naśyantu* (AV.), *puśyantu, mīhyantu, mēdyantu, vyayantu* (AV.), *śimiyantu* (TS. V. 2. 11<sup>1</sup>), *haryantu* (AV.), *hdyantu* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *jāyasva, trāyasva, dayasva, dhryasva, nahyasva* (AV.), *padyasva, paśyasva, pyāyasva, budhyasva* (TS. AV.), *manyasva* (TS. AV.), *vyayasva, hvayasva* (AV.).

3. *īdhyatām, jāyatām, trāyatām, dīpyatām* (TS. IV. 7. 13<sup>4</sup>), *padyatām* (AV.), *pyāyatām* (TS. AV.), *manyatām* (TS. AV.), *mēdyatām* (AV.), *rādhyatām* (AV.), *śīyatām* (AV.) 'lie', *hvayatām* (AV.).

Du. 2. *trīyethām, manyethām, hvayethām* (AV.). — 3. *trāyetām*.  
Pl. 2. *asyadhvam, jāyadhvam* (AV.), *trāyadhvam, dayādhvam, nahya-*  
*dhvam* (AV.), *budhyadhvam, stuyadhvam*. — 3. *jīyantām, trāyantām, padyantām*  
(AV.), *pyīyantām, manyantām* (AV. TS.), *vyayantām* (TS. III. 3. 11<sup>3</sup>), *hvayantām*  
(TS. III. 2. 4<sup>1</sup>).

### Present Participle.

442. Active. *āsyant-, īsyant-, jīyant-, (d-)kūpyant-* (AV.), *kṣūdyant-,*  
*gāyant-, gādhyant-<sup>1</sup>, tīsyant-, dīyant-, nītyant-, pāsyant-, pīyant-, pūsyant-,*  
*yāsyant-, yūdyant-, rīyant-, (d-)dubhyant-* (AV.), *vādyant-, vidhyant-* (AV.), *vyīyant-,*  
*śīmyant-* (TS. v. 2. 12<sup>1</sup>), *stīyant-, hīryant-*; and the compound *ān-ava-glāyant-*  
(AV.) 'not relaxing'.

Middle. *īyamāna-, kāyamāna-, cāyamāna-, jāyamāna-, trāyamāna-,*  
*dāyamāna-, nāyamāna-, pāyamāna-, pādya-māna-, pāsya-māna-, pūrya-māna-,*  
*pyāyamāna-, bīdhyamāna-, mānyamāna-, yūdyamāna-, rādhyamāna-* (AV.),  
*vāsyamāna-* (AV.), *hīryamāna-, hūdyamāna-*.

### Imperfect Indicative.

443. Active. Sing. I. *adiyam, āpaśyam, avyayam*. — 2. *apaśyas, dyudhyas*. —  
3. *agāyat, adhayat, anṛtyat* (AV.), *āpaśyat, ayudhyat, avayat* (AV.), *āvidhyat,*  
*avyayat, āharyat, āhvayat, āsyat*.

Du. 3. *āpaśyatām*.

Pl. I. *āpaśyāma*. — 3. *ajūryan<sup>2</sup>, āpaśyan, dvayan* (AV.), *ahvayan* (AV.);  
*āsyān* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *ājāyathās, aharyathās; jāyathās*. — 3. *ājāyata, apatyata,*  
*amanyata, arajyata* (AV.); *jāyata*.

Du. 2. *āhvayethām* (AV.). — 3. *āhvayetām*.

Pl. 3. *ājāyanta, ānahvanta* (AV.), *apadyanta* (AV.), *āpaśyanta, āman-*  
*yanta, ahvayanta; jāyanta, dāyanta*.

### B. The suffixally accented *yā-* class (passive).

DELBRÜCK, Verbum 184 (p. 166—169). — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 274—275. —  
WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 768—774; Roots 230—231. — V. NEGELEIN 38—40.

444. Any root that requires a passive forms its present stem by adding  
accented *-yā* (which never needs to be pronounced *-iā*). The root appears in its  
weak form, losing a nasal and taking Samprasāraṇa; thus *āñj-* 'anoint': *aj-yā-*  
'be anointed'; *vac-* 'speak': *uc-yā-* 'be spoken'. Final vowels undergo the  
changes usual before *-ya* in verbal forms: final *i* and *u* being lengthened,  
*ā* mostly becoming *ī*, *r* being generally changed to *ri*, and *ṛ* becoming *ir*<sup>3</sup>.  
Thus *mi-* 'fix': *mīya-*; *su-* 'press': *sūyā-*; *dā-* 'give': *dī-yā-* (but *jñā-* 'know':  
*jñā-yā-*); *kr-* 'make': *kri-yā-*; *śṛ-* 'crush': *śīrya-*.

a. The root *tan-* 'stretch' forms its passive from *tā-*: *tā-yā-*. Similarly *jan-* 'beget'  
makes its present stem from *jā-*: *jāya-te*, which has, however, been transferred to the  
radically accented *ya-* class. *mri-yā-te* 'dies' (*Vmr-*)<sup>4</sup> and *dhriyāte* (*Vdhr-*) 'is steadfast',  
though passives in form, are not so in sense<sup>5</sup>.

445. The inflexion is identical with that of the radically accented *ya-*  
class in the middle, differing from it in accent only. No forms of the optative  
are found in the RV. or AV. The forms actually occurring are the following:

<sup>1</sup> *dvatīryatīs* (AV. XIX. 9<sup>6</sup>) is a corrupt reading:  
see WHITNEY's Translation; cp. p. 331, note <sup>7</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> AVERY 249 adds *adhayan*(?).

<sup>3</sup> No example of *ūr* seems to occur in  
in the Samhitās, but *pūr-ya-* from *pṛ-* 'fill'  
is found in the *-ya* class.

<sup>4</sup> This root has a transitive sense ('crush')  
only in its secondary form *mṛn-*, and in the  
AV. in the imperative forms *mṛṇīhi* and  
*mṛṇāta*.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. above 437.

## Present Indicative.

Sing. 1. *hīye* (hā- 'leave'). — 2. *acyāse* (añc- 'bend', AV.), *ajyāse* (√aj- and √añj-), *idhyāse*, *ucyāse* (√vac-), *nīyāse*, *pūyāse*, *badhyāse* (AV.), *mucyāse* (AV.), *mṛjyāse*, *yujyāse*, *ricyāse*, *rudhyāse* (rudh- 'hinder'), *śasyāse* (√śams-), *sicyāse*, *stūyāse*, *hūyāse* (hū- 'call'). — 3. *ajyāte* (√aj- and √añj-), *asvāte* (AV.), *idhyāte*, *ucyāte* (√vac-), *udāte* (ud- 'wet' and vad- 'speak'), *upyāte* (√vap-), *uhvāte* (√vah-), *rcyāte* (arc- 'praise'), *kriyāte*, *kṣtyāte* 'is destroyed', *gamyāte* (AV.), *grhyāte* (AV.), *chidyāte* (AV.), *jīyāte* (AV.)<sup>1</sup>, *tapyāte*, *tīyāte*, *tujyāte*, *dabhyāte*, *dīyāte* 'is given' (AV.), *dīyāte* 'is divided' (AV.), *duhyāte*, *dṛśyāte*, *dhamyāte*, *dhyāte* (dhā- 'put'), *dhriyāte*, *nīyāte*, *pacyāte*, *pīyāte* 'is drunk' (AV.), *pūyāte*, *prcyāte*, *badhyāte* (√bandh-)<sup>2</sup>, *mathyāte* (AV.), *mucyāte*, *mṛjyāte*, *mriyāte*, *yujyāte*, *ricyāte*, *ribhyāte*<sup>3</sup>, *lupyāte* (AV.), *vacyāte* (√vañc-), *vidyāte* 'is found', *vṛjyāte*<sup>4</sup>, *śasyāte* (√śams-), *śisyāte*, *śiryāte*, *śrīyāte*, *sicyāte*, *sūyāte* 'is pressed', (√su-), *srjyāte*, *hanyāte*, *hūyāte* 'is called'.

Du. 3. *ucyēte* (√vac-).

Pl. 1. *tapyāmahe* (AV.), *panyāmahe*. — 3. *upvānte* (√vap-), *rcvānte*, *rdhyānte* (AV.), *kriyānte*, *jñāyānte*, *trhyānte* (AV.), *dahyānte* (AV.), *duhyānte* (AV.), *bhriyānte*, *mīyānte* 'are fixed' (√mi-, AV.), *mriyānte* (AV.), *yujyānte*, *vacyānte* (√vañc-, AV.), *vīyānte* (√vī-, AV.), *śasyānte* (√śams-), *śiryānte* (AV.), *srjyānte* (AV.), *hanyānte*, *hūyānte*.

## Present Subjunctive.

446. Sing. 3. *uhyāte*, *bhriyāte*, *śisyātai*<sup>5</sup> (AV.).

Du. 2. *ūhyāthe*<sup>6</sup>.

## Present Injunctive.

Sing. 3. *sūyata* (√su-).

## Present Imperative.

Sing. 2. *idhyāsva* (AV. TS.), *dhīyasva* (AV.), *dhriyasva* (AV.), *mucyasva* (Kh. II. 11<sup>4</sup>), *mriyāsva* (AV.), *vacyasva* (√vañc-).

3. *rdhyatām* (AV.), *tāyatām* (AV.), *dhīyatām* (AV.), *dhūyatām* (AV.), *dhriyatām* (AV.), *prcyatām*, *badhyatām* (AV.), *mucyatām* (AV.), *hanyatām* (AV.), *hīyatām*.

Pl. 2. *prcyadhvam* (AV. TS.), *yujyadhvam*, *vicyadhvam* (AV.).

3. *tapyantām* (AV.), *trhyantām* (AV.), *prcyantām* (AV.), *badhyantām*, *bhujyantām* (√bhañj-, AV.), *vacyantām*, *vṛścyantām*, *hanyantām* (AV.).

## Present Participle.

447. *acyāmāna-* (AV), *ajyāmāna-*, *idhyāmāna-*, *udyāmāna-* (√vad-, AV.), *upyāmāna-* (√vap-, AV.), *uhyāmāna-*, *rcyāmāna-*, *kṛtyāmāna-* (AV.), *kriyāmāna-*, (*d-*)*kṣiyāmāna-*, *gīyāmāna-*, *guhyāmāna-*, *tapyāmāna-*, *tīyāmāna-*, *tujyāmāna-*, *trhyāmāna-*, *dadyāmāna-*<sup>7</sup>, *dīyāmāna-* (AV.), *duhyāmāna-* (AV.), *dhīyāmāna-*, *nahyāmāna-* (AV.), *nidyāmāna-*, *nīyāmāna-*, *pacyāmāna-*, *pīsyāmāna-* (AV.), *pūyāmāna-*, *prcyāmāna-*, *badhyāmāna-*, *bhujyāmāna-*, *mathyāmāna-*, *madyāmāna-*, *mīyāmāna-* (*mi-* 'fix'), *mṛjyāmāna-*, *yamyāmāna-*, *vacyāmāna-* (√vañc-),

<sup>1</sup> From √jyā- or √jī- 'scathe'.

<sup>2</sup> *bhidhyate*, AV. XX. 131<sup>1</sup>, is an emendation.

<sup>3</sup> *līyate*, AV. XX. 1343 4, is an emendation.

<sup>4</sup> The forms *vṛścate*, *vṛścante*, *vṛścantām* appear occasionally to stand for *vṛścyate*, *vṛścyante*, *vṛścyantām* in the AV. See v. NEGELEIN 40; BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, 418.

<sup>5</sup> Emendation in AV. II. 31<sup>3</sup>, for *uchiśātai*, the reading of the text.

<sup>6</sup> A 3. pl. mid. in *-antai* once occurs in the TS. in the form *jāyantai*: WHITNEY 760 a.

<sup>7</sup> From the weak present stem *dad-* of *dā-* 'give'.



*vīyāmāna-* (AV.), *śasyāmāna-*, *sicyāmāna-*, *spjyāmāna-*, *stūyāmāna-*, *hanyāmāna-* (AV.), *himsyāmāna-*, *hūyāmāna-* (*hū-* 'call'); from the causative of *√bhaj-*: *bhājyāmāna-* (AV. XII. 4<sup>28</sup>).

### Imperfect Indicative.

448. Sing. 3. *anīyata*, *āmucyata*, *aricyata*. — Pl. 3. *dtapyanta* (AV. TS.), *apacyanta*, *apreyanta*, *śsicyanta* (AV.); *acyanta*.

### b. The second or graded conjugation.

449. The chief characteristic of this conjugation is vowel gradation in the base<sup>1</sup> consequent on shift of accent. The base has a strong grade vowel in the singular indicative (present and imperfect) active, throughout the subjunctive, and in the 3. sing. imperative active. Minor peculiarities are: 1. loss of *n* in the endings of the 3. pl. mid. (*-ate*, *-ata*, *-atīm*); 2. formation of the 2. sing. imperative active with a suffix, generally *-dhi*; 3. vowel gradation in the modal suffix of the optative (act. *-yē*; mid. *-ī*); 4. formation of the middle participle with *-āna*.

a. The second conjugation comprises five distinct classes falling into two main groups in which α) the vowel of the root (simple or reduplicated) is graded; β) the vowel of the suffix (nearly always containing a nasal) is graded.

#### α. 1. The root class.

450. The base is formed by the root itself, to which the personal endings are directly attached (in the subjunctive and optative with the intervening modal suffix). The radical vowel is accented and takes Guṇa in the strong forms. More than a hundred roots are comprised in this class<sup>2</sup>.

a. A good many irregularities are met with in this class, with regard to both the base and the endings. 1. Vrddhi is taken in the strong forms by *mṛj-* 'wipe' (e. g. *māj-mi*), and before consonants by roots ending in *-u*, i. e. by *kṣu-* 'whet', *nu-* 'praise', *ju-* 'unite' (AV.), *stu-* 'praise'; e. g. *stau-mi*<sup>3</sup>, *ā-stau-t*<sup>4</sup>, but *ā-stav-am*. — 2. The Guṇa vowel, along with the accent, is retained in the root of *ś-* 'lie' (middle) throughout the weak forms; e. g. sing. 1. *śāy-e*, 2. *śē-se*. In the 3. pl. this verb at the same time inserts *r* before the endings: *śē-rate*, *śē-re* (AV.), *śē-ratīm*, *ā-śē-rata*, *ā-śē-ran*<sup>5</sup>. — 3. Several roots form a base with the connecting vowel *i* or *ī*<sup>6</sup> before consonant endings. The roots *an-*<sup>7</sup> 'breathe', *rud-*<sup>8</sup> 'weep', *vam* 'vomit', *śvas-* 'blow', *svap-*<sup>9</sup> 'sleep' insert *i* before all terminations beginning with a consonant, except in 2. 3. impf., where they insert *ī*: e. g. *anī-ti*, *anī-t*; *avamī-t*; *śvasī-ti*. The roots *īd-* 'praise' and *īd-* 'rule' add *i* in some forms of the 2. pers. middle: *īdī-śva*; *īdī-se* (beside *īd-se*), *īdī-dve*. The 3. pl. *īdī-re* is, owing to its accent<sup>10</sup>, probably to be accounted a present rather than a perfect<sup>11</sup>. Occasional (imperative sing.) forms with connecting *i* from other roots also occur: *jānī-śva* 'be born', *vastī-śva* 'clothe', *śnatī-hi* 'pierce', *śnati-hi* 'thunder'. The root *brū-* 'speak' regularly inserts *ī* in the strong forms before terminations beginning with consonants; e. g. *brāvī-mi*. The same *ī* also appears in the form *tavī-ti* from *tu-* 'be strong'; in *amī-śi* and in the TS.<sup>12</sup> *amī-ti*, *amī-śva*, *āmī-t* from *am-* 'injure'; and in *śamī-śva* (VS.), from *śam-*

<sup>1</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 211.

<sup>2</sup> Several roots of this class show transfers to the *a-* conjugation: cp. WHITNEY 625 a.

<sup>3</sup> The RV. has once 2. sing. *sto-ṣi* (X. 22<sup>4</sup>), a form which AVERY 275 takes to be a 3. sing. aor. pass. injunctive.

<sup>4</sup> Vrddhi on the other hand once appears even in the weak form 3. pl. impf. *anūvan*. On the Vrddhi in these verbs, cp. v. NEGELEIN 10 a.

<sup>5</sup> There are some transfer forms according to the *a-* conjugation from the stem *śāy-a-*, including the isolated active form *śāyāt*, which is common. Nearly a dozen roots

besides *ś-* retain the accent on the radical syllable throughout. See 97, 2 a.

<sup>6</sup> This *ī* is, however, in reality originally part of a disyllabic base: cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 212, 2.

<sup>7</sup> The AV. has also forms according to the *a-* conjugation: *āna-ti*, etc.

<sup>8</sup> The RV. has no such forms from *rud-* and *svap-*.

<sup>9</sup> The AV., however, has the form *svap-tu*.

<sup>10</sup> See 97, 2 a and 484.

<sup>11</sup> The 3. sing. impf. of this verb is in the MS. *aśa* (like *aduha*), cp. WHITNEY 630.

<sup>12</sup> WHITNEY 634.

'labour'. — 4. A few roots undergo peculiar shortenings in the weak forms: *as-* 'be' loses its vowel<sup>1</sup> (except where protected by the augment)<sup>2</sup>; e. g. *s-mās* 'we are'; *han-*<sup>3</sup> 'slay' in the weak forms loses its *n* before *ar* (e. g. *han-ā*) with consonants (except *m*, *y* or *v*), but syncopates its *a* before terminations beginning with vowels, when *h* reverts to the original guttural *gh*; e. g. *ha-thā*, but *han-yāma*; *ghn-ānti*, part. *ghn-ānt*; the root *vas-* 'be eager', takes Samprasāraṇa; e. g. 1. pl. *us-māsi*, part. *us-ānd-*<sup>4</sup>, but 1. sing. *vās-mi*. The root *vas-* 'clothe' similarly takes Samprasāraṇa once in the participle *us-ānd-* (beside the usual *vāsāna-*). — 5. With regard to endings, the root *sās-* 'order' loses the *n* in the 3. pl. active (as well as middle) and in the participle, being treated like roots of the reduplicating class (457)<sup>5</sup>: 3. pl. impv. *sās-atu* (TS.), part. *sās-at-*<sup>6</sup>. The root *duh-* 'milk' is very anomalous in its endings: middle impv. 3. sing. *duh-ām*, 3. pl. *duh-rām* and *duh-raām*; ind. 3. pl. mid. *duh-ré* and *duh-rāte* beside the regular *duh-até* (with irregular accent)<sup>7</sup>; active imperf. 3. sing. *ā-duh-a-ti*<sup>8</sup> beside *ā-dhok*, 3. pl. *a-duh-ran* beside *ā-duh-an* and *duh-ūr*<sup>9</sup>; and in the 3. opt. the entirely anomalous sing. *duh-ī-yāt* (RV.) and pl. *duh-īyān* (RV.) (for *duh-yāt* and *duh-yūr*).

### Present Indicative.

451. A final or prosodically short medial radical vowel takes Guṇa in the singular; elsewhere it remains unchanged, excepting the changes of final vowels required by internal Sandhi, and the irregular shortenings mentioned above (450, a 4). The ordinary endings are added directly<sup>10</sup> to the root. But the 3. sing. mid. ends in *-e* nearly as often as in *-te*; and anomalous endings appear in the 3. persons of the roots *īś-*, *duh-*, *sās-*, *śī-*<sup>11</sup>.

The forms actually occurring would, if made from *i-* 'go' and *brū-* 'speak', be as follows:

**Active.** Sing. 1. *ī-mi*. 2. *ī-ṣi*. 3. *ī-ti*. — Du. 2. *i-thās*. 3. *i-tās*. — Pl. 1. *i-māsi* and *i-mās*. 2. *i-thā* and *i-thāna*. 3. *y-ānti*.

**Middle.** Sing. 1. *bruv-é*. 2. *brū-sé*. 3. *brū-té* and *bruv-é*. — Du. 2. *bruv-āthe*. 3. *bruv-āte*. — Pl. 1. *brū-māhe*. 2. *brū-dhve*. 3. *bruv-āte*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

**Active.** Sing. 1. *ādmi*, *dsmi*, *ēmi*, *kṣṇaumi*, *dvēsmi* (AV.), *pāmi* 'protect', *mārjmi*, *yāmi*, *yaumi* (AV.) 'join', *vaśmi*, *vāmi*, *sāsmi* (AV.), *staumi* (AV. TS.), *hanmi*, *harmi*. — **With connecting ī-**: *brāvimi*.

2. *dtsi*, *dsi*, *ēṣi*, *kārṣi* (AV.), *caḥṣi* (= \**caḥṣi*), *chantṣi* (√*chand-*), *dārṣi* (√*dar-* 'pierce'), *pārṣi* (√*pr-* 'pass'), *pāṣi* ('protect'), *bhāṣi*, *yāṣi*, *vakṣi* (√*vaś-* 'desire'), *vēṣi* (√*vṛ-*), *sāṣi*, *sāṣi*, *stōṣi*<sup>12</sup>, *hāṣi*. — **With imperative sense**<sup>13</sup>: *kṣēṣi* (√*kṣi-* 'dwell'), *jēṣi*, *jōṣi* (= \**jōṣi* : *jus-* 'enjoy'), *dārṣi*, *dhāḍkṣi* (√*dah-* 'burn'), *nakṣi* (√*naś-* 'attain'), *nēṣi*, *pārṣi*, *prāṣi*, *bhāḍkṣi* (√*bhuj-* 'divide'), *matsi*, *māsi*, *yākṣi* (√*yaj-* 'sacrifice'), *yāṁsi* (√*yam-* 'reach'), *yāsi*, *yōṣi* (√*yudh-* 'fight'), *rāṣi* (√*rad-* 'dig'), *rāsi*, *vāḍkṣi* (√*vah-* 'carry'), *vēṣi* (√*vṛ-*), *śrōṣi*, *sakṣi* (√*sah-* 'prevail'), *sāṣi*, *hōṣi* (√*hu-* 'sacrifice'). — **With connecting ī-**: *amīṣi*, *brāvīṣi*.

<sup>1</sup> It is, however, preserved in an altered form in the 2. sing. impv. act.: *e-āhi* for \**az-āhi* (62, 4, 6, p. 57). This verb has the further anomalies of losing its *s* in the 2. sing. pres. *a-si*, and in inserting *ī* in the 2. 3. sing. impf. *āsī-s*, *āsī-t*. It has no middle.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. v. NEGELEIN 83; VAN WIJK, IF. 18, 59.

<sup>3</sup> Limited to the active in this conjugation in the RV.

<sup>4</sup> The only middle form.

<sup>5</sup> There are also some transfer forms according to the *a-* conjugation: 3. sing. *sāsati*.

<sup>6</sup> Similarly from *dās-* 'worship' the part. *dās-at*.

<sup>7</sup> In the middle participle the *h* of the root reverts to the guttural *gh*: *dūgh-āna-*.

<sup>8</sup> Transfer to the *a-* conjugation.

<sup>9</sup> The MS. has further anomalous endings in the imperf. mid.: 3. sing. *a-duh-a* and 3. pl. *a-duh-ra*, probably as parallel to the present *duhe* and *duhre*: WHITNEY 635.

<sup>10</sup> Excepting the few forms of roots which may take connecting *i* or *ī* (450, a 3).

<sup>11</sup> See above 450, a 2, 3, 5; cp. JOHANSSON, KZ. 32, 512; NEISSER, BB. 20, 74.

<sup>12</sup> See 450, a 1, note 3.

<sup>13</sup> Some of these have no corresponding root present or root aorist; cp. WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 624; BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 2, 271; NEISSER, BB. 7, 230ff., 20, 70ff.; BRUGMANN, IF. 18, 72; DELBRÜCK, Verbum 30; Syntaktische Forschungen 5, 209.

3. *ḍṭti*, *ḍṣti*, *ḍti*, *kṣeti*, *takti* (*tak-* 'rush'), *dṭti* (*dā-* 'share'), *dṣṣti* (*dāṣ-* 'worship'), *dṣṣti*, *pṭti*, *bḥṛti*, *bḥṛti*, *mārṣti* (SA. XII. 9), *yṭti*, *rṣṣti* (*rāj-* 'rule'), *rēḥi* (*rih-* 'lick'), *vaṣṣti* (*vaṣ-* 'desire'), *vṭti*, *vṣṣti*, *stauti* (AV.; Kh. v. 3<sup>2</sup>), *hānti*. — With connecting *-i-* or *-ī-*: *ānti*, *śvāsiti*; *amṛti* (TS. VS.), *tavṛti* (*tu-* 'be strong'), *brāvṛti*.

Du. 2. *īthās*, *kṛthās*, *pāthās*, *bhūthās*, *yāthās*, *vīthās*, *sthās* (*as-* 'be'), *hathās* (*ṽhan-*).

3. *attas*, *etas*<sup>1</sup> (AV.), *kṣitās*, *dviṣtas* (AV.), *pātas*, *psātās* (AV.), *bhūtas*, *yātas*, *vātas*, *stas*, *snātās*, *hatās*, *hnūtas*.

Pl. I. *admāsi* (AV.), *imāsi*, *uśmāsi*<sup>2</sup> (*ṽvaṣ-*), *stumāsi*, *smāsi*, *hanmāsi* (AV.); *dviṣmāsi*, *brūmāsi* (AV.), *mṛjmas* (AV.), *yāmas*, *rudhmas* (AV.), *vidmas* (Kh. IV. 5<sup>33</sup>), *stumas* (AV.), *smas*, *hanmas*.

2. *ītha*, *kṛtha*, *gathā* (RV<sup>1</sup>)<sup>3</sup>, *nethā*<sup>4</sup>, *pāthā* 'protect'<sup>5</sup>, *yāthā*, *stha*, *hathā*; *pāthāna*, *yāthāna*, *sthāna*.

3. *adanti*, *amānti*, *uśānti*, *kṣiyānti*, *ghnānti* (*ṽhan-*), *dānti* (*dā-* 'cut'), *duhanti*, *dviṣānti* (AV.), *pānti*<sup>6</sup>, *bruvānti*, *bhānti*, *mṛjānti*, *yānti*, *yānti*, *rihānti*, *rudānti*, *vānti*, *vyānti* (*ṽv-*), *sānti*.

Middle. Sing. I. *īye* (*i-* 'go'), *īḷe*, *īṣe*, *uvē*<sup>7</sup>, *duhe*, *bruve*, *mṛje* (AV.), *yujē*, *yuve* (*yu-* 'join'), *suve* (*sū-* 'beget')<sup>8</sup>, *hnuve*.

2. *īkṣe*, *kṛṣe*, *cakṣe* (= \**cakṣ-ṣe*), *dhuḥkṣe* (AV.), *brūṣe*, *vīṣe* (*vid-* 'find'), *śēṣe*. — With connecting *-i-*: *īṣiṣe*.

3. *āste*, *īṣte* (*ṽṣ-*), *īṣte*, *īṣte* (*ṽṣ-*), *cāṣte* (*ṽcākṣ-*), *brūtē*, *vāste*, *śāste*, *śīṅkte*<sup>9</sup> (*ṽśīṅj-*), *sūte*, *hate* (SA. XII. 27). — With ending *-e*: *īṣe*<sup>10</sup>, *cītē* (*cīt-* 'perceive'), *duhē*, *bruvē*, *vidē* ('finds'), *śāye*<sup>11</sup>.

Du. 2. *āsāthe*, *īśāthe*, *cakṣāthe*, *vasāthe*. — 3. *āsāte*, *iyāte*, *duhāte*, *bruvāte*, *śayāte*, *śivāte*.

Pl. I. *āsmāhe* (AV.), *īmahe*, *īsmāhe* (AV.), *mṛjmāhe* (AV.), *yujmāhe*, *śāsmāhe*, *śēmahe* (AV.), *hūmāhe*. — 2. With connecting *-i-*: *īśidhve* (AV.). — 3. *āsate*, *īrate*, *īlate*, *īśate*, *ōhate* (*ṽūh-*), *grhate*<sup>12</sup>, *cākṣate*, *duhatē*<sup>13</sup>, *dviṣate* (AV.), *nimsate*, *bruvāte*, *rihatē*<sup>13</sup>, *vāsate*, *śāsate*, *suuate*. — With ending *-re*: *duhrē*, *śēre* (AV.); with *-rate*: *duhrate*, *śērate* (AV. TS.).

### Present Subjunctive.

452. In the AV. several forms are irregularly made with *ā*, as if following the *a-* conjugation. No examples of the 2. du. and pl. mid. are found. The forms which actually occur, if made from *brū-* 'speak', would be:

Active. Sing. I. *brāvāṇi*, *brāvā*. 2. *brāvāsi*, *brāvās*. 3. *brāvati*, *brāvat*. — Du. I. *brāvāva*. 2. *brāvāthas*. 3. *brāvatas*. — Pl. I. *brāvāma*. 2. *brāvātha*. 3. *brāvān*.

Middle. Sing. I. *bravē*. 2. *bravase*. 3. *brāvate*. — Du. I. *brāvāvahai*. 3. *brāvāite*. — Pl. I. *brāvāmahai*, *brāvāmahe*. 3. *brāvānta*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. I. *āsāni* (AV.), *brāvāṇi*; *ayā*, *bravā*, *stāvā*.

<sup>1</sup> With irregular strong radical vowel.

<sup>2</sup> Once anomalously *śmāsi*.

<sup>3</sup> With loss of nasal as in *ṽhan-*.

<sup>4</sup> With irregular strong radical vowel: cp. v. NEGELEIN 33.

<sup>5</sup> Once from *pā-* 'drink', in I. 861?

<sup>6</sup> Thirteen times from *pā-* 'protect', once (II. 1114) from *pā-* 'drink' (probably subj. aor.).

<sup>7</sup> This form occurring only once in the RV. seems to be formed from a doubtful root 'proclaim'; cp. WHITNEY, Roots, under *u*.

<sup>8</sup> *huvē*, sing. I. and 3., should perhaps be

placed here rather than in the *d-* class; on this form cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 59, 355 ff.; NEISSER, BB. 25, 315 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *śīnte* (AV.).

<sup>10</sup> AVERY 234 gives *īṣe* only, apparently instead of *īṣe*. The form *īṣe* would be 3. sing. mid. perfect.

<sup>11</sup> On these forms cp. v. NEGELEIN 102; NEISSER, BB. 20, 74.

<sup>12</sup> Placed by WHITNEY, Roots, doubtfully under the aorist of *ṽgrah-*.

<sup>13</sup> With irregular accent.

2. *ayasi* (AV.), *āsasi*, *bravasi*; *āyas* (AV.), *āsas*, *kṣāyas* (*kṣi*- 'dwell'), *ghāsas*, *dānas*, *parcas*, *bravas*, *vēdas*, *śākas*, *hānas*; with *-ā-*: *āyās* (AV.).  
 3. *āyati*, *āsati*, *vayati* (√*vī*-), *vēdati*, *hanati*; *adat* (AV.), *dyat* (*asat*, *īrat*<sup>1</sup>, *kṣayat*, *ghasat*, *cayat*, *dēhat*, *dohat* (I. 164<sup>2</sup>), *dvēsat* (AV.), *pāt* ('protect'), *brāvat*, *vēdat* (*vid*- 'know'), *stāvat*, *hānat* (AV. TS.); with *-ā-*: *ayāt* (Kh. III. 1<sup>8</sup>), *asāt* (AV.), *rodāt* (Kh. 2. 11<sup>1</sup>).

Du. 1. *hānāva*. — 2. *āsathas*, *vedathas*. — 3. *pātas* 'protect' (IV. 55<sup>7</sup>).

Pl. 1. *ayāma*, *āsāma*, *kṣāyāma*, *dveṣāma* (AV.), *brāvāma*, *stāvāma*, *hānāma*. — 2. *āsatha*<sup>2</sup>, *stavatha*; with *-ā-*: *bravātha* (AV.), *hanātha* (AV.). — 3. *ayan*, *āsan*, *brāvan*, *yavan* ('join', AV. III. 17<sup>2</sup>), *hānan* (AV.); with *-ā-*: *ādān* (AV.), *ayān* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 1. *stuśé*<sup>3</sup>. — 2. *āsase*. — 3. *āsate*, *idhaté*<sup>4</sup>, *dōhate*, *dvēgate* (TS. IV. 1. 10<sup>3</sup>), *vārjate*; with *-tai*: *āyātai* (AV.), *āsātai* (AV.); with secondary ending *-ta*: *ṛsata*. — Du. 1. *bravāvahai*. — 3. *brāvāite*. — Pl. 1. *īlāmahai*, *brāvāmahai*; *īlāmahe*. — 3. *hānanta*.

### Present Injunctive.

Active. Sing. 2. *vés*. — 3. *vet* (x. 53<sup>9</sup>), *staut*; without ending: *dān*, *rāt*, *han*. — Pl. 3. *yan*, *san*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *vasta*, *sūta*. — Pl. 3. *īlata*, *vasata*.

### Present Optative.

453. Active. Sing. 1. *iyām*, *yāyām*, *vidyām*, *syām*. — 2. *syās*. — 3. *adyāt* (AV.), *iyāt*, *brūyāt*, *vidyāt*, *syāt*, *hanyāt* (AV.).

Du. 2. *brūyātam* (TS. IV. 7. 15<sup>6</sup>), *vidyātam*, *syātam*. — 3. *syātīm*.

Pl. 1. *iyāma*, *turyāma*, *vidyāma*, *syāma*, *hanyāma*. — 2. *syāta*; *syātana*. — 3. *adyīr*, *vidyīr*, *syīr*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *īśīya*, *śāyīya* (AV.). — 3. *āsīta*, *īlīta*, *ṛsīta*, *duhita*, *bruvīta*, *śāyīta*, *stuvīta*. — Pl. 1. *bruvīmahi*, *vasīmahi*, *stuvīmahi*.

### Present Imperative.

454. The endings are added directly to the root, which appears in its weak form except in the 3. sing. act., where it is strong and accented<sup>5</sup>. In the 2. sing. act., *-dhi* is added to a final consonant, *-hi* to a vowel; *-tāt*, which occurs only three times, may be added to either a consonant or a vowel. In the mid., *-ām* 3. sing., *-rām* and *-ratīm* 3. pl., occasionally appear for *-tām* and *-atām*<sup>6</sup>.

Active. Sing. 2. *addhī*, *edhī* (*as*- 'be'), *tālhi* (√*takṣ*-), *psāhi* (AV.), *mṛdḍhi* (AV.), *viddhī* ('find' and 'know'), *śādhi* (√*śās*-); *ihī*, *jāhī*<sup>7</sup>, *pāhī* 'protect', *brūhī*, *bhāhī*, *yāhī*, *vāhī*, *vihī*<sup>8</sup>, *vīhī*, *stuhī*, *snāhī* (AV.); with connecting *-i-*: *anīhi* (VS. IV. 25), *śnāthīhi*, *śvasīhi* (AV.), *stanihi*; with *-tāt*: *brūtāt* (TS. I. 6. 4<sup>3</sup>), *vittāt*, *vītāt*. — 3. *attu*, *āstu*, *etu*, *dveṣtu* (AV.), *pātu* 'protect', *psātu* (AV.), *mārṣtu* (AV. TS.), *yātu*, *vaṣtu* (√*vaś*-), *vātu*, *vētu*, *vettu* (AV.), *sastu*, *stautu* (AV.), *snautu* (TS. III. 5. 5<sup>2</sup>), *svāptu* (AV.), *hāntu*; with connecting *-i-*: *brāvītu*.

<sup>1</sup> AVERY 230 here adds *ṛdhat*, which I regard as a root aor. subjunctive.

<sup>2</sup> *viddhī*, AV. I. 32<sup>1</sup>, seems to be a corruption for *vidātha*; cp. WHITNEY's note.

<sup>3</sup> For *stuṣ-a-i*: cp. AVERY 238; DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 181<sup>3</sup>; NEISSER, BB. 27, 262—280; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 55, 39.

<sup>4</sup> With irregular accent and weak root (VII. 1<sup>8</sup>) for *\*indhate*, beside *indhate* formed from *vidh-* according to the infixing nasal class.

<sup>5</sup> This is also irregularly the case in six or seven forms of the 2. pl., before both *-ta* and *-tana*: *ēta*, *neta*, *stota*; *ētana*, *bravītana*, *solana*, *hanātana*.

<sup>6</sup> In *duhām*, *vidām* (AV.), *śayām* (AV.); *duhrām* (AV.), *duhratām* (AV.).

<sup>7</sup> For *\*jha-hi*, from *han-* 'slay': see 32, 2 c, and cp. v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 8<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Metrically shortened for *vīhī*, from *√vī-*.

Du. 2. *attam* (AV.), *itam* (AV. TS.), *pātām* 'protect', *brūtam* (AV.), *yātām*, *vittām*, *vitām*, *stam* (as- 'be'), *stutam*, *hatām*. — 3. *itām*, *dugdhām* (√*duh*-), *pātām* 'protect', *sastām*, *stām* (AV.), *hatām* (AV.).

Pl. 2. *attā*, *itā* and *ētā*, *pātā* 'protect', *brūta*, *yātā*, *śastā* (śas- 'cut'), *sta* (VS. AV.), *stota*, *hatā*; with *-tana*: *attana*, *itana* and *ētana*, *yātāna*, *śastāna*, *sotana* (su- 'press'), *hantana*; with connecting *-ī-*: *bravītana*.

3. *adantu*, *ghnantu*, *drantu*, *pāntu* 'protect', *bruvantu*, *yantu*, *yāntu*, *vāntu* (AV.), *vyāntu* (√*vī-*) and *viyantu* (TS.), *śāsatu* (TS. v. 2. 12<sup>1</sup>), *śvāsantu* (AV.), *santu*, *svāpantu* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *īṣva*, *caṣva* (= \**caṣ-ṣva*), *trāṣva*, *dhuṣva*<sup>1</sup>, *mṛṣva* (√*mṛj-*, AV.), *stuṣvā* (AV.); with connecting *-i-*: *īṣiṣva*, *jāniṣva*, *vāsiṣva*.

3. *āstām*, *yutām* (AV.), *vastām*, *śetām* (AV.); with *-ām*: *duhām*, *vidām* (*vid-* 'find', AV.), *śayām* (AV.).

Du. 2. *īrāthām*, *caṣāthām* (TS.), *duhāthām* (AV.), *vasāthām* (TS.). — 3. *duhātām* (AV.). — Pl. 2. *ādhwam*<sup>2</sup> (√*ās-*), *īrdhwam*, *trārdhwam*, *mṛdṛhwam* (AV.). — 3. *īratām*, *stuvātām* (AV.); with *-rām*: *duhrām* (AV.); with *-ratām*: *duhratām* (AV.).

### Present Participle.

455. The active participle is formed by adding *-ānt*<sup>3</sup> to the weak root; thus *y-ānt-* from *i-* 'go'; *duh-ānt-* from *duh-* 'milk'; *s-ānt-* from *as-* 'be'. The strong stems of the participles of *dās-* 'worship' and *śās-* 'order' lose the *n*: *dās-at*<sup>4</sup> and *śās-at*<sup>5</sup>. The middle participle is formed by adding the suffix *-ānā* to the weak form of the root; thus *iy-ānā-* from √*i-*; *uś-ānā-* from √*vas-*; *ghn-ānā-* (AV.) from √*ghan-*. In a few examples, however, the radical vowel takes Guna; thus *oh-ānā-* from *ūh-* 'consider'; *yodh-ānā-* from *yudh-* 'fight'; *śāy-āna-* from *śī-* 'lie'; *stav-ānā-* from *stu-* 'praise'. The final of √*duh-* reverts to the original guttural in *dūgh-āna-* beside the regular *dihāna-*. The root *ās-* 'sit' has the anomalous suffix *-īna* in *ās-īna-* beside the regular *ās-ānā-*. Several of these participles in *-āna* alternatively accent the radical vowel instead of the final vowel of the suffix; thus *vid-āna-* beside *vid-ānā-* 'finding'.

Active. *adānt-*, *anānt-*, *uśānt-*, *kṣiyānt-*<sup>6</sup> 'dwelling', *ghnānt-* (√*ghan-*), *duhānt-*, *doiśānt-*, *dhr̥śānt-*, *pānt-* 'protecting', *bruv-ānt-*, *bhānt-*, *yānt-*, *yānt-*, *rihānt-*, *rudānt-*, *vānt-*<sup>7</sup> (AV.), *vyānt-* (√*vī-*), *sānt-*, *sasānt-*, *stuvānt-*, *snānt-*, *svapānt-*; with loss of *n*: *dāsāt-*, *śāsāt-*.

Middle. *adānā-*, *āsānā-* and *āsīna-*, *indhāna-*, *iyānā-* (VS. x. 19; TS. i. 8. 14<sup>2</sup>), *īlāna-*, *īrāna-*, *īśāna-* and (once) *īśānā-*, *uśānā-*<sup>8</sup>, *uśānā-*<sup>9</sup> (*vas-* 'wear'), *dhāna-* and *ohānā-* (√*ūh-*), *kṣuvānā-*<sup>10</sup>, *ghnānā-* (AV.), *dihānā-*, *dūghāna-* and *duhānā-* and *dihāna-*, *dhr̥śānā-* (AV.), *nijānā-*, *bruvānā-*, *mṛjānā-*, *yuvānā-* (yu-

<sup>1</sup> DELBRÜCK 61 and AVERY 242 wrongly give this form as *duṣva*.

<sup>2</sup> In AV. (iv. 14<sup>2</sup>) and TS. (iv. 6. 5<sup>1</sup>) some Mss. read *ādhwam*. VS. xvii. 65 has *ādhwam*.

<sup>3</sup> The feminine is formed with *-ī* from the weak stem; thus *ghnat-ī*, *duhat-ī*, *yāt-ī*, *yāt-ī*, *bhāt-ī*, *rudat-ī*, *sat-ī* (AV.), *snāt-ī*. But the AV. has *yāntī-* (beside *yātī-*) and *svapāntī-*; see WHITNEY, Index Verborum 374<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> The verb *dās-* may have lost its nasal in the 3. pl. act., but there is no evidence of this, as the only form preserved according to the root class is 3. sing. *dāgi*.

<sup>5</sup> As in 3. pl.

<sup>6</sup> *kṣyāntam* TS. iv. i. 2<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> *apa-vān* AV. xix. 50<sup>4</sup> is probably N. sing. of this part; see WHITNEY's note and cp. LANMAN 484<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> The RV. has once the transfer form *uśāmāna-*.

<sup>9</sup> Once, beside the regular *vāsāna-*. The RV. has also once the transfer form *uśāmāna-*.

<sup>10</sup> The form *gṛhānā* (x. 103<sup>12</sup>), doubtless 2. sing. impv. of the *nā*-class, is regarded by GRASSMANN as a participle.

'join'), *rodhāná-*, *rihāná-*, *vāsāna-* 'wearing', *vidāna-* and *vidāná-*, *vyāná-* (*√vī-*), *śáyāna-*, *śāsāna-* (AV. TS.), *śivāna-* (*śū-* 'bring forth', AV.), *stuvāná-* and *stavāná-*, *svāná-* (*su-* 'press', SV.)<sup>1</sup>.

### Imperfect Indicative.

456. Active. Sing. 1. *adoham* (Kh. v. 15<sup>14</sup>), *apām* ('protect'), *ābravam*, *avedam*, *ahanam*; *ādam* (VS. XII. 105), *āyam*, *āsam*, *airam* (*√īr-*).

2. *āpās*, *āyās*; *dis* (AV.); *ves* (*√vī-*); with connecting *-ī-*: *ābravīs* (AV.); *āsīs*; without ending: *āhan*; *han*.

3. *āpāt*, *āyāt*, *avāt* (AV.), *astaut*; *dit*<sup>2</sup>; with connecting *-ī-*: *ābravīt*, *avamīt*; *ānīt*, *āsīt*<sup>3</sup>; without ending: *adhok*, *āvet* (AV.), *āhan*; *ās* (= \**ās-t*, from *as-* 'be'); *han*<sup>4</sup>.

Du. 2. *dyātam*, *ahatam*; *āstam*, *ditam*; *yātam* (AV.). — 3. *abrūtām* (AV.); *attām* (VS. XXI. 43), *āstām*, *aitām* (AV. VS.).

Pl. 1. *ataṣṭma*, *āpāma*. — 2. *ataṣṭa*; *ditā*; *ābravīta*; *āyātana*, *āstana*; *ditana*; *ābravītana*. — 3. *ādīhan* (AV.), *anāvan*, *abruvan*, *avyan* (*√vī-*); *āyan* (*i-* 'go'), *āsan*; *asan*<sup>5</sup> (*as-* 'throw'), *-ghnan* (Kh. I. 2<sup>2</sup>); with ending *-ur*: *atviṣur*, *apur* (*pā-* 'protect'); *asur* (*as-* 'throw', I. 179<sup>2</sup>); *cākṣur*, *duhur*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *acaṣṭa*, *ataṭta*, *āvasta* (AV.), *āsūta*; *āiṭṭa* (*√īṭ-*); *mṛṣṭa* (I. 174<sup>4</sup>), *sūta*.

Pl. 2. *ārādham*. — 3. *aghmata* (AV.), *acakṣata*, *ajanata*, *āmrjata* (AV.), *asāsata*; *āsata*, *āirata*. With ending *-ran*: *aduhran* (AV.), *āsēran*.

### a. 2. The Reduplicating Class.

457. This class is less than half as frequent as the root class, comprising fewer than 50 verbs. The endings are here added to the reduplicated root, which is treated as in the root class, taking Guṇa in the strong forms. The stem shows the same peculiarity as the desiderative in reduplicating *ṛ* (= *ar*) and *ā* with *i*. Here, however, this rule is not invariable. All the roots with *r* except one reduplicate with *i*. They are *r-* 'go': *i-y-ar*<sup>6</sup>; *ghr-* 'drip': *jīghar-*; *tīr-* 'cross': *tīṭr-*; *pīr-* 'fill' and *pīr-* 'pass': *pīpar-*; *bhr-* 'bear': *bībhar-*; *sr-* 'run': *sīsar-*; *pīr-* 'mix': *pīpīr-*; but *vrt-* 'turn': *vavart-*. While nine roots reduplicate *ā* with *a*, thirteen do so with *i*. The latter are: *gā-* 'go': *jīgā-*; *ghrā-* 'smell': *jīghrā-*; *pā-* 'drink': *pībā-*; *mā-* 'measure': *mīmā-*; *mā-* 'bellow': *mīmā-*; *śā-* 'sharpen': *śīśā-*; *sthā-* 'stand': *tīṣṭha-*; *hā-* 'go forth': *jīhī-*<sup>7</sup>; *vac-* 'speak': *vīvac-*; *vaś-* 'desire': *vīvaś-*<sup>8</sup>; *vyac-* 'extend': *vīvyac-*; *sac-* 'accompany': *sīśac-*<sup>9</sup>; *han-* 'strike': *jīghna-*. Three of these, however, *pā-*, *sthā-*, *han-*, have permanently gone over to the *a-* conjugation, while a fourth, *ghrā-*, is beginning to do so. Contrary to analogy the accent is not, in the majority of verbs belonging to this class, on the root in the strong forms, but on the reduplicative syllable. The latter is further accented in the 3. pl. act. and mid., as well as in the 1. du. and pl. mid. Doubtless as a result of this accentuation, the verbs of this class lose the *n* of the endings in the 3. pl. act. and mid.; e. g. *bībhr-ati*<sup>10</sup> and *jīghate*.

<sup>1</sup> To be pronounced thus in the RV., though always written *svāná-*.

<sup>2</sup> The form *aitat* (AV. XVIII. 340) seems to be a corruption of *dit*; see WHITNEY's note in his Translation.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. v. NEGELEIN 81; REICHELTS BB. 27, 89. VS. VIII. 46 has the transfer form *āsata*.

<sup>4</sup> *drūdat* (AV.) is a transfer to the *a-* conjugation. In I. 77<sup>2</sup> *vēs*, 3. sing., seems to be an aor. form = \**vē-s-t*.

<sup>5</sup> Unaugmented form IV. 31.

<sup>6</sup> With *-y-* interposed between reduplication and root.

<sup>7</sup> With *ī* for *ā*; inflected in the middle only.

<sup>8</sup> Also *vavaś-*.

<sup>9</sup> Also *saśc-*.

<sup>10</sup> That is, *a* replaces the sonant nasal.

a. There are a number of irregularities chiefly in the direction of shortening the root in weak forms. 1. Roots ending in *ā* drop their vowel before terminations beginning with vowels<sup>1</sup>: e. g. *√mā*: *mim-e*, 3. pl. *mim-ate*. *√dā-* and *√dhā-*, the two commonest verbs in this class, drop the *ā* in all weak forms. — 2. The root *vyac-* takes *Samprasāraṇa*; e. g. 3. du. *viviktās*; analogously *hvar-* 'be crooked', makes some forms with *Samprasāraṇa*, when it reduplicates with *u*; e. g. *juhūthās*, 2. sing. mid. injunctive. — 3. The verbs *bhas-* 'chew', *sac-* 'accompany', *has-* 'laugh', syncope the radical vowel; thus *babhas-at*, 3. sing. subj., but *bāps-ati*, 3. pl. ind.; *sāśc-ati*, 3. pl. ind. pres., *sāśc-ata*, 3. pl. inj.; *jāṅś-at*, pres. part. — 4. The *ā* of *śā-* 'sharpen', *mā-* 'measure', *mā-* 'bellow', *rā-* 'give', *hā-* 'go away' (mid.), and (in AV.) *hā-* 'leave' (act.)<sup>2</sup>, is usually changed to *i* before consonants; e. g. *śi jūmāsi*, *mimīte*, *rarūthās*<sup>3</sup>, *jihīte*, *jahīta* (AV.); while the roots *dā-* 'give' and *dhā-* 'put' drop their vowel even here<sup>4</sup>; e. g. *dād-mahe*, *dadh-māsi*. — 5. The initial of *ci-* 'observe' reverts to the original guttural throughout; e. g. *cikēsi* (AV.). — 6. When the aspiration of *dadh-*, the weak base of *dhā-*, is lost before *t*, *th*, *s*, or *dhv*, it is thrown back on the initial; e. g. *dhat-sva*. — 7. The roots *dī-* 'shine', *dhī-* 'think', *pī-* 'swell', reduplicate with *i*; e. g. *ādīdet*; *dādhet*; *dīpet*. — 8. There are a number of transfers from this to other classes. Thus *cakṣ-* 'see', originally a syncopeated reduplicative base (= \**cakās-*), has become a root inflected according to the root class; *jakṣ-* 'eat', also originally a reduplicated base (*jaghas-*), has become a root from which is formed the past passive participle *jag-dhā-*, and which in the later language is inflected both in the root class and the *a-* class. The weak bases *dad-* and *dadh-* show an incipient tendency to become roots<sup>5</sup>, from which a number of transfer forms according to the *a-* conjugation are made, such as 3. sing. mid. *dada-te*, 3. pl. ind. act. *dādhanī*, 3. pl. impv. act. *dadha-ntu*, 3. sing. mid. *dadha-te*, 2. du. *dadhehe* (AV.). The roots *pā-* 'drink', *sthā-*, *han-*, form only transfer stems according to the *a-* class: *piba-*, *tiṣṭha-*, *jighna-*; while *ghrā-*, *mā-* 'bellow', *rā-*, *bhas-*, *sac-* make occasional forms from transfer stems according to the *a-* class: *jighra-*, *mima-*, *rāra-*, *bāpsa-*, *sāśca-*.

### Inflexion.

458. The forms actually occurring would, if made from *bhr-* 'bear', be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *bībharmi*. 2. *bībharṣi*. 3. *bībharti*. — Du. 2. *bībhṛthās*. 3. *bībhṛtās*. — Pl. 1. *bībhṛmāsi* and *bībhṛmās*. 2. *bībhṛthā*. 3. *bībhṛati*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *bībhṛe*. 2. *bībhṛṣe*. 3. *bībhṛte*. — Du. 1. *bībhṛvahe*. 2. *bībhṛāthe*. 3. *bībhṛāte*. — Pl. 1. *bībhṛmahe*. 2. *bībhṛdhve*. 3. *bībhṛate*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

### Present Indicative.

Active. Sing. 1. *īyarmi*, *jāhāmi*, *jīgharmi*, *juhōmi*, *dādāmi*, *dādhāmi*, *pīpāmi* ('fill', AV.), *bībharmi*, *vivakmi* (*√vac-*), *śiśāmi*.

2. *īyārṣi*<sup>6</sup>, *cikēsi* (AV.), *jāhāsi* (AV.), *jīgāsi*, *dādāsi*, *dādhāsi*, *pīpārṣi*, *bībharṣi*, *mamatsi*, *vavāṅksi* (*√vas-*), *vivekṣi*<sup>7</sup> (*viṣ-* 'be active'), *śiśākṣi* (*√sac-*), *śisārṣi*<sup>8</sup>.

3. *īyarti*, *jāhāti*, *jīgāti*, *jīgharti*, *juhōti*, *dādāti*<sup>9</sup>, *dādhāti*, *pīpāti* 'fills' and 'passes', *bābhastī* (AV.), *bībharti* and (once) *bībhārti*, *mīmāti* 'bellows', *mimeti* (*mā-* 'bellow', SV.), *yuyoti* 'separates', *vavarti* (= *vavart-ti*, II. 38<sup>6</sup>), *vivakti*, *vivaṣṭi* (*√vas-*), *viveṣṭi* (*viṣ-* 'be active'), *sāsasti* (VS.) and *sasāsti* (TS. VII. 4. 19<sup>1</sup>), *śiśakti* (*√sac-*), *śisarti*.

Du. 2. *dhatthās*, *ninīthās*, *pīpṛthas*, *bībhṛthās*. — 3. *dattās* (AV.), *dādhātas*<sup>10</sup> (AV.), *bībhītās* (AV.), *bībhṛtās*, *mīmītas*, *viviktās* (*√vyac-*), *viviṣtas*.

Pl. 1. *juhūmāsi*, *dadmāsi*, *dadhmāsi*, *bībhṛmāsi*, *śiśīmāsi*; *jahimas*<sup>11</sup> (AV.), *juhūmās*, *dadmās* (AV.), *dadhmas*, *bībhṛmas* (AV.), *viviṣmas*. — 2. *dhatthā*,

<sup>1</sup> This of course does not take place in the transfer verbs according to the *a-* conjugation.

<sup>2</sup> In the RV. *hā-* 'leave', has only forms with *ā* (never *i*).

<sup>3</sup> But *rarāsva* (AV.).

<sup>4</sup> The vowel of *hā-* 'leave' is also dropped in the 3. pl. opt. act. *jahyur* (AV.).

<sup>5</sup> From the former is made the past passive participle *dat-tā-* 'given'.

<sup>6</sup> This is the accentuation in MAX MÜLLER'S and AUFRECHT'S editions, both in *Samhitā* and *Padapāṭha*.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. NEISSER, BB. 30, 303.

<sup>8</sup> With imperative sense.

<sup>9</sup> Also the transfer form *dādāti*.

<sup>10</sup> With strong base, for *dhattās*.

<sup>11</sup> With base weakened to *jahi-* for *jahī-*.

*pipṛthá, bibhṛthá*. — 3. *jahati, jighrati* (AV.), *jihvati, dádati, dádhati*<sup>1</sup>, *dādyati*<sup>2</sup> (AV.), *píprati, bapsati* (√*bhas*-), *bibhrati*<sup>3</sup>, *sáscati*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *jukvé, dadé* (AV. TS.), *dadhé, mime*. — 2. *datse* (AV.), *dhatsé*. — 3. *jihíte, juhuté, datté<sup>4</sup>, dhatté<sup>5</sup>, mimíte, śísíte<sup>6</sup>*; with -e: *dadhé* (+ AV.).

Du. 1. *dádvahe*. — 2. *dadháthe*. — 3. *jiháte, dadháte<sup>7</sup>, mimáte<sup>8</sup>* (v. 82<sup>6</sup>).

Pl. 1. *dádmahe, mimímahe* (AV.). — 2. *jihūdhe* (AV.). — 3. *jihate, dadhate<sup>9</sup>, mimate* ('measure'), *sistrate*.

### Present Subjunctive.

459. Active. Sing. 1. *dadhāni, bibharāni* (TS. I. 5. 10<sup>1</sup>). — 2. *juhuras, dadas, dadhas, didhyas* (AV.), *viveṣas*. — 3. *píprati; dadat, dádhat, dādayat, didāyat*<sup>10</sup> (AV.), *babhasat, bibharat* (AV.), *yuyávat* 'separate'.

Du. 2. *dádhatas, bapsathas* (Kh. I. 11<sup>1</sup>).

Pl. 1. *jahāma, juhavāma, dadhāma*. — 3. *dādan* (AV.), *dádhan, yuyavan*.

Middle. Sing.<sup>11</sup> 2. *dádhasé*. — 3. *dádhate*; with -tai: *dadātai* (AV.). — Du. 1. *dadhūvahai* (TS. I. 5. 10<sup>1</sup>). — Pl. 1. *dadāmahe*. — 3. *juhuranta*<sup>12</sup>.

### Present Injunctive.

Active. Sing. 2. *dadās* (AV.), *bibhes* (AV.). — 3. *jigāt, dadāt* (AV.), *vivyak*.

Pl. 1. *yuyoma*<sup>13</sup> (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *juhūrthās* (√*huy*-). 3. *jihīta*.

Pl. 3. *sáscata*.

### Present Optative<sup>14</sup>.

Active. Sing. 2. *mimīyās* (x. 56<sup>2</sup>). — 3. *jahyāt*<sup>15</sup> (ŚA. XII. 11); *juhuyāt* (AV.), *dadyāt* (AV.), *bibhīyāt, bibhryāt, mamanyāt, mimīyāt* (mā- 'measure'). — Du. 3. *yuyuyātām*. — Pl. 1. *juhuyāma*. — 3. *jahyur*<sup>15</sup> (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 3. *dádhitā* and *dadhūtā*. — Pl. 1. *dadīmahi, dadhīmahi*. — 3. *dadīran*.

### Present Imperative.

460. Active. Sing. 1. *jáhāni* (AV.). — 2. *daddhi, píprgdhi* (√*prc*-), *mamaddhi, mamandhi, yuyodhi, vīvidḍhi* (√*vis*-), *śísādhi*. — With -hi: *cikīhi* (ci- 'note', AV.), *didīhi* and *didīhi* (√*dr*-), *dehi* (√*dā*-), *dhehi, píprhi, bibhṛhi* (AV. TS.), *mimīhi* (mā- 'measure'), *ririhi*<sup>16</sup> (√*rā*-), *śísihi*. — With -tāt: *jahītāt* (AV.), *dattāt, dhattāt, píprtāt* (TS. IV. 4. 12<sup>1</sup>). — 3. *ciketu* (TS. III. 3. 11<sup>5</sup>), *jáhātu, jigātu, juhātu* (TS. III. 3. 10<sup>1</sup>), *dádātu, dadhātu, pípartu* ('fill' and 'pass'), *bibhartu* (AV. TS.), *mímātu, yayastu, yuyotu, śísātu, śisaktu*.

<sup>1</sup> Also the transfer form *dādhandi*.

<sup>2</sup> Regarded by DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 1333, as an intensive.

<sup>3</sup> There is also a transfer form *mimanti* 'bellow'.

<sup>4</sup> Also the transfer form *dadate*.

<sup>5</sup> Also the transfer form *dadhate*.

<sup>6</sup> There is also the transfer form *rarate* from √*rā*.

<sup>7</sup> Also the transfer form *dadhele* (AV.).

<sup>8</sup> By AVERY 2374 given as 3. sing. subjunctive middle.

<sup>9</sup> TS. I. 5. 10<sup>4</sup>, III. 1. 82 has the transfer form *dādante*.

<sup>10</sup> Pp. *dādayat*; see WHITNEY's note on AV. III. 83.

<sup>11</sup> *śāsavadī* (RV. III. 33<sup>10</sup>) is probably sing. I perfect subj. (p. 361); but occurring beside the aorist form *namsai*, it may be an aorist, to which tense WHITNEY, Roots, doubtfully assigns it.

<sup>12</sup> *dādayante* (AV. XVIII. 373) is perhaps a subjunctive.

<sup>13</sup> With the strong base *yuyo-* for *yuyu-*.

<sup>14</sup> AVERY 241 gives here several forms which it is better to class as optatives perfect.

<sup>15</sup> With weak base *jah-*, for *jahī-*, which here loses its final vowel like *dadā-* and *dadhā-*.

<sup>16</sup> The only form in which √*rā*-reduplicates with *i*.



Du. 2. *jahitam* (AV.), *jigātam*, *dattām*, *dhattām*, *piṣṭām*, *mimītām*, *yuyutām* and *yuyotām*<sup>1</sup>, *śiṣṭām*, *sisṛtam*. — 3. *cikītam* (ci- 'note', AV.), *dattām*, *dhattām*, *piṣṭām*, *bibhṛtām*, *mimītām*, *śiṣṭām*.

Pl. 2. *iyarta*<sup>2</sup>, *jahita* (AV.), *jigāta*, *juhuta* and *juhōta*<sup>3</sup>, *dattā* and *dādāta*<sup>4</sup>, *dhattā* and *dādhāta*<sup>5</sup>, *ninikta* (Vñj-), *piṣṛta*, *piṣṛtā*, *bibhṛta* (AV.), *bibhṛtā* (TS. IV. 2. 3<sup>2</sup>), *yuyōta*<sup>1</sup>, *śiṣṛta*, *śiṣakta*; *jigātana*, *juhātana*<sup>3</sup>, *dādātana*<sup>4</sup>, *dhattana* and *dādhātana*<sup>5</sup>, *piṣṛtana*<sup>6</sup>, *bibhṛtana*, *mamattāna*, *yuyōtana*<sup>1</sup>, *vivaktana*. — 3. *dadatu* (AV.), *dadhatu*<sup>7</sup>.

Middle. Sing. 2. *jihīṣva*, *datsva* (AV.), *dhatsva*, *mimīṣva* (AV.), *rarāṣva* (AV.). — 3. *jihītām*<sup>8</sup>.

Du. 2. *jihāthām* (TS. I. 1. 12<sup>1</sup>), *dīdhāthām* (AV.), *mimāthām*, *rarāthām*.

Pl. 2. *juhudhvam* (TS. IV. 6. 1<sup>5</sup>), *rarīdhvam*. — 3. *jihatām*, *dadhatām*, *sisratām* (Kh. I. 3<sup>6</sup>).

### Present Participle.

46r. Active. As the suffix *-ant* drops its *n* (like the endings of the 3. pl. act.) strong and weak stem are not distinguished. The feminine stem of course lacks *n* also; e.g. *bibhṛat-ī*. Stems occurring are: *cikyāt-* (ci- 'note')<sup>9</sup>, *jāhat-*, *jigat-*, *juhvat-*, *titrat-* (tr- 'cross'), *dādat-*, *dādhāt-*, *dādyat-*, *dīdhyat-*, *bāpsat-*, *bībhṛat-*, *bībhṛat-*, *śāśāt-* ('pursuer') and *śāścat*<sup>10</sup> ('helping'), *sisrat*<sup>11</sup>.

Middle. *jihāna-*, *jihvāna-*, *dādāna-*, *dādhāna-*, *dādyāna-*, *dīdhyāna-*, *pīpāna-* (pā- 'drink', AV.) and *pīpānā-*<sup>12</sup>, *pīpyāna-*<sup>13</sup> (Vpṛ-), *mīmāna-*, *rarāṇa-*<sup>14</sup>, *śiṣāna-*.

### Imperfect Indicative.

462. All the verbs of this class occurring in the 3. pl. act. take the ending *-ur* except *bhṛ-*, which has the normal *-an*. The verbs *dā-*, *dhā-*, *hā-* show the irregularity (appearing elsewhere also) of using the strong instead of the weak base in the 2. pl. act.

Active. Sing. 1. *adadām*, *adadhām*. — 2. *ādadaś*, *ādadhāś*<sup>15</sup>, *ādīdes*, *āvīres* (Vviṣ-); *bibhes* (AV.), *vivēs* (Vviṣ-), *śiṣās*. — 3. *aciket* (Vci-), *ājahāt*, *ājigāt*, *ādadaṛ*<sup>16</sup>, *ādadhāt*, *dādidet*, *dbibhar*, *abibhet*, *dvivyak*<sup>17</sup>, *aśīṣāt*; *vivēs* (Vviṣ-).

Du. 2. *adattām*, *adhattām*. — 3. *dviviktām*, *āmimātām* (AV.)<sup>18</sup>.

Pl. 2. *ādadaṛta*<sup>19</sup>, *ādadhāta*<sup>19</sup> and *ādhatta*; *ājahātana*<sup>19</sup>, *ādattana*. — 3. *abibhran*; *ajahur*, *ajuhavur*, *adadur*, *adadhur*, *āmamadur*, *avivayacur*; *jahur*, *dadur*, *dīdhyur* (AV.), *vivayacur*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *ādhatthās*, *āmimīthās*; *dīdīthās* (AV.). — 3. *ājihita*, *adatta*, *adhatta*, *āpiprata*<sup>20</sup>, *āmimīta*; *śiṣṛta*. — Pl. 3. *ājihata*, *ājuhvata*<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> With strong base *yuyo-* for *yuyu-*.

<sup>2</sup> With strong base *iyar-* for *\*iyy-*; cp. v. NEGELEIN 65<sup>2</sup>f.

<sup>3</sup> With strong base for weak.

<sup>4</sup> Strong base *dādā-* for *dad-*.

<sup>5</sup> Strong base *dādhā-* for *dadh-*.

<sup>6</sup> Strong base *piṣṛ-* for *piṣr-*.

<sup>7</sup> Also the transfer form *dadhatu*.

<sup>8</sup> There is also the 3. sing. transfer form *dadātām*.

<sup>9</sup> *cikyāt* (IV. 38<sup>4</sup>), nom. sing. m., is given by v. NEGELEIN 77<sup>2</sup> as *cīkyāt* and explained as a pluperfect form.

<sup>10</sup> When compounded with the negative particle, *śāścat-* remains unchanged in the fem. if accented *a-śāścat-*, but has *n* if accented on the prefix: *ā-śāścant-ī*.

<sup>11</sup> For inflected forms of these stems see 312.

<sup>12</sup> With irregular accent.

<sup>13</sup> The anomalous transfer form *bībhra-māna-* takes the place of *\*bībhṛāna-*.

<sup>14</sup> But perfect *rarāṇā-*.

<sup>15</sup> There is no sufficient reason for regarding *ādadhāś* in x. 739, as a 3. sing. (AVERY 248; DELBRÜCK, Verbum 50, 59).

<sup>16</sup> There is also the transfer form *dādat*. v. NEGELEIN 67<sup>2</sup> gives *dādhāt* (RV. AV.) which seems a misprint for *dādhāt*.

<sup>17</sup> There is also the unaugmented transfer form *vivayācat*.

<sup>18</sup> WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 665, quotes *ājahitām* from the TS. (mantra?).

<sup>19</sup> With strong base instead of weak.

<sup>20</sup> Anomalous form instead of *\*āpipṛta*.

<sup>21</sup> Also the transfer form *adadanta*. WHITNEY 658 also mentions the unaugmented 3. pl. *jihata*.

## β. 1. The infixing nasal class.

463. This class, which includes fewer than 30 verbs, is characterized by the accented syllable *ná* preceding the final consonant of the root in the strong forms. That syllable in the weak forms becomes a simple nasal varying according to the class to which the following consonant belongs.

1. The infix, appearing in forms outside the limits of the present stem, has become part of the root in *añj-* 'anoint', *bhañj-* 'break', and *hims-* 'injure'. — 2. There are a few transfers to the *á-* class, in which some of these verbs come to be inflected in the later language<sup>1</sup>, and in which several verbs are regularly nasalized in the present stem (429, a, 1). — 3. Instead of the regular *-ná-*, the root *tr̥h-* 'crush' infixes *-né-* in the strong forms; thus 3. sing. *tr̥ne-dhi*. — 4. In the 3. pl. ind. mid. irregular accentuation of the final syllable occurs exceptionally in each of the forms *añjaté*, *indhaté*, *bhuñjaté*<sup>2</sup>.

## Present Indicative.

464. The forms actually occurring, if made from *yuj-* 'join', would be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *yunájmi*. 2. *yundkṣi*. 3. *yundkti*. — Pl. 1. *yuñjmas*. 3. *yuñjánti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *yuñjé*. 2. *yunkṣe*. 3. *yunkté*. — Du. 2. *yuñjāthe*. 3. *yuñjāte*. — Pl. 2. *yungdhvé*. 3. *yuñjāte*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *anajmi* (AV.), *chinadmi* (AV.), *tr̥nadmi* (√tr̥d-), *bhinádmī*, *yunájmi*, *runadhmi* (rudh- 'obstruct'). — 2. *pr̥nákṣi* (√pr̥c-), *bhinátsi*, *yunákṣi*, *vr̥nákṣi* (vr̥j- 'twist'). — 3. *anakti*, *unátti* (√ud-), *kṛnatti* (kṛt- 'spin'), *gr̥natti*<sup>3</sup> (AV. x. 7<sup>43</sup>), *chinátti* (AV.), *tr̥natti*, *pináṣti* (√piṣ-), *bhandkti* (√bhañj-), *bhinátti*, *yundkti* (AV.), *rinákti* (√ric-), *runáddhi*, *vr̥nákṣi*, *hinásti* (√hims-, AV. SA.).

Pl. 1. *añjmas*. — 3. *añjánti*, *undánti*, *piṇṣánti*, *pr̥ncánti*, *bhindánti*, *yuñjánti*, *viñcanti* (vic- 'sift'), *vr̥ñjanti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *añje*, *rñje* (rj- 'direct'), *pr̥ñce* (AV.), *yuñjé*, *vr̥ñjé*. — 2. *yunkṣe* (AV.). — 3. *añkté*<sup>4</sup>, *indhé* (= ind-dhé, √idh-), *pr̥ñkté*, *yunkté*<sup>5</sup>, *rundhé* (= rund-dhé, AV.), *vr̥ñkte*, *himsste*<sup>6</sup> (AV.). — With ending -e: *vr̥ñjé*.

Du. 2. *añjāthe* (Kh. v. 64; VS. xxxiii. 33), *yuñjāthe*. — 3. *añjāte* (VS. xx. 61), *tuñjāte*, *vr̥ñjāte* (AV.).

Pl. 2. *angdhvé*. — 3. *añjāte* and *añjaté*, *indhāte* and *indhate*, *rñjate*, *tuñjāte*, *pr̥ñcate*, *bhuñjāte* and *bhuñjaté*, *yuñjāte*, *rundhate* (AV.), *vr̥ñjate*.

## Present Subjunctive.

465. The weak base is once used instead of the strong in the form *añj-a-tas* for *\*anaj-a-tas*; and the AV. has once the double modal sign *ā* in the form *tr̥nādh-ān*.

Active. Sing. 2. *bhinádas*. — 3. *r̥nádhat*, *bhinádat*, *yunájat*. — Du. 1. *rinádcāva*. — 3. *añjatas*. — Pl. 3. *anájan*, *yunájan*, *vr̥najan*; *tr̥nādhān* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 3. *inádhaté*, *yunájate*. — Pl. 1. *bhunájāmāhai*, *runadhāmahai*.

## Present Injunctive.

Active. Sing. 2. *piṇák* (√piṣ-), *bhinát*. — 3. *piṇak*, *pr̥nák*, *bhinát*, *rinák* (√ric-).

Middle. Pl. 3. *yuñjata*.

<sup>1</sup> Thus *ud-* 'wet': *unátti* is inflected as *unda-ti* in B. and S.; and *yuj-* 'join': *yunákti* as *yuñja-ti* in U. and E., beside the old forms.

<sup>2</sup> In the RV. *añjaté* occurs once, *añjate* 12 times, *indhate* 4 times, *indhāte* 15 times, while *bhuñjaté* and *bhuñjate* occur once each.

<sup>3</sup> *úd gr̥natti* 'ties up', is here only a corruption of the corresponding *út kṛnatti* of RV. x. 130<sup>2</sup>, seemingly a form of *grath-* 'tie'.

<sup>4</sup> AV. *añté*.

<sup>5</sup> AV. *yunite*.

<sup>6</sup> With irregular accent.

## Present Optative.

Active. Sing. 3. *bhindyāt* (AV.). — Middle. Sing. 3. *prñcītā*.

## Present Imperative.

466. The only ending of the 2. sing. act. is *-dhi*, no form with *-tāt* having been met with. As usual, the strong base sometimes appears in the 2. pl. act.: *unāta*, *yunākta*; *anaktana*, *pinaṣṭana*.

Active. Sing. 2. *andhi*<sup>1</sup> (*√añj-*), *undhi* (= *unddhi*), *chindhi* (= *chind-dhi*), *trndhi* (= *trnddhi*), *prñdhi* (= *prñgdhi*), *bhañdhi* (= *bhañgdhi*), *bhindhi* (= *bhinddhi*), *yundhi* (= *yungdhi*, AV.), *rundhi* (= *runddhi*, AV.), *vrñdhi* (= *vrñgdhi*). — 3. *anāktu*, *chināttu* (AV.), *trpññhu*<sup>2</sup> (AV.), *prñāktu*, *bhanāktu* (AV.), *bhinattu* (AV.), *yunāktu* (AV.), *vināktu* (*√vic-*, AV.), *vrñāktu*, *hindāstu* (Kh. IV. 5<sup>15</sup>).

Du. 2. *antam* (= *aniktam*, AV.), *chintām* (= *chinttām*, AV.), *prñktām*. — 3. *añktām* (VS. II. 22).

Pl. 2. *undtā*<sup>3</sup>, *bhintā* (TS. IV. 7. 13<sup>2</sup>), *yunākta*, *vrñakta*; *anaktana*, *pinaṣṭana*. — 3. *añjantu*, *undantu* (AV.), *yūñjantu* (AV.), *vrñjantu* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *añkṣva*<sup>4</sup> (AV.), *yūñkṣva*, *vrñkṣva* (AV.). — 3. *indhām*<sup>5</sup> (= *inddhām*, AV.), *yuntām* (= *yūñktām*, AV.), *rundhām* (= *runddhām*, AV.). — Du. 2. *yūñjāthām*. — Pl. 2. *indhvam* (= *inddhvam*), *yūñgdhvām*. — 3. *indhātām*.

## Present Participle.

467. Active. *añjant-*, *undant-* and *udat-*<sup>6</sup> (AV.), *rñjant-*, *rñdhant-*, *kṛntat-* (AV.), *pīṣat-*, *prñcāt-* and *prñcat-*<sup>6</sup>, *bhañjant-* and *bhañjat-*, *bhindant-* and *bhindat-* (AV.), *bhuñjat-*, *yūñjat-*, *viñcant-*, (*ā-*)*hiñsant-*.

Middle. *añjān-*, *indhāna-*, *tuñjān-*, *tundān-*<sup>7</sup> (AV.), *prñcān-*, *bhindān-*, *yūñjān-* (TS. IV. 1. 1<sup>1</sup>), *rundhān-*, *śumbhān-*<sup>8</sup>, *hiñsāna-*.

## Imperfect Indicative.

468. Active. Sing. 2. *ātrñat*<sup>9</sup> (AV.), *abhanas*<sup>10</sup> (AV.), *ābhinat*, *ariṇak* (*√ric-*), *avṛṇak*; *unap* (*√ubh-*), *rñak* (Kh. IV. 6<sup>9</sup>), *pīṇak*, *bhināt*. — 3. *ātrñat*, *apṛñak* (*√prc-*), *ābhinat*, *āyunak* and *āyūnak*, *avinak* (*√vic-*, AV.), *āvṛṇak* (*√vrj-*); *dunāt* (*√ud-*); *bhināt*, *rināk*, *vrñāk*. — Du. 2. *ātrñtam* (= *ātrñttam*). — Pl. 3. *ātrñdan*, *ābhindan*, *avṛñjan*; *añjan*, *āyūñjan* (TS. I. 7. 7<sup>2</sup>).

Middle. Sing. 3. *aīnddha* (*√idh-*, AV.). — Pl. 3. *āyūñjata*, *arundhata* (AV.); unaugmented: *añjata*.

β. 2. The *nu-* class.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 154—157. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 232 ff. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 254—260; Roots 213. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 57—60; 63—64; 94.

469. More than thirty verbs follow this class in the Samhitās. The stem is formed by adding to the root, in the strong forms, the accented syllable *-nū*, which in the weak forms is reduced to *-nu*.

<sup>1</sup> For *añg-dhi*. The final consonant of the root is regularly dropped before the ending *-dhi*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 61<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The AV. has the transfer form *umbhata* (*√ubh-*) according to the *ā-* class.

<sup>4</sup> AV. XIX. 455: *āṅṣva* emended to *ā-āṅṣva*; see WHITNEY's note on the passage.

<sup>5</sup> v. NEGELEIN 63, note 1, thinks this form may be the starting point of the ending *-ām*

in the imperatives 3. sing. *vid-ām* and *dūh-ām*.

<sup>6</sup> AV. also *prñcat-*.

<sup>7</sup> *√tud-* otherwise follows the *ā-* class.

<sup>8</sup> *√ubh-* otherwise follows the *a-* or *ā-* class.

<sup>9</sup> From *√trd-*. The MSS. have *ātrñat*: see WHITNEY's note on AV. XIX. 32<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> For *\*abhanak-* (*√bhañj-*): see WHITNEY, Grammar 555, and his note on AV. III. 63. Cp. above 66, c, β 2 (p. 61).

a. Several irregularities occur with regard to root, suffix, and ending. 1. The root *sru-* 'hear' is dissimilated to *śr-* before the suffix: *śr-nu-*, *śr-nó-*. — 2. The root *vr-* 'cover' assumes the anomalous form of *ūr-* (with interchange of vowel and semivowel): *ūr-nu-*, beside the regular *vr-nu-*<sup>2</sup>. — 3. Four roots ending in *-u*, *tan-* 'stretch', *man-* 'think', *van-* 'win', *san-* 'gain', seem to form their stem with the suffix *-u*, being assigned by the Indian grammarians to a separate class, the eighth; but this appearance has probably been brought about by the *-an* of the root having originally been reduced to the nasal sonant: *tan-nu-* for *\*tan-nu-*<sup>3</sup>. — 4. In place of the regular and very frequent *kṛ-nu-*, there appears in the tenth book of the RV. the anomalous stem *kuru-*, once in the form *kur-mas* (X. 51<sup>7</sup>), 1. pl. pres. ind., and twice in the form *kuru* (X. 19<sup>2</sup>, 145<sup>2</sup>), 2. sing. impv. act. The strong form of this stem, *karó-*<sup>4</sup>, which has the additional anomaly of Guṇa in the root, appears in the AV., where however the forms made from *kṛnó-*, *kṛnu-* are still upwards of six times as common as those from *karó-*, *kuru-*<sup>5</sup>. The isolated form *taru-te* 'attains', which occurs once in the RV. (X. 76<sup>2</sup>), seems to be analogous in formation to *karó-*, but it may be connected with the somewhat frequent nominal stem *taru-*<sup>6</sup>. — 5. The *u* of the suffix is dropped, in all the few forms which occur in the 1. pl. ind. act. and mid., before terminations beginning with *m*: *kur-más*, *kṛn-mási* (AV.), *tan-masi* (TS.), *hin-mas* (AV.), *hin-masi* (AV.); *kṛn-mahe*, *man-mahe*<sup>7</sup>. When the *-nu* is preceded by a consonant, the *u* becomes *uv* before vowel endings; e. g. *aśnuv-anti* (but *sunuv-anti*). — 6. In the 3. pl. mid., six verbs of this class take the ending *-re*<sup>8</sup> with connecting vowel *-i-*: *inv-ire*, *ṛnuv-ire*, *pinv-ire*<sup>9</sup>, *śṛnuv-iré*, *sunuv-iré*, *hinuv-iré*. The connecting vowel *-i-* is also taken by *śru-* in the 2. sing. mid. *śṛnuv-i-śé* (for *\*śṛnuv-śé*) used in a passive sense. — 7. Five stems of this class, *i-nu-*, *ṛ-nu-*, *ji-nu-*, *pi-nu-*, *hi-nu-*, have come to be used frequently even in the RV. as secondary roots following the *a*- conjugation. Of these *pinv-a-* occurs almost exclusively in the RV. as well as the AV.; *inv-a-* alone is met with in the AV.; and *jinu-a-* and *hinu-a-* are commoner in the RV. than *ji-nu-* and *hi-nu-*.

### Present Indicative.

470. The forms actually occurring, if made from *kṛ-* 'make', would be as follows:

**Active.** Sing. 1. *kṛnómi*. 2. *kṛnósi*. 3. *kṛnóti*. — Du. 2. *kṛnuthás*. 3. *kṛnutás*. — Pl. 1. *kṛnmási* and *kṛnmás*. 2. *kṛnuthá*. 3. *kṛnvánti*.

**Middle.** Sing. 1. *kṛnóv*. 2. *kṛnóśé*. 3. *kṛnuté* and *kṛnóv*. — Du. 2. *kṛnvāthe*. — Pl. 1. *kṛnumahe*. 3. *kṛnváthe*<sup>10</sup>.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

**Active.** Sing. 1. *ūrnomi* (AV.), *ṛnomi*, *kṛnómi*, *ksiṇómi* (AV. TS.), *minomi* (*mi-* 'fix', AV.), *vrnomi* ('choose', Kh. II. 6<sup>5</sup>), *śaknomi* (AV.), *śṛnómi*, *hinómi*. — With *-u-*: *karomi* (AV. TS.), *tanomi*.

2. *āpnósi* (AV.), *inoṣi*, *kṛnósi*, *jinósi*, *stṛnósi*, *hinósi*; *tanósi*, *vanósi*.

3. *aśnoti* (*aś-* 'attain'), *āpnóti* (VS. AV.), *inóti*, *unoti* (RV<sup>1</sup>), *ūrnoti*, *ṛnoti*, *ṛdhnoti*, *kṛnóti*, *cinóti* 'gathers', *dāśnóti*, *dunoti* (AV.), *dhūnoti*, *minoti* (AV.), *vrnóti*, *śaknoti* (AV.), *śṛnóti*, *sunóti*, *skunóti* (AV.), *hinóti*; *karoti* (AV. TS. VS.), *tanóti*, *vanóti*, *sanóti*.

**Du. 2.** *aśnuthas* (Kh. I. 9<sup>2</sup>), *ūrnuṭhas*, *kṛnuṭhas*, *vanuṭhas*. — 3. *aśnutás*, *ūrnutás*, *kṛnutas*, *sunutás*; *tanutas* (Kh. III. 22<sup>6</sup>).

**Pl. 1.** *kṛnmási* (AV.), *hinmas* (AV.), *hinmasi* (AV.); *kurmás*, *tanmasi* (TS. IV. 5. 11<sup>1</sup>). — 2. *aśnuthá*, *kṛnuṭhá*, *dhūnuṭhá*, *sunuṭhá*. — 3. *aśnuvanti*,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 154<sup>+</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 674.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KZ. 24, 259; DELBRÜCK p. 156.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps starting from the aorist *á-ka-* and following the analogy of *kṛnó-*; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 656, 3.

<sup>5</sup> WHITNEY 715.

<sup>6</sup> Occurring in *taru-* 'swift'(?), *taru-ī-* 'conqueror', *taru-īra-* 'victorious', *taru-īṣa-* 'victor', and the verbal stem *táruṣya-* 'cross', 'overcome'.

<sup>7</sup> Thus *kṛn-mahe* is not the only example

(DELBRÜCK 174, BRUGMANN, KG. 673) of this phenomenon. There is no example in the Samhitās of the 1. du. in *-vas* and *-vāhe*; but *\*kṛn-vás*, *\*kṛn-vāhe* must be presupposed to account for the loss of the *-u* before *-mas* and *-mahe*: BRUGMANN, KG. 673.

<sup>8</sup> Like *duh-re* in the root class.

<sup>9</sup> This is the only form (besides the participle *pinu-ānā-* and *pinu-ānt-*, *pinu-at-im* in AV.) in which the stem *pinu-* appears. All others are made from the transfer stem *pinva-*.

<sup>10</sup> Sometimes accented *kṛnvāthi*.

*ṛṇvānti, kṛṇvānti*<sup>1</sup>, *cinvānti* (TS. I. I. 7<sup>2</sup>), *dabhnvanti, dunvanti* (AV.), *pruṣṇvanti, śaknuvānti* (AV.), *śṛṇvānti, sunvānti, hinvānti; kurvanti* (AV.), *tanvānti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *aśnuve, kṛṇvé, hinvé; kurve* (AV.), *manvé* (AV.), *vanve*.

2. *aśnuṣe, ūṛnuṣe, kṛṇuṣé, cinuṣé, dhūnuṣé; tanuṣe* (AV.). — With connecting vowel *-i-*: *śṛṇu-i-ṣé*.

3. *aśnuté, ūṛnuté, kṛnuté, dhūnute, pruṣnute, śṛnute; kurute* (AV.), *tanute, tarute, vanuté*. — With ending *-e*: *śṛnvé, sunvé, hinvé*.

Du. 2. *tanvāthe*. — Pl. 1. *kṛṇmahe, manmahe*. — 3. *aśnuvate, kṛṇvāte, vṛṇvāte and vṛṇvaté, śṛṇvāte, hinvāte; kurvāte* (AV.), *tanvāte and tanvāte* (AV.). — With ending *-re*: *inv-i-re, ṛṇv-i-re, pinv-i-re, śṛṇv-i-ré, sunv-i-ré, hinv-i-ré*.

### Present Subjunctive.

471. Active. Sing. 1. *kṛṇavā, hinavā; sanāvāni* (AV.). — 2. *ṛṇavas, kṛṇavas, tṛṇavas, śṛṇavas; karavas* (AV.). — 3. *aśnavat*<sup>2</sup>, *kṛṇvat, cinavat, dhūnavat, pruṣṇavat, śṛṇavat, sunavat; vanavat*. — With double modal sign *ā*: *karavāt* (AV.), *kṛṇavāt* (AV. XX. 132<sup>5</sup>). — With ending *-tai*: *aśnavātai*<sup>3</sup> (AV.). — Du. 1. *aśnavāva, kṛṇavāva*.

Pl. 1. *aśnāvāma, kṛṇāvāma, mināvāma, śaknāvāma, sunāvāma, śṛṇavāma*. — 2. *sanāvātha*; with double modal sign: *kṛṇavātha* (VS.). — 3. *aśnavan, kṛṇavan, śṛṇavan*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *aśnavai* (VS. XIX. 37), *kṛṇvai, sunvai; mandvai*. — 2. *kṛṇavase; vanavase*. — 3. *kṛṇavate; mandvate*.

Du. 1. *kṛṇavāvahai; tanavāvahai*. — 2. *aśnavāithe*. — 3. *kṛṇvāite*<sup>4</sup>.

Pl. 1. *aśnāvāmahai* (X. 97<sup>17</sup>)<sup>5</sup>, *kṛṇāvāmahai, śṛṇavāmahai* (AV.). — 3. *aśnavanta, kṛṇavanta*.

### Present Injunctive.

Active. Sing.<sup>6</sup> 2. *ṛṇos*. — 3. *ūrṇot*. — Pl. 3. *ṛṇvan, minván, hinván; vanvan*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *tanuthās*. — 3. *ṛṇutá*. — Pl. 3. *kṛṇvata; manvata*.

### Present Optative.

Active. Sing. 1. *sanuyām*. — 3. *śṛṇuyāt* (AV.). — Pl. 1. *cinuyāma, śṛṇuyāma; vanuyāma, sanuyāma*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *kṛṇvīta*<sup>7</sup>; *manvīta* (AV.).

### Present Imperative.

472. Active. Sing. 2. *śṛṇudhí*. — With ending *-hí*<sup>8</sup>: *akṣnuhi* (aks- 'mutilate', AV.), *aśnuhi, āpnuhi* (AV.), *inuhi, ūṛnuhi, kṛnuhi, cinuhi, tṛṇnuhi, dabhnuhi* (AV.), *dhūnuhi, dhṛṣṇuhi, śṛnuhi, sprṇuhi, hinuhi; tanuhi, sanuhi*. — With ending *-tāt*: *kṛnutāt, hinutāt*. — Without ending: *inú, ūṛnu, kṛnu, dhūnu* (AV.), *śṛṇi, suni, hinu; kuru, tanu*. — 3. *aśnotu, āpnotu* (AV.), *ūrnotu* (AV.), *kṛṇótu, cinotu, minotu, śṛṇótu, sunotu; karotu* (TS. VS.), *tanotu* (AV.), *sanotu*.

Du. 2. *aśnutam, kṛnutám, tṛṇnutám, śṛnutám, hinótam*<sup>9</sup>. — 3. *aśnutām* (AV. TS.), *kṛnutām* (AV.).

<sup>1</sup> *śṛṇvanti* after *pari*: *pariśṛṇvanti* (IX. 14<sup>2</sup>), *pāri śṛṇvanti* (IX. 64<sup>23</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> The form *aṇavat*, AV. v. 2<sup>8</sup> (Vr-), is a corruption of *avṛṇot* in RV.

<sup>3</sup> The TS. has once *aśnavatai* (WHITNEY 701).

<sup>4</sup> Irregular for *kṛṇvāite*.

<sup>5</sup> Omitted by AVERY 238.

<sup>6</sup> The injunctive form *aśnavam*, AV. XIX. 55<sup>6</sup>, is a conjecture; see WHITNEY's note on the passage.

<sup>7</sup> *ūrṇvūtá* occurs in TS. VI. I. 3<sup>3</sup> and *ūrṇu-vīta* in K. (WHITNEY 713).

<sup>8</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 704.

<sup>9</sup> With strong stem.

Pl. 2. *ārṇuta*, *kṛṇutā* and *kṛṇótā*<sup>1</sup>, *trṇuta*, *dhūnuta*, *śṛṇutā* and *śṛṇotā*<sup>1</sup>, *sunutā* and *sunótā*<sup>1</sup>, *hinuta* (AV.) and *hinótā*<sup>1</sup>; *tanotā*<sup>1</sup> (AV. TS.). — With ending *-tana*: *kṛṇótana*<sup>2</sup>, *śṛṇotana*<sup>2</sup>, *sunótana*<sup>2</sup>, *hinótana*<sup>2</sup> (x. 30<sup>3</sup>). — 3. *āśnuvantu*, *trṇuvantu*, *kṛṇvāntu*, *cinvantu* (TS.V. 2. 11<sup>2</sup>), *śṛṇvāntu*, *hinvantu*; *vanvāntu*, *sanvantu*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *ārṇuṣva*, *kṛṇuṣvā*, *cinuṣva* (AV.), *dhūnuṣva* (AV.), *śṛṇuṣvā*; *tanuṣva*, *vanuṣva*. — 3. *āśnutām* (AV.), *kṛṇutām*; *tanutām* (TS. I. 6. 3<sup>3</sup>), *manutām*, *vanutām* (AV.).

Du. 2. *kṛṇvāthām* (AV.). — Pl. 2. *kṛṇudhvām*, *sunudhvām*; *tanudhvām*, *vanudhvām* (AV.). — 3. *ṛṇvatām* (AV.); *kurvatām* (AV.), *tanvātām* (AV.), *vanvatām* (AV.).

### Present Participle.

473. Active. *ārṇvānt-* and *trṇvānt-*, f. *-vatī-*, *ṛṇvānt-*, *kṛṇvānt-*<sup>3</sup>, f. *-vatī-*, *cinvānt-*, f. *-vatī-*, *dunvānt-* (AV.), *dhūnvānt-*, *pinvānt-* (AV.), *minvānt-*, *vrṇvānt-*, *śṛṇvānt-*, f. *-vatī-*, *sunvānt-*, *hinvānt-*, f. *-vatī-*; *kurvānt-* (AV.), f. *-vatī-* (AV.), *tanvānt-*, f. *-vatī-* (AV.), *vanvānt-*.

Middle. *ārṇvānd-*, *kṛṇvānd-*, *cinvānd-* (TS.IV. 2. 10<sup>4</sup>), *dhūnvānd-*, *pinvānd-*, *sunvānd-*, *hinvānd-*; *kurvānd-* (AV.), *tanvānd-*, *manvānd-*, *vanvānd-*.

### Imperfect Indicative.

474. Active. Sing. 1. *āśṛṇavam*; *kṛṇavam*. — 2. *ākrṇos*, *durṇos*, *āśṛṇos*, *āsaghṇos*, *ainos*, *durṇos*; *akaros* (AV.), *āvanos*, *āsanos*. — 3. *ākrṇot*, *ādhūnot*, *avṛṇot*, *āpnot* (AV. TS.), *ārdhnot* (AV.), *ainot*, *durṇot*; *akarot* (VS. AV.), *ātanot*, *asanot*. — Du. 2. *ākrṇutam*, *adhūnutam*.

Pl. 2. *ākrṇuta* and *ākrṇota*; *ākrṇotana*. — 3. *ākrṇvan*, *acinvan* (AV.), *āśakṇvan*, *āśṛṇvan* (AV.); *ṛṇvan*, *minvan*; *akurvan* (AV.), *avanvan*, *āsanvan*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *adhūnuthās*; *kuruthās* (AV.). — 3. *ākrṇuta*, *ādhūnuta*; *kṛṇuta*; *akuruta* (AV.), *ātanuta* (AV.), *āmanuta*.

Pl. 2. *ākrṇudhvam*. — 3. *ākrṇvata*<sup>4</sup>, *avṛṇvata*; *akurvata* (AV.; Kh. II 13<sup>5</sup>), *ātanvata*, *amanvata*, *avanvata* (AV.).

### β. 3. The *nā*- class.

DELERÜCK, Verbum p. 151—153. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 232 ff. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 260—263; Roots 214. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 49—57. — Cp. J. SCHMIDT, Festschrift an Roth 179 ff.; BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 7, 50—81; BRUGMANN, IF. 16, 509 ff.

475. Nearly forty verbs belong to this class in the Samhitās. The stem is formed by adding to the root, in the strong forms, the accented syllable *-nā*<sup>5</sup>, which in the weak forms is reduced to *-nī* before consonants and *-n* before vowels.

a. There are some irregularities with regard to the root, the suffix, and the endings. 1. The root shows a tendency to be reduced in various ways. The roots *jī-* 'overpower', *jū-* 'hasten', *pū-* 'purify', are shortened; e.g. *jīnāmi*, *jūnāsi*, *pūnāti*. The root *grābh-* 'seize' and its later form *grāh-* take

<sup>1</sup> With strong stem instead of weak. Thus in four out of seven verbs there is an alternative strong form; and in one other (*tanota*) the strong is the only form occurring.

<sup>2</sup> Thus all the forms occurring with *-tana* have a strong stem. WHITNEY 704 also mentions *karótā* besides the 2. du. *kṛṇotam*, but I do not know whether these forms occur in mantra passages.

<sup>3</sup> *skṛṇvānt-* in *pari-skṛṇvān* (IX. 39<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> In x. 134 *ākrṇvata* has the appearance of being used for the 3. sing. (= *ākrṇuta*).

<sup>5</sup> The suffix may originally have been *-nai* of which *-nī* would be the weak grade (27); but BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 597, note, disagrees with this view. He thinks *-nī* has displaced earlier *-ni*, KG. p. 512.

Samprasāraṇa; e. g. *grbhñāmi* and *grhñāmi* (AV.). Four roots which, in forms outside the present system appear with a nasal<sup>1</sup>, drop the nasal here; thus *bandh-* 'bind': *badhnāmi* (AV.); *manth-* 'shake': *mathnāmi* (AV.); *skambh-* 'make firm': *skabhñāti*; *stambh-* 'prop': *stabhnāti* (AV.). The root *jñā-* 'know', also loses its nasal; e. g. *jā-nā-mi*<sup>2</sup>. — 2. The strong form of the suffix, *-nā*, appears in certain 2. persons impv. act., which should have the weak form *-nī*; e. g. 2. pl. *punā-ta* for *punī-tā*. On the other hand *-nī* appears once instead of *-nā* in 3. sing. injv. *minūt*<sup>3</sup> (AV.). — 3. A few roots ending in consonants take the peculiar ending *-ānā* in the 2. sing. impv. act.; e. g. *grh-ānā*<sup>4</sup>. — 4. Transfers to the *a-* conjugation are made from five roots. These are rare in the case of *gr-* 'sing': *grñā-ta* 2. pl. ind., *grñā-nta* 3. pl. impf.; *mi-* 'damage': *minā-t* 3. sing. injv., *amina-nta* 3. pl. impf.; *śr-* 'crush' only *śrñā* (AV.) 2. sing. impv. But *pr-* 'fill' and *mṛ-* 'crush' form the regular *ā-* stems *prñā-* and *mṛñā-* (beside *prñā-* and *mṛñā-*), ten forms being made from the former, and five from the latter in the RV.<sup>5</sup>

### Present Indicative.

476. The forms actually occurring, if made from *grabh-* 'seize', would be the following:

**Active.** Sing. 1. *grbhñāmi*. 2. *grbhñāsi*. 3. *grbhñāti*. — Du. 2. *grbhñāthas*. 3. *grbhñāttās*. — Pl. 1. *grbhñāmsi* and *grbhñātmās*. 2. *grbhñātha* and *grbhñāthāna*. 3. *grbhñānti*.

**Middle.** Sing. 1. *grbhñē*. 2. *grbhñāse*. 3. *grbhñāte*. — Pl. 1. *grbhñāmahe*. 3. *grbhñāte*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

**Active.** Sing. 1. *aśnāmi* ('eat', AV. VS.), *iśnāmi* (AV.), *ksiñāmi* (AV.), *grñāmi* (*gr-* 'sing'), *grñāmi* (AV. VI. 71<sup>3</sup>, *gr-* 'swallow'), *grbhñāmi*, *grhñāmi* (AV. TS.), *jānāmi*, *jināmi*, *punāmi*, *prñāmi* (AV.), *badhnāmi*<sup>6</sup> (*bandh-* 'bind'), AV. TS.), *mathnāmi* (AV.), *mināmi*, *riñāmi* (AV.), *śrñāmi* (AV.), *sināmi* (AV.), *stabhnāmi*, *strñāmi* (AV.). — 2. *aśnāsi* (AV.), *iśnāsi*, *junāsi*, *prñāsi*, *riñāsi*, *śrñāsi*. — 3. *aśnāti*, *krñāti*, *ksiñāti* (*ksi-* 'destroy'), *grñāti*, *grbhñāti*, *grhñāti* (AV.), *jānāti*, *jināti*, *junāti*, *punāti*, *prñāti*, *mināti*, *muṣñāti* (AV.), *riñāti*, *śrñāti*, *sināti*, *skabhñāti*, *stabhnāti* (AV.), *hrunāti*.

Du. 2. *riñāthas*. — 3. *grñāttās*, *prñāttās*.

Pl. 1. *grñāmsi*, *junāmsi*, *mināmsi*, *śrñāmsi* (AV.); *jānāms*. — 2. *jānātha*; *strñāthāna* (AV.). — 3. *aśnānti* (AV.), *ksiñānti*, *grñānti*, *grbhñānti*, *grhñānti* (AV. TS.), *jānānti*, *jinānti*, *junānti*, *punānti*, *prñānti*, *prñānti*, *badhnānti* (AV.), *bhrñānti*<sup>7</sup>, *minānti*, *riñānti*, *śrñānti*, *strñānti*.

**Middle.** Sing. 1. *grñē*, *grbhñē*, *grhñē* (AV.), *vrñē*. — 2. *grñāse*<sup>8</sup>, *vrñāse* (AV.), *śrñāse*, *hrñāse*. — 3. *krñāte* (AV.), *ksiñāte* (AV.), *grñāte*, *punāte*, *prñāte*, *riñāte*, *vrñāte*, *śrathñāte*, *strñāte*, *hrñāte*. — With *-e* for *-īe*: *grñe*.

Pl. 1. *grhñāmahe* (TS. v. 7. 9<sup>1</sup>), *punāmahe* (Kh. III. 10<sup>4</sup>), *vrñāmahe*<sup>9</sup>. —

<sup>1</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 627.

<sup>2</sup> Originally *\*janā-* with nasal sonant, *\*jñā-*; see BRUGMANN, KG. 666 (p. 511).

<sup>3</sup> On this form see v. NEGELEIN 56, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> On the origin of this ending see BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 975.

<sup>5</sup> Beside seven present stems of this class there appear denominative stems in *-āya* from the same roots. Cp. v. NEGELEIN 50—52.

<sup>6</sup> Given, along with a number of cognate forms, as from the root *bādḥ-*, by v. NEGELEIN 57.

<sup>7</sup> The only form occurring of the root *bhrī-* 'consume'.

<sup>8</sup> The form *grñāse* also occurs in the RV. as a 1. sing. ind., 'I praise', being formed from an anomalous aorist stem *grñī-*.

<sup>9</sup> According to WHITNEY 719, once *vrñāmahe*, with reference doubtless to RV. v. 20<sup>3</sup>, where, however, *vrñāmahe* 'gne is only the Sandhi accentuation for *vrñāmahe āgne* (see above 108 and p. 319, note 13).

3. *asñate*<sup>1</sup>, *grbhñate*, *grhñate* (AV.), *jānate*, *punāte* (AV.) and *punatē*, *badhnāte*, *riñatē*, *vrñate*.

### Present Subjunctive.

477. In the 2. 3. sing., subjunctive forms are indistinguishable from the indicative present, if formed with primary endings, and from the injunctive, if formed with secondary endings, as the modal sign *a* is merged in the strong stem; thus *grbhñāti* may be 3. sing. indicative or subjunctive; *grbhñās* may be 2. sing. injunctive or subjunctive. In such forms therefore the sense or construction of the sentence can alone decide their value. These as well as unmistakable subjunctives are rare in this class.

Active. Sing. 2. *grbhñās*, *junās*. — 3. *prñāti* (x. 2<sup>4</sup>, cp. 2<sup>5</sup>), *prñāt* (AV.). —

Pl. 1. *junāma*, *mināma*.

Middle Du. 1. *krñāvahai* (TS. I. 8. 4<sup>1</sup>). — Pl. 1. *jānāmahai* (AV.).

### Present Injunctive.

Active. Sing. 1. *ḥṣinām*. — 2. *riñās* (AV. xx. 135<sup>11</sup>). — 3. *jānāt*<sup>2</sup>, *minīt*<sup>3</sup> (AV. vi. 110<sup>3</sup>). — Pl. 3. *minan*, *riñān* (viii. 7<sup>28</sup>), *ṣcamnan*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *hrñthās*. — 3. *grñṭa*, *grbhñṭa*, *vrñṭa*. — Pl. 1. *strñmāhi*<sup>4</sup>.

### Present Optative.

In the middle some forms of the optative cannot be distinguished from unaugmented forms of the imperfect, as the modal sign *-r̄* is merged in the suffix *-nṛ*. The forms actually occurring are very few, being found in the 2. 3. sing. only.

Active. 3. *asñyāt* (AV.), *grhñyāt* (AV.), *jñyāt* (AV.), *prñyāt*.

Middle. 2. *jānithās* (Kh. iv. 5<sup>30</sup>). — 3. *vrñṭa* (TS. I. 1. 2<sup>1</sup> = *zurṭa*, VS. iv. 8).

### Present Imperative.

478. The regular ending of the 2. sing. act. is *-hi*, while *-dhi* never occurs. Three verbs take *-tāt* as well. One of these, *grah-*, and three others ending in a consonant, *aś-*, *bandh-*, *stambh-*, take the peculiar ending *-ānā*.

Active. Sing. 2. *grñāhi*<sup>5</sup> (TS. iv. 4. 12<sup>5</sup>), *grñhi*, *grbhñhi* (AV.), *grhñāhi*<sup>5</sup> (AV.), *jāñhi*, *punāhi*<sup>6</sup> (SV.), *punhi*, *prñhi* (AV.), *mṛñhi*, *śrñāhi*<sup>6</sup> (SV.), *śrñhi*<sup>7</sup>, *strñhi*<sup>8</sup> (AV.). — With *-tāt*: *grhñtāt* (AV.), *jāñtāt*<sup>9</sup> (TS. AV.), *punītāt*. — With *-āna*: *aśāna*<sup>10</sup>, *grhāna*<sup>10</sup> (x. 103<sup>12</sup>), *badhāna* (AV.), *stabhānā* (AV.). — 3. *grñātu*, *grhñātu*, *jāñātu* (AV.), *punātu*, *prñātu* (AV.), *badhnātu* (AV.), *śrñātu* (AV.), *sinātu* (AV.).

Du. 2. *asñtām*, *grñtām* (TS. iv. 1. 8<sup>2</sup>), *grhñtām* (AV.), *prñtām*, *śrñtām*, *strñtām*. — 3. *grñtām*, *punītām* (AV.).

<sup>1</sup> *grñatē* (AV. iv. 21<sup>2</sup>), given by v. NEGELEIN as a finite form *grñate* (unaccented), is the dat. sing. of the participle.

<sup>2</sup> This form is accented *jānāt* in the Khila (III. 21) after RV. x. 103 (AUFRECHT's R̥gveda<sup>2</sup>, 682), but it is correct in the corresponding passage of the AV. (III. 26).

<sup>3</sup> For *mināt*.

<sup>4</sup> There seems to be no certain example of a 3. pl. AVERY 240 gives *grbhñata*, but this form (IX. 14<sup>7</sup>) appears to have an imperf. sense; he adds *vrñata* with a query, but I cannot trace the form.

<sup>5</sup> With strong base instead of *grñhi*, *grhñhi*.

<sup>6</sup> With strong base and irregular accent.

<sup>7</sup> Also the transfer form *śrñā* (AV. XIX. 45<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>8</sup> WHITNEY 723 quotes *strñāhi* from the TS. [VI. 3. 12].

<sup>9</sup> v. NEGELEIN 57, line 6, seems to regard *jñātāt* (AV. XIX. 15<sup>6</sup>), given as *jñātāt* (unaccented), as an anomalous imperative; but it is the ablative of the past participle.

<sup>10</sup> Both forms are omitted by AVERY 243; the latter is regarded by GRASSMANN as a participle.



Pl. 2. *grñita*<sup>1</sup>, *grbhñita*, *jñitā*, *punitā* and *pñitā*<sup>2</sup>, *prñitā*, *mathñita* (AV.), *mñitā* (AV.), *strñitā* (AV.). — With *-tana*: *punitāna*, *prñitāna*, *srñitāna*. — 3. *asñantu* (AV.), *grñantu* (AV. TS.), *grbhñantu* (AV.), *jñantu* (AV.), *pñantu*, *mathñantu* (AV.), *badhñantu* (AV.), *srñantu*, *srñantu* (AV.), *sinantu* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *grbhñīṣva* (Kh. IV. 5<sup>26</sup>), *prñīṣva* (Kh. II. 8<sup>1</sup>), *vrñīṣva*. — 3. *strñitām*, *hñitām*.

Pl. 2. *jñidhvām* (AV.), *vrñidhvām*. — 3. *jñatām*<sup>3</sup>, *vrñatām* (AV.).

### Present Participle.

479. Active. *asñant-*, f. *-atī* (AV.), *isñant-*, *usñant-*, *grñant-*, *grbhñant-*, *jñant-*, f. *-atī*, *jinant-* (AV.), *pñant-*, f. *-atī*, *prñant-*<sup>4</sup>, *prñant-*, *mathñant-*, *minant-*, f. *-atī*, *muṣñant-*, *mñant-*, *riñant-*, *srñant-*, *skabhnant-*, *strñant-*, f. *-atī* (AV.).

Middle. *āpnāna-*, *isnāna-*, *grñāna-*, *grbhñāna-* (AV.), *jñāna-*, *drūnāna-*, *pnāna-*, *prīnāna-*, *mināna-*, *riñāna-*, *vrñāna-*, *srñāna-*, *srathnāna-* (AV.), *srīnāna-*, *strñāna-*, *hñāna-*.

### Imperfect Indicative.

480. Active. Sing. 1. *ajānām*, *āsñām*. — 2. *akṣiñās*, *agrbhñās*, *apññās*, *aminās*, *amuṣñās*, *aramñās*, *ariñās*, *astabhnās*; *ubhnās*, *riñās*, *srathnās*. — 3. *agrbhñāt*, *agrbhñāt* (AV.), *ajānāt* (AV.), *āprñāt*, *apññāt*, *ābadhnāt*, *amathnāt*, *amināt*, *amuṣñāt*, *āramñāt*, *drīnāt*, *āsñāt*, *āstabhnāt*, *āstrñāt*; *āsñāt* (AV.), *aubhnāt*; *jānāt*, *badhnāt* (AV.).

Du. 2. *āmuṣñitam*, *ariñitam*, *avññitam*. — Pl. 2. *drīñta*. — 3. *akrññan* (AV.), *agrbhñan*, *agrbhñan* (AV. TS.), *ajānan*<sup>5</sup>, *apñnan*, *ābadhnān*, *āsrathnān*, *āstrñan*; *āsñan*<sup>6</sup> (AV.); *āsñan* (x. 176<sup>1</sup>), *riñan* (x. 138<sup>1</sup>).

Middle. Sing. 1. *āvññi*. — 3. *ābadhnīta* (TS. I. 1. 10<sup>2</sup>), *āvññita*, *āsrññita*. — Pl. 1. *avññimahi*. — 3. *agrbhñata*<sup>7</sup>, *ājānata* (TS. II. 1. 11<sup>3</sup>); *grbhñata*.

## II. The Perfect System.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 372—381. — DELBRÜCK, Verbum 112—134. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 249—253. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 279—296; Roots 219—221. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 70—78.

481. Like the present system, the perfect has, besides an indicative, the subjunctive, optative and imperative moods, as well as participles and an augmented tense, the pluperfect. It is of very frequent occurrence, being taken by nearly 300 verbs in the Samhitās. It is formed in essentially the same way from all roots, its characteristic feature being reduplication.

### 1. The Reduplicative Syllable<sup>8</sup>.

482. The reduplicative vowel is as a rule short. It is, however, long in more than thirty verbs. These are *kan-* 'be pleased': *cā-kan*; *kṣp-* 'be adapted': *cā-kṣp-*; *gr-* 'wake': *jā-gr-*; *grdh-* 'be greedy': *jā-grdh-*; *trp-* 'be pleased': *tā-trp-*; *trṣ-* 'be thirsty': *tā-trṣ-*; *dhr-* 'hold': *dā-dhr-*; *nam-* 'bend': *nā-nam-*;

<sup>1</sup> Also the transfer form according to the ā- class, *grñata* (AV. v. 279).

<sup>2</sup> With strong instead of weak base.

<sup>3</sup> In Khila II. 10<sup>6</sup> wrongly *jānātām*.

<sup>4</sup> With fem. *prñantī*, a transfer to the ā- class.

<sup>5</sup> v. NEGELEIN 57 also gives the unaugmented form *jānan* (RV. AV.), which I cannot trace

(the participle nom. sing. m. *jānān* is common).

<sup>6</sup> In *prāśnan* (AV. XI. 33<sup>2</sup>) the Pada text reads *pra-āśnan*.

<sup>7</sup> Also the transfer forms *aminanta* and *grñanta* (VIII. 37).

<sup>8</sup> On the reduplicative syllable see v. NEGELEIN 70; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 846.

*mah-* 'be liberal': *mā-mah-*; *mrj-* 'wipe': *mā-mrj-*; *mrś-* 'touch': *mā-mrś-*; *radh-* 'be subject': *rā-radh-*; *ran-* 'rejoice': *rā-ran-*; *rabh-* 'grasp': *rā-rabh-*; *vañc-* 'be crooked': *vā-vañc-*; *van-* 'win': *vā-van-*; *vaś-* 'desire': *vā-vaś-*; *vas-* 'clothe': *vā-vas-*; *vāś-* 'roar': *vā-vaś-*; *vrj-* 'twist': *vā-vrj-*; *vrt-* 'turn': *vā-vrt-*; *vydh-* 'grow': *vā-vydh-*; *vrś-* 'rain': *vā-vrś-*; *śad-* 'prevail': *śā-śad-*; *sah-* 'prevail': *sā-sah-*; *skambh-* 'prop': *cā-skambh-*; *dī-* 'shine': *dī-dī-*; *dht-* 'think': *dī-dht-*; *pī-* 'swell': *pī-pī-*; *hīd-* 'be hostile': *jī-hīd-* (AV<sup>1</sup>); *jū-* 'be swift': *jū-jū-*; *tu-* 'be strong': *tū-tu-*; *śū-* 'swell': *śū-śū-*<sup>1</sup>.

a. The reduplication of *r* (= *ar*) and *l* (= *al*) is always *ā*<sup>2</sup>; e. g. *kr-* 'make': *cakr-*; *grdh-* 'be greedy': *jā-grdh-*; *kṛp-* 'be adapted': *cā-kṛp-*.

b. The reduplication of *ā*, *ī*, *ū* is made with *ā*, *ī*, *ū* respectively; e. g. *khād-* 'chew': *ca-khād-*; *bhī-* 'fear': *bibhī-*; *budh-* 'know': *bu-budh-*.

There are, however, certain exceptions to this rule.

i. Roots containing *ya* or *va* and liable to Samprasāraṇa in other forms (such as the past passive participle), reduplicate with *i* and *u* respectively<sup>3</sup>. Those with *ya* are: *tyaj-* 'forsake': *ti-tyaj-*; *yaj-* 'sacrifice': *i-yaj-*; *vyac-* 'extend': *vi-vyac-*; *syand-* 'move on': *si-syand-* (AV.). Similarly *cyu-* 'stir': *ci-cyu-*<sup>4</sup> (beside *cu-cyu-*), and *dyut-* 'shine': *di-dyut-*<sup>4</sup>. Those with *va-* are: *vac-* 'speak': *u-vac-*; *vad-* 'speak': *u-vad-*; *vap-* 'strew': *u-vap-*; *vah-* 'carry': *u-vah-*; *svap-* 'sleep': *su-svap-*. The three roots *jam-* 'reach', *van-* 'win', *vas-* 'wear', however, have the full reduplication: *ya-yam-*, *va-van-*, *vā-vas-*; and *vac-* 'speak' has it optionally: *va-vac-* beside *u-vac-*<sup>5</sup>. — a. The roots *bhū-* 'be', *sū-* 'generate', and *śī-* 'lie', reduplicate with *a*: *ba-bhū-*; *sa-sū-* (beside *su-sū-*, AV.); *śa-śī-* (in the participle *śa-śay-ānā-*)<sup>6</sup>.

c. In roots beginning with vowels, the reduplication coalesces with the initial of the root to a long vowel; e. g. *an-* 'breathe': *ān-*; *av-* 'favour': *āv-*; *aś-* 'eat': *āś-*; *as-* 'be': *ās-*; *ah-* 'say': *āh-*; *ar-* 'go': *ār-* (= *a-ar-*); *āp-* 'obtain': *āp-*; *īd-* 'praise': *īd-*; *ir-* 'set in motion': *īr-*; *ūh-* 'consider': *ūh-*. But if the root begins with *i* or *u*, the reduplicative syllable is separated, in the sing. act., from the strong radical syllable by its own semivowel: *i-* 'go': 3. pl. *īy-īr*, but 2. sing. *i-y-ī-tha*; *uc-* 'be pleased': 2. sing. mid. *ūc-i-ś*, but 3. sing. act. *u-v-ōc-a*<sup>7</sup>.

a. Five roots beginning with prosodically long *a*, reduplicate not with *a*, but with the syllable *ān-*. Only two of these, both containing a nasal, viz. *amś-* 'attain' and *añj-* 'anoint', make several forms; the former, 3. sing. *ān-āms-a* and *ān-ās-a*, pl. 1. *ān-as-ma*, 2. *ān-as-ā*, 3. *ān-as-īr*; mid. sing. 1. 3. *ān-as-ē*; subj. pl. 1. *ān-as-ā-mahai*; opt. sing. 1. *ān-as-yām*<sup>8</sup>; the latter, *ān-añja* (VS. VIII. 29; TS. III. 3. 10<sup>2</sup>); mid. sing. 1. *ān-aj-ē*, pl. 3. *ān-aj-re*; subj. sing. 1. *ān-aj-ā*; opt. 3. sing. *ān-aj-yāt*. The root *rdh-* (reduced from *ardh-* 'thrive', which has a nasalized present stem<sup>9</sup>, makes the forms *ān-rdh-īr* (AV.) and *ān-rdh-e*. Through the influence of these nasalized verbs, their method of reduplication spread to two others which show no trace of a nasal anywhere. Thus from *arc-* 'praise' occur the forms *ān-rc-īr* and *ān-rc-ē*; and from *arh-* 'deserve', *ān-rh-īr* (TS.) beside *arh-ire* (RV<sup>1</sup>). There are besides two isolated forms of doubtful meaning, probably formed from

<sup>1</sup> The quantitative form of the stem is governed by the law that it may not contain (except in the 1. sing. act.) two prosodically short vowels; the only exceptions in the weak stem being the two irregular forms *tātane*, 1. sing. mid., and *ajānūr*, 3. pl. act. Thus *sah-* reduplicates *sāsah-* and once *sasāh-* (weak). Cp. BENFEY's articles 'Die Quantitätsverschiebungen in den Samhita- und Pada-Texten', GGA. 19 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In most of the forms from *a-* and *r-* roots, the Pada text has *a*.

<sup>3</sup> These verbs originally had the full reduplication *ya-* and *va-* as is shown by the evidence of the Avesta, which has this only; cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3, 38 (§ 59).

+ Due to the vocalic pronunciation of the *y*: *cīu-* and *dīut-*.

<sup>5</sup> This root thus shows the transition from the full to the Samprasāraṇa reduplication.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 846.

<sup>7</sup> These are the only two examples to be met with in the Samhitās of this form of reduplication.

<sup>8</sup> Beside *āsatur*, *āsāthe*, etc., from *aś-*, the unnasalized form of the same root. Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1211<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Thus *ṛnādhat*, *ṛndhyām*, *ṛndhānt*, according to the infixing nasal class.

nasalized roots: *ān-ṛj-ūr* (AV<sup>1</sup>), from *ṛj-* 'attain' (with present stem *ṛñj-*)<sup>1</sup>, and *an-āh-a* 2, 2. pl. act., perhaps from *amh-* 'compress'<sup>3</sup>.

This form of reduplication evidently arose from a radical nasal having originally been repeated along with the initial vowel, which is lengthened as in many other stems (*āh-kan*, etc.), while the root itself is shortened by dropping the nasal<sup>4</sup>. In the modal forms *ānāj-ā*, *ānāj-yāt*, *ān-ās-āmaha* the reduplicative vowel seems to have been shortened because *ān-* came to be regarded as containing an augment (like *āna*, aorist of *nas-* 'attain')<sup>5</sup>.

d. A few irregularities in regard to consonants also appear in the formation of the reduplicative stem. 1. The root *bhr-* 'bear' reduplicates with *j* (as if from *√hr-*), making the stem *ja-bhr-*, forms from which occur nearly thirty times in the RV., beside only two forms from the regular stem *ba-bhr-*. — 2. In forming their stem, the five roots *ci-* 'gather', *ci-* 'observe', *cit-* 'perceive', *ji-* 'conquer', *han-* 'smite', revert to the original guttural (as in other reduplicated forms) in the radical syllable: *ci-ki*, *ci-kit*, *ji-gi*, *ja-ghan*.

e. The root *vid-* 'know' loses its reduplication along with the perfect sense<sup>6</sup>. Thus *véd-a* 'I know'; *vid-vāms-* 'knowing'. Some half dozen other roots show isolated finite forms without reduplication; and four or five more have unreduplicated participial forms. Thus *taks-* 'fashion' makes *taks-athur* and *taks-ur*; *yam-* 'guide': *yam-ātur*; *skambh-* 'prop': *skambh-āthur*, *skambh-ur*<sup>7</sup>; *nind-* 'blame': *nind-ima*<sup>7</sup>; *arh-* 'be worthy': *arh-ire*; *cit-* 'perceive': *cit-atur* (AV. VS. SV.)<sup>8</sup>. Three unreduplicated participles are common: *dās-vāms-* and *dās-i-vāms-* (SV.) 'worshipping', beside the rare *dadās-vāms-*; *mūḍh-vāms-* 'bountiful'; *sāh-vāms-* 'conquering', beside *sāsah-vāms-*. There also occurs once the unreduplicated *jāni-vāms-* (in the form *vi-jānūs-ah*) beside *jajñivāms-* 'knowing' (from *√jñā-*); and the isolated vocative *khid-vas* may be the equivalent of *\*cikhid-vas*, from *khid-* 'oppress'<sup>9</sup>.

## 2. The Root.

483. Like the present and imperfect, the perfect is strong in the sing. act. Here the root, as a rule, is strengthened, while it remains unchanged in the weak forms. But if it contains a medial *a* or a final *ā*, it remains unchanged in the strong forms (except that *a* is lengthened in the 3. sing.), while it is reduced in the weak.

In the strong stem, the radical vowel takes *Guṇa*, but in the 3. sing. a final vowel takes *Vṛddhi* instead of *Guṇa*<sup>10</sup>. Thus *viś-* 'enter' makes *vivéś-*; *druh-* 'be hostile', *dudróh-*; *kṛt-* 'cut', *cakṛt-*; but *bhī-* 'fear', 1. 2. *bibhét*, 3. *bibhái-*; *śru-* 'hear', 1. 2. *śuśró-*, 3. *śuśráu-*; *kr-* 'make', 1. 2. *cakār-*, 3. *cakār-*<sup>11</sup>. In the weak stem, on the other hand, the root remains unchanged; thus *viviś-*, *dudruh-*, *cakṛt-*, *bibhī-*, *śuśru-*, *cakṛ-*.

a. Some irregularities occur in the treatment of the radical vowel. 1. The verb

<sup>1</sup> According to both the infixing nasal class, 3. pl. *ṛñjate*, and the *á*-class, 3. sing. *ṛñjāti*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably for *\*ānaha*; cp. the weak stem *sasāh-* beside *sāsah-*.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 145, and WHITNEY, Roots, under *amh* 'be narrow or distressing'.

<sup>4</sup> Except in the form *ān-āmsa* (cp. ἄν-αμσα-*rai*) beside *ān-āsa* (= ἄν-α-*rai*).

<sup>5</sup> Cp. the Greek aor. inf. *ἐν-εργ-εῖν* and the perfect *ἐν-ήργη-ται*.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. BEZZENBERGER, GGA. 1879, p. 818; J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 25, 3; BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 848.

<sup>7</sup> With the strong (nasalized) form of the Indo-arische Philologie. I. 4.

root beside *caskabh-ānd-* (AV.), and *ninid-ūr*.

<sup>8</sup> With strong radical syllable.

<sup>9</sup> DELBRÜCK, Verbum 148, adds *dabhūr*, but this is rather aorist (beside perf. *debhur*).

<sup>10</sup> On the origin of this distinction between the 1. sing. and the 3. sing. cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 25, 8 ff. and STREITBERG, IF. 3, 383—386.

<sup>11</sup> This distinction is invariable in the RV., and the rule seems to be the same in the AV. WHITNEY 793 d mentions *cakāra* as an exception, but this form is 3. sing. in all the passages given in his AV. Index; and *jagrāha* (AV. III. 18<sup>3</sup>) is evidently a corruption; see WHITNEY's note and cp. p. 356, note 9.

*mṛj-* 'wipe' takes *ṽṛddhi* instead of *Guṇa* throughout the strong stem: *mamārj-1*. — 2. Two instances of the **strong stem** being used in weak forms occur in the RV.: pl. 1. *ṁṇjofimā* and 3. *ṁṇjēsur*<sup>2</sup> beside the regular *ṁṇjūr*. — 3. The radical vowel of *bhū-* remains unchanged in the strong as well as the weak forms, interposing *v* before vowels; thus sing. 2. *babhū-ṭha*, pl. 3. *babhū-v-ūr*. — 4. The weak stem of *tī-* 'cross' appears in the RV. as *tūr-* and *tutur-*; thus sing. 3. *tatār-a*, but pl. 3. *titir-ur*, part. *titir-vāms*, opt. sing. 3. *tutur-yāt*<sup>3</sup>.

a. Roots containing medial *a* leave the radical syllable unchanged in sing. 1. 2., lengthening the vowel in sing. 3.; they reduce it in the weak stem by contraction, syncopation, or loss of nasal.

i. The roots with initial *ya-* and *va-*, which reduplicate with the vowels *i* and *u*<sup>4</sup> respectively, take **Samprasāraṇa**, the result being contraction to *ī* and *ū*. Thus from *yaj-* 'sacrifice': strong stem *i-yāj-*, weak *īj-* (= *i-ij*)<sup>5</sup>; *vac-* 'speak': *u-vac-* and *ūc-* (= *u-uc*); *vad-* 'speak': *u-vād-* and *ūd-*; *vap-* 'strew': *u-vap-* and *ūp-*; *vas-* 'dwell': *u-vās-* and *ūs-*; *vah-* 'carry': *u-váh-* and *ūh-*. The root *vā-* 'weave' is similarly treated in the form pl. 3. *ū-v-ur* (= *u-u-v-ur*). **Samprasāraṇa** of the root also appears in the weak stem of *svap-* 'sleep' and of *grabh-* and *grah-* 'seize': *su-ṣváp-* and *su-ṣup-*; *ja-grābh-*, *ja-gráh-* and *ja-grbh-*, *ja-grh-*. The roots *yam-*<sup>6</sup>, *van-*, *vas-* 'wear' have the full reduplication throughout; *yam-* taking **Samprasāraṇa** and contracting in the weak stem, *van-* syncopating its *a*, and *vas-* retaining it throughout: *ya-yam-* and *yem-* (= *ya-im*); *va-ván-* and *va-vn-*; *vā-vas-* (both strong and weak).

2. More than a dozen roots containing *a* between single consonants and reduplicating their initial without change, **contract** the reduplication and root to a single syllable with medial *o*. The type followed by these verbs was doubtless furnished by *sad-* 'sit', which forms the weak stem *sed-* (= *\*sazd-*), beside the strong *sa-sād-*, and supported by *yam-*, with its weak stem *yem-* (= *ya-im*) beside the strong *yayam*<sup>7</sup>. The other stems showing this contraction are formed from *tap-* 'heat', *ḍabh-* 'harm', *nam-* 'bend', *pac-* 'cook', *pat-* 'fall', *yat-* 'stretch', *yam-* 'guide', *rabh-* 'seize', *labh-* 'take', *śak-* 'be able', *śap-* 'curse', *sap-* 'serve'. The roots *tan-* 'stretch' and *sac-* 'follow' also belong to this class in the AV., but not in the RV. The root *bhāj-* 'divide' though not reduplicating with an identical consonant in its strong stem *ba-bhāj-*, follows the analogy of this group in forming the weak stem *bhej-*.

3. Four roots of this form, however, simply **syncopate** the radical *a* without contracting. These are *jan-* 'beget': *jajñ-*, strong *jaján-*; *pan-* 'admire': *paṇ-*, strong *papan-*; *man-* 'think': *mamn-*<sup>8</sup>; *van-* 'win': *vavn-*, strong *vāvan-*. Three others have this syncopated as well as the contracted form: *tan-* 'stretch': *tatn-* and *ten-* (AV.); *pat-* 'fall': *paṭt-* and *pet-*; *sac-* 'follow': *sasā-* and *sec-* (AV.). Syncopation of medial *a* also takes place in four roots with initial guttural: *khan-* 'dig': *cakhn-* (AV.), strong *cakhán-*; *gam-* 'go': *jagm-*, strong *jagám-*; *ghas-* 'eat': *jakṣ-*, strong *jaghás-*; *han-* 'smite': *jaghn-*, strong *jaghán-*.

4. In a few roots with medial *a* and a penultimate nasal, the latter is **lost** in the weak stem<sup>9</sup>. Thus *kṛand-* 'cry out': *cakṛad-*; *taṁs-* 'shake': *tatas-*; *skambh-* 'prop': *caskabh-* (AV.), strong *cāskāmbh-*; *stambh-* 'prop':

<sup>1</sup> The same irregularity appears in the present stem.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1223<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. v. NEGELEIN 74<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> But they had the full reduplication in the IIr. period; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1220<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> In the one form *yejé* (beside *ījé*), *yaj-* follows the analogy of *yam-*, preserving a trace of the old reduplication *ya-*.

<sup>6</sup> The analogy of *yam-* is followed by *yaj-* in the one form *yejé* (beside *ījé*); cp. note 5.

<sup>7</sup> See BARTHOLOMAE, Die ai. *z*-Formen im schwachen Perfect, KZ. 27, 337—366; BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1222; cp. v. NEGELEIN 71<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> The strong stem does not occur.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1217<sup>4</sup>.

*tastabh-*, strong *tastámbh-*. Similarly, from *dambh-*, the nasalized form of *dabh-*<sup>1</sup> 'harm', is formed *dadabh-*, strong *dadámbh-* (AV.); and from *rambh-*, the nasalized form of *rabh-*<sup>2</sup> 'seize', *rārabh-*. From *daṃś-* 'bite', only the participle *dadaśvāṃs-* occurs. The root *bandh-* 'bind', both loses its nasal and contracts, forming the weak stem *bedh-* (AV.) beside the strong *babāndh-* (AV.).

b. Roots with final *ā* retain that vowel in the strong stem, but in the weak reduce it to *i*<sup>3</sup> before consonants and drop it before vowels. Thus *dhā-* 'put' employs *dadhā-* in the strong forms, *dadhi-* and *dadh-* in the weak.

### 3. Endings.

484. The endings in the indicative active are all peculiar (excepting the secondary *-va*<sup>4</sup> and *-ma*), while in the middle they are identical (excepting the 3. sing. *-e* and 3. pl. *-re*)<sup>5</sup> with the primary middle endings of the present. They are the following:

Active			Middle		
sing.	du.	pl.	sing.	du.	pl.
1. <i>-a</i>	[ <i>-vā</i> ]	<i>-mā</i>	1. <i>-é</i>	[ <i>-vāhe</i> ]	<i>-māhe</i>
2. <i>-tha</i>	<i>-āthur</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>-ā</i>	2. <i>-sé</i>	<i>-āthe</i>	<i>-dhvé</i>
3. <i>-a</i>	<i>-ātur</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>-īr</i> <sup>7</sup>	3. <i>-é</i>	<i>-āte</i>	<i>-ré</i>

Roots ending in *-ā* take the anomalous ending *-au*<sup>8</sup> in the 1. and 3. sing. act.; e. g. *dhā-* 'put': *da-dhāu*. The only exception is the root *prā-* 'fill', which once forms the 3. sing. *pa-prā* (I. 69') beside the usual *pa-prāu*.

a. Consonant endings. These are, as a rule, added directly to the stem. No forms with *-vā* or *-vāhe* occur in the Samhitās; *-māhe* is always added direct, as is also *-dhvé* in the only form in which it occurs, *dadhi-dhvé*. The remaining consonant endings, *-tha*, *-ma*, *-se*, *-re*, are nearly always added direct to stems ending in vowels, but frequently with the connecting vowel *-i-* to stems ending in consonants.

1. Roots with final *ā* always add the endings directly to the stem, which reduces the radical vowel to *i*<sup>9</sup> in the weak forms; e. g. *dadā-tha*; *dadhi-mā*, *dadhi-sé*, *dadhi-ré*<sup>10</sup>.

2. Roots with final *i* and *ū* also always add these endings direct to the stem; e. g. *ji-* 'conquer': *jige-tha*; *nī-* 'lead': *niné-tha*; *si-* 'press': *siṣu-mā*; *cyu-* 'move': *cicyu-sé*; *hu-* 'sacrifice': *juhu-ré*; *hū-* 'call': *juhū-ré*. The only exception is *bhū-*, which (doubtless owing to the fondness of this verb for *-ūv-*) forms *babhūv-i-tha* twice in the RV. beside the usual *babhū-tha*, and *babhūv-i-mā* once in the AV.

<sup>1</sup> From which is formed the weak stem *debh-*.

<sup>2</sup> From which is formed the weak stem *rebh-*.

<sup>3</sup> See DELBRÜCK, Verbum 147 (p. 120); BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 844 (p. 1206-8); cp. v. BRADKE, IF. 8, 123-137; 156-160; REICHELDT, BB. 27, 94.

<sup>4</sup> No perfect form with *-va* is, however, found in the Samhitās.

<sup>5</sup> Both of these, however, occasionally appear in the present ind. mid.

<sup>6</sup> The *a* is here probably not connecting vowel but identical with the *a* of the 2. pl.; *a-tur* getting its *r* from the 3. pl. *-ur*, and *a-thur* being then formed like *-thas* beside *-tas*; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. p. 597.

<sup>7</sup> That *r* (and not *s*) is here original is

shown by the evidence of the Avesta; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 797 (p. 597).

<sup>8</sup> This has not been satisfactorily explained; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1223<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> This *i* as the reduced form of *ā* (cp. *hi-tā* etc., from *dhā-*), occurring in such very common verbs as *dā-* 'give' and *dhā-* 'put', was probably the starting point for the use of *i* as a connecting vowel in other verbs; but cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1208; cp. also IF. 8, 123-160.

<sup>10</sup> The vowel is dropped before *-ré* in *dadh-ré*, which occurs once beside the very common *dadhi-ré*. Similarly the stem of *dā-* 'give', is shortened before the ending *-rīre* in *dad-rīre*, which occurs once (with passive sense).

3. Roots with final *-r* add the endings *-tha*, *-ma*, and *-se* direct (excepting two or three forms), but *-re* always with connecting *-i*; thus *kṛ-* 'do': *cakār-tha*, *cakṛ-ma*, *cakṛ-śē*, but *cakṛ-i-rē*. Connecting *-i* before the other endings appears in *ār-i-tha*, *ār-i-mā* (*r-* 'go'); and in *jabhṛ-i-ṣe* (*bhṛ-* 'bear').

4. Roots with final consonant add *-tha*, *-ma*; *se*, *-re* direct if the last syllable of the stem is prosodically short, but with the connecting vowel *-i* if that syllable is long<sup>1</sup>. Thus *tatān-tha*; *jagan-ma*, *jaṅgrbh-mā*, *yuyuj-ma*; *dadrk-śē*, *vivit-se*; *cākṣp-rē*, *taṣa-rē*, *duduh-rē*, *paśprdh-rē*, *yuyuj-re*, *vivid-rē* and others; but *ās-i-tha*, *uvśc-i-tha*, *vivēd-i-tha*; *ūc-i-mā*, *papt-i-mā*, *sed-i-ma*; *tatn-i-ṣe*; *ṭj-i-rē*, *jagm-i-re*, *tataḥṣ-i-rē*<sup>2</sup>, *yet-i-rē*. The only exception is *vēt-tha*, which as an old form inherited from the IE. period (Greek *οἶσ-θα*) without reduplication, remained unaffected by the influence of reduplicated forms.

a. Six roots ending in consonants add *-rīre*<sup>3</sup> instead of *-re*: *cikīṭ-rīre* (beside the more usual *cikīṭ-rē*), *jaṅgrbh-rīre* (once beside the usual *jaṅgrbh-rē*), *bubhuj-rīre* (once), *vivid-rīre* (once beside *vivid-rē*), *saśṛj-rīre* (once), and *duduh-rīre* (once in the SV. for the common *duduh-rē* of the RV.)<sup>4</sup>.

b. Vowel endings. Before terminations beginning with vowels final radical vowels are variously treated. 1. *ī*, if preceded by one consonant, becomes *y*, if preceded by more than one, *iy*: e. g. from *bhī-* 'fear', *bibhy-atur*, *bibhy-ur*; but from *śri-* 'resort', *śisṛiy-e*. — 2. Final *ī* ordinarily becomes *uv*; e. g. *yu-* 'join': *yuyuv-ē*; *śru-* 'hear': *śuśruv-e*; *śū-* 'swell': *śūśuv-e*. But *ī* becomes *v* in *hū-* 'call', e. g. *ju-hv-ē*; and *ūv* in *bhū-* 'be' and *sū-* 'bring forth', even in strong forms<sup>5</sup>; e. g. 3. sing. *bā-bhūv-a*, *saśūv-a*<sup>6</sup>. — 3. Final *-r* becomes *r*; e. g. from *kṛ-* 'make', *cakṛ-ā*, *cakṛ-ē*. But *-ṛ* becomes *ir* in *tītir-ur* from *tīṛ-* 'cross', and in 3. sing. *tīstir-e*, part. *tīstir-ānā-*, from *stīṛ-* 'strew' (the only root with a *r* vowel preceded by two consonants that occurs in the perfect).

### Perfect Indicative.

485. The forms actually occurring, if made from *kṛ-* 'make', would be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *cakāra*<sup>7</sup>. 2. *cakārtha*. 3. *cakāra*. — Du. 2. *cakrāthur*. 3. *cakrītur*. — Pl. 1. *cakṛmā*. 2. *cakṛā*. 3. *cakṛir*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *cakṛē*. 2. *cakṛṣē*. 3. *cakṛē*. — Du. 2. *cakṛāthe*. 3. *cakṛāte*. — Pl. 1. *cakṛmāhe*. 2. *cakṛdhvē*. 3. *cakṛirē*<sup>8</sup>.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *āsa*, *uvāpa* (TS. i. 5. 3<sup>9</sup>), *cakara*, *ciketa* (*cit-* 'observe'), *jagama*, *jaṅgrābha*, *jaṅgrāha* (AV.)<sup>9</sup>, *jaghāsa* (AV. vi. 117<sup>10</sup>)<sup>10</sup>, *jihīṣa*<sup>11</sup>, *tatāpa*, *dudrīṣa*, *pāpāna*, *babhūva*, *bibhāya*, *mimaya* (*mī-* 'diminish'), *raraṇa*, *rīrēbha*, *viveśa*, *vēda*<sup>12</sup>, *śisṛaya*, *śuśrāva*. The TS. (iii. 5. 5<sup>1</sup>) has the Vṛddhi form *vavāra* (*vṛ-* 'cover').

<sup>1</sup> This is in accordance with the rhythmic rule that the stem may not have two prosodically short vowels in successive syllables.

<sup>2</sup> The strength of this rhythmic rule is well illustrated by the same root *vac-* having the two collateral forms *vavak-śē* and *ūc-i-ṣē*; cp. also the unique lengthening, in a weak form, of the radical *a* in *sa-sāh-i-ṣe* (beside the usual *sāsa-hi*) and the Guṇa in *yuyop-i-mā*.

<sup>3</sup> The additional *r* may have come into use under the influence of forms from roots in *r*, like *dadrh-rīre* from *ḍhr-*.

<sup>4</sup> The ending *-rīre* is once also added to a root ending in a vowel: *dad-rīre*, from *ḍā-*.

<sup>5</sup> Instead of the normal *āv*.

<sup>6</sup> This is the only perfect form of *ṽsū-* occurring.

<sup>7</sup> The 1. and 3. of *dhā-* 'put' would both be *dadhāu*; of *vid-* 'find', both *vivēda*.

<sup>8</sup> The 3. pl. of *vid-* 'find' would be *vividrē*.

<sup>9</sup> AV. iii. 18<sup>3</sup> reads *jaṅgrāha*, but this must be emended to *jaṅgrāha*; see WHITNEY's note.

<sup>10</sup> *jaghāsa* here is a misprint for *jaghāsa*: see WHITNEY's note on the passage.

<sup>11</sup> Also in AV. iv. 32<sup>3</sup>, but written *jihīṣa* in the Samhitā text, but *jī-* in Pada. See WHITNEY's note.

<sup>12</sup> Unreduplicated form.

2. *iyatha*<sup>1</sup> and *iyetha*, *cakārtha*, *jagāntha* (*gam*-‘go’), *jaghāntha*, *jabhārtha*, *jigetha* (*ji*-‘conquer’), *tatāntha*, *dadātha*, *dadhārtha* (*dhr*-‘hold’), *dadhātha*, *ninētha*, *papātha* (*pā*-‘drink’), *paprātha*<sup>2</sup>, *babhūtha*, *yayantha* (*yam*-‘guide’), *yayātha*, *vāvāntha*, *vavārtha* (*vr*-‘cover’), *vivādktha* (*vyac*-‘extend’), *vētha*<sup>10</sup>, *sasāttha* (*sad*-‘sit’). — With connecting *-i-*: *āpitha* (AV.), *āritha* (*r*-‘go’), *āvitha* (*av*-‘favour’), *āsitha* (*as*-‘be’), *uvācitha* (*uc*-‘be pleased’), *cakartitha* (*krt*-‘cut’), *tatārāditha* (*trd*-‘split’), *dudohitha*, *dudrōhitha* (AV.), *babhūvitha*, *rurōjitha*, *rurōdhitha*, *rurōhitha* (AV.), *vavāksitha*, *vivēditha* (*vid*-‘find’), *vivēsitha*.

3. *āna*, *ānāpisa* and *ānāsa* (*aps*-‘attain’); *āpa*, *āra* (*r*-‘go’), *āva*, *āsa* (*as*-‘eat’), *āsa* (*as*-‘be’ and *as*-‘throw’), *āha* (*ah*-‘say’), *iyāya* (*i*-‘go’), *uvāca* (*vac*-‘speak’), *uvāsa* (*vas*-‘shine’), *uvāha*, *uvāca* (*uc*-‘be pleased’), *cakarta* (*krt*-‘cut’), *cakārśa* (*kṛś*-‘be lean’, AV.), *cakāra*, *cakrāma*, *cakḥāda*, *cakḥāna* (VS.v.23), *cacūksa*, *cācarta* (*crt*-‘bind’, AV.), *cacāra* (AV.), *cacchanda*, *caskānda*, *cāskāmbha*, *cikāya* (*ci*-‘gather’), *cikāya* (*ci*-‘observe’), *cikṛta*<sup>3</sup> (*cit*-‘perceive’), *jagāma*, *jagrāha*, *jaghāna*, *jaghāsa*, *jajāna*, *jajāra* (AV.), *jabhāra*, *jigāya* (*ji*-‘conquer’), *jujōsa*, *juhāva* (*hū*-‘call’), *tatāksa*, *tatārda*, *tatarha* (AV.), *tatāna*, *tatāpa*, *tatāra*, *tatsāra* (*tsar*-‘approach stealthily’), *tastāmbha*, *tātāna* (RV<sup>1</sup>), *tityāja*, *tutāva* (*tu*-‘be strong’), *tutāda*, *dadāmbha* (*dambh*-‘harm’, AV.), *dadārśa*, *dadābha* (*dabh*-‘harm’), *dadāra* (*dr*-‘split’), *dadāsa* (*dās*-‘worship’), *dadharśa*, *dādāra*, *didāva* (*dīv*-‘play’, AV.), *didēsa* (AV.), *did-yōta* (AV.), *didāya* (VS. XII. 34), *nanāsa* (*nas*-‘be lost’), *nanāha*<sup>5</sup> (AV.), *nānāma*, *nināya*, *papāca* (AV.), *papāta* (AV.), *papāda*, *paprāḥ*<sup>6</sup>, *pīpēsa*, *pīpēsa*, *pīpāya*, *pupōsa*, *babāndha* (VS. AV.), *babarha* (*bṛh*-‘make strong’, AV.), *babhānja*<sup>7</sup> (*bhanj*-‘break’), *babhāja*, *babhāva*, *bibhāya*, *bibhēda*, *mamanda* (*mand*-‘exhilarate’), *mamārśa*, *mamātha* (*math*-‘shake’, AV.), *mamāda* (*mad*-‘exhilarate’), *mamāra* (*mṛ*-‘die’), *mamārja* (*mṛj*-‘wipe’, AV.), 1. *mimāya* (*mā*-‘bellow’), 2. *mimāya* (*mi*-‘fix’), 3. *mimāya* (*mī*-‘damage’), *mīmāya* (*mī*-‘damage’, AV.), *mimētha* (*mith*-‘alternate’), *mimāyāksa*, *mumōda*, *yayāma*, *yuyōja* (AV.), *yuyōdha*, *yuyōpa*, *rarāksa*, *rarāda*, *rarādha*, *rirāca*, *rurōca*, *rurōja* (AV.), *vavāksa*, *vavāda*, *vavārta*, *vavārdha*, *vavarha*, *vavāca*<sup>8</sup> (*vac*-‘speak’), *vavāra* (*vr*-‘cover’), *vavārja*, *vāvārta*, *vāvāna*, *vivōya* (*vī*-‘be eager’), *vivēda*, *vivēsa*, *vivēsa*, *vivyāca*, *vēda*<sup>10</sup>, *śasāka* (AV.), *śasāpa* (AV.), *śīsrāya* (*śī*-‘resort’), *śūsoca*, *śūsāva*, *sasarja*, *sasāda*, *sasāna*, *sasāra*, *sasāva*, *sāsāha*, *śīsedha*, *śīśāya*, *śūśāva* (*su*-‘press’). — With the ending *-au*: *tasthāu*, *dadāu*, *dadhāu*, *papāu* (*pā*-‘drink’), *paprāu*, *yayāu*.

Du. 2. *ārathur*, *āvāthur*, *āsathur*, *iyathur*, *īśāthur*, *ūpāthur* (*√vap*), *ūhāthur* (*√vah*), *cakrāthur*, *cakhyathur* (*khyā*-‘see’), *jagrābhāthur*, *jagmāthur*, *jigyathur* (*ji*-‘conquer’), *jijivāthur*<sup>9</sup>, *takṣathur*<sup>10</sup>, *tasthāthur*, *dadāthur*, *dadhathur*, *ninyathur*, *papāthur* (*pā*-‘drink’), *paprathur*, *pīpivāthur*<sup>11</sup>, *pīpyathur* (*pī*-‘swell’), *petathur* (*√pat*), *babhūvāthur*, *mimikṣāthur*, *yayathur*, *yemāthur* (*√yam*), *riricāthur*, *vidāthur*<sup>10</sup>, *vividāthur*, *vivyāthur* (*vyā*- or *vī*-‘envelope’), *sedāthur* (*√sad*), *skambhāthur*<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The irregularity of this form which occurs once in the RV. and once in the AV. beside the regular *iyētha* is hard to explain.

<sup>2</sup> In VI. 177 this form stands for the 2. sing. of *prath*-‘extend’; see NEISSER, BB. 30, 302.

<sup>3</sup> Occurs twice in the RV. also with the irregular accent *cikēta*.

<sup>4</sup> It is very doubtful whether *jahā* VIII. 4537 is 3. sing. perfect of *hā*-‘leave’ (cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 124), like *paprā*. PISCHEL, Vedische Studien I, 163 f., thinks this word with the following *kō* should be read *jāhāko* ‘abandoning’. ROTH thinks (pw.) *jahā* is an interjection.

<sup>5</sup> Overlooked by WHITNEY, Roots, under *√nah*:- AV. VI. 133<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> The only occurrence of *ā* for *au* unless *jahā* is a verbal form.

<sup>7</sup> Omitted by AVERY 250.

<sup>8</sup> RV. beside the ordinary *uvāca*.

<sup>9</sup> From *jinu*-‘quicken’, a secondary root starting from the present stem *ji-nu-* of *ji*-‘quicken’; see 469, a, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Unreduplicated form.

<sup>11</sup> From *pinu*-‘fatten’, which started from a present stem of the *-nu* class; see 469, a, 7.

Du. 3. *āpatur*, *āvatur*, *āsatur* (*aś-* 'attain'), *āsatur*, *īyātur*, *ūhātur* (*√vāh-*, *cakratur*, *cikyatur* (*ci-* 'observe'), *cetatur*<sup>1</sup>, *jagmatur*, *jajñātur* (*jan-* 'beget'), *jahātur* (*hā-* 'leave'), *tataksātur*, *tasthātur*, *dadatur*, *paprātur* (*prā-* 'fill'), *petātur*, *babhūvātur*, *mamātur* (*mā-* 'measure'), *minikṣātur* (*miks-* 'mix'), *yamātur*<sup>2</sup>, *yematur* (*√yam-*), *vavaksātur*, *vāvṛdhatur*, *sasratur*<sup>3</sup> (*√sr-*, AV.), *sisicatur*, *sedātur* (*√sad-*).

Pl. I. *ānaśma* (*aṁś-* 'attain'); *cakrma*, *jaganma*, *jagr̥bhma*, *tasthi-mā* (*√sthā-*), *dadhi-mā*, *yuyujma*, *rarabhmā*, *rari-mā* (*rā-* 'give'), *vavanmā*, *vidmā*<sup>4</sup>, *śusuma* (AV.), *sušuma*. — With connecting *-i-*: *ārimā*, *āsimā* (*as-* 'be', AV.), *ūcimā* (*√vac-*), *ūdima* (*√vad-*), *ūsimā* (*vas-* 'dwell', AV.), *cerimā* (*√car-*, AV.), *jaghnimā* (*√han-*, AV.), *jihimsimā* (AV. TS.), *dadāsimā*, *nindima*<sup>5</sup>, *ninima*<sup>6</sup> (TS. III. 2. 8<sup>3</sup>), *paptima*, *babhūvima* (AV.), *yuyopimā*<sup>7</sup>, *yemimā*, *vavandima*, *vidmā*<sup>8</sup>, *śekimā* (*√śak-*, AV.), *saścima*, *suśūdima* (*√sūd-*), *sedima*<sup>5</sup> (*√sad-*).

2. *anāha*<sup>9</sup> (RV<sup>1</sup>), *anaśā* (*aṁś-* 'attain'); *uśā* (*vas-* 'shine'), *cakrā*, *jagmā*<sup>10</sup> (AV. TS. VS.), *daddā*, *babhūdā*, *yayā*, *vidā*<sup>8</sup>, *śaśāsā*, *śeka* (*√śak-*), *sedā* (*√sad-*).

3. *āsatur* (*aṁś-* 'attain'), *āncūr* (*√arc-*), *āṇḍhūr* (AV.), *āṇḥūr* (TS. III. 2. 8<sup>1</sup>); *āpūr*, *ārūr*, *āsūr* (*aś-* 'attain'), *āsūr* (*as-* 'be'), *āhūr*, *īyūr*, *īsur* (*is-* 'send'), *ūcūr*, *ūdūr* (*und-* 'wet', AV.), *ūvūr* (*vā-* 'weave'), *ūśūr* (*vas-* 'shine'), *ūhūr* (*√vāh-*), *cakramūr*, *cakrūr*, *cakhnūr* (*khan-*, AV.), *cākḥūr* (AV.), *cikūr*, *cikyūr* (*ci-* 'perceive'), *cerūr* (*√car-*, AV.), *jagr̥bhūr*, *jagr̥hūr* (AV.), *jagmūr*, *jaghnūr* (*√han-*, AV.), *jajanūr*<sup>11</sup> and *jajñūr* (*jan-* 'beget'), *jabhūr* (*√bhr-*), *jahūr* (*hā-* 'leave'), *jaharūr*<sup>12</sup> (*√hr-*, AV.), *jagr̥dhūr*, *jigyūr* (*ji-* 'conquer'), *jugupūr*<sup>13</sup>, *jujuśūr*, *jūjūvūr* (*√jū-*), *taksūr*<sup>14</sup>, *tataksūr*, *tastabhūr*, *tasthūr*, *tātrpūr* (AV.), *tātrśūr*, *titirūr* (*√tī-*), *tuṣṭvūr*, *dadāśūr*, *dadūr*, *dadhūr*, *dādḥśūr* (AV.), *didyutūr* (TS. II. 2. 12<sup>6</sup>), *dudukūr*, *dudruvūr* (AV.), *debhūr* (*dabh-* 'harm'), *nanakṣūr*, *ninidūr*, *papūr* (*pā-* 'drink'), *paptūr* (*pāt-* 'fall'), *paprūr* (*prā-* 'fill'), *pipiśūr*, *pīpyūr* (*√pī-*), *babhūvūr*, *bibhidūr*, *bibhyūr* (*bhī-* 'fear'), *bedhūr* (*bandh-*, AV.), *mamūr* (*mā-* 'measure'), *mamrūr* (*mṛ-* 'die'), *māmṛjūr*, *māmṛśūr*, *mimikṣūr* (*√myakṣ-*), *mīmyūr* (*mī-* 'fix'), *yamūr*<sup>15</sup>, *yayūr*, *yuyudhūr*, *yemūr*, *rāradhūr* (*√rādh-*), *riripūr*, *rurucūr*, *ruruhūr*, *vavaksūr*, *vārjūr*, *vavūr*, *vavūr* (*vr-* 'cover'), *vāvaśūr* (*vaś-* 'desire'), *vāvṛtūr*, *vāvṛdhūr*, *vidūr*<sup>8</sup>, *vividūr*, *viviśūr* and (once) *viveśūr*<sup>15</sup>, *viviśūr*, *śaśāsūr*, *śaśramūr*, *śaśadūr*, *śūśuvūr*, *śekūr* (*√śak-*), *saścūr*, *sasrūr*, *siśyadūr* (*√syand-*, AV.), *sisicūr*, *suśupūr* (*√swap-*), *suśuvūr* (VS. xx. 63), *suśuvūr* (AV.), *sedūr* (*√sad-*), *sepūr*, *skambhūr*<sup>14</sup>.

Middle. Sing. I. *ījē*, *īdhe* (*idh-* 'kindle'), *īṣē* (*īṣ-* 'move'), *nīhē* (*nīh-* 'consider'), *cakē* (*kā-* = *kan-* 'be pleased'), *cakre*, *jigye* (*ji-* 'conquer'), *tātane*<sup>10</sup>, *tasthe*, *titriṣe*, *dade*, *mame* (*mā-* 'measure'), *māmahe*, *rare* (*√rā-*), *śepē* (*√śap-*), *saśce*.

<sup>1</sup> AV. III. 212; SV. I. 2. 2. 1<sup>10</sup>, explained by BENFEY, SV. Glossary, as 3. du. perf. without reduplication. WHITNEY, note on AV. III. 212, thinks it is a corruption for *cetatu*, but quotes WEBER as taking it for 3. du. perf. from *cat-* 'frighten into submission'.

<sup>2</sup> Unreduplicated form with present meaning (VL 67<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> *sisratur* (RV<sup>1</sup>) is an anomalous 3. du. pres. ind. of *sr-*, according to the reduplicating class with perfect ending instead of \**sisṛtās*.

<sup>4</sup> The form *viviṣma* which AVERY gives with a query is probably an error for *viviṣmas* I. pl. pres. (VI. 23<sup>5</sup>, 6).

<sup>5</sup> Cp. IF. 3, 9f.; ZDMG. 48, 519.

<sup>6</sup> The metre requires *ninima* (see BR. under *nī-* 'lead').

<sup>7</sup> With strong radical syllable.

<sup>8</sup> Unreduplicated form.

<sup>9</sup> This form (VI. 48<sup>5</sup>) may be 2. pl. from a root *aṁh-* for \**ānaha*.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. VI. 974.

<sup>11</sup> This form without syncope occurs once in the RV., *jajñūr* twice.

<sup>12</sup> WHITNEY on AV. III. 96 would emend this irregular form, the reading of all the Mss., to *jahrūr*.

<sup>13</sup> This is the only finite form of this secondary root, and it occurs in a late hymn (VII. 1039); the past participle *gūpītā-* also occurs twice in the tenth book. This *√gūp-* was doubtless evolved from the denominative *gopā-yā-* 'act as a cowherd'.

<sup>14</sup> Unreduplicated form occurring once.

<sup>15</sup> With irregular strong vowel.

<sup>16</sup> With unsyncope vowel occurring once; 3. sing. *tātne*.



2. *cakrśé*, *cicyusé*, *tasthi-se* (AV.), *dadrśé* (*dṛś-* 'see'), *dadhi-śé*, *paprśe* *yuyuksé* (V*yuj-*, AV.), *rari-se*, *ririkśé* (V*ric-*), *vavakśé* (V*vac-*), *vavrśé* (V*r-* 'choose'), *vivitse* (V*id-* 'find'). — With connecting *-i-*: *ūciśé* (V*uc-* and V*vac-*), *ūpiśe* (V*vap-*), *ūhiśe* (V*vah-*), *jajñiśé* (V*jan-*), *jabhriśe*, *tatniśe*, *bedhiśe* (AV.), *śepiśé* (V*śap-*, AV.), *sasāhiśe*.

3. *ānajé* (V*añj-*), *ānaśé* (V*amś-*), *ānrce*, *ānr̥dhe*; *āsa* (as- 'throw'), *ījé* (V*yaj-*), *īlé* (V*īl-*), *īdhé* (V*idh-*), *īśé* (*īs-* 'move'), *ūce* (uc- 'be pleased'), *ūpe* (V*vap-*), *ūhē*<sup>2</sup> (*ūh-* 'consider'), *caké* (V*kā-*), *cakradé* (RV<sup>1</sup>), *cakramé*, *cakrē*, *cakśadé* (*kśad-* 'divide'), *cāklpré* (AV.), *cikité* (V*cit-*), *cuksubhē* (*ksubh-* 'quake', AV.), *cucyuve*, *jagr̥he*<sup>3</sup>, *jagmē* (V*gam-*), *jajñé* (V*jan-*), *jabhre* (V*bhṛ-*), *jigye* (V*ji-*), *jih̥tē* (V*h̥t-*), *jujusé*, *juhvé* (*hū-* 'call'), *tataksé*, *tate* (V*tā-* 'stretch' = V*tan-*), *tatne* (V*tan-*), *tatre* (*trā-* 'protect'), *tasthe* (V*sthā-*), *titvisé*, *tistiré*<sup>2</sup> (*stī-* 'strew'), *ddr̥śe*, *dadé*, *dadhanwé*<sup>4</sup>, *dadhé*, *dadr̥é* (*dhr̥-* 'hold'), *dadhvase* (*dhvams-* 'scatter'), *duduhe*, *dudhuve* (V*dhū-*, AV.), *nanakśé*<sup>5</sup>, *nunudé*, *neme* (V*nam-*), *papr̥kśé*<sup>6</sup>, *pape*<sup>2</sup> (*pā-* 'drink'), *pāprathe* (RV<sup>1</sup>), *pāprathé* (RV<sup>2</sup>, AV<sup>1</sup>), *paprē*<sup>7</sup> (V*prā-*, AV.), *paspasé* (*spaś-* 'see'), *pīpiśé*, *pīpise*, *pīpīle*, *pīpye* (*pī-* 'swell'), *pece* (V*pac-*), *babād̥hé*, *babhre* (V*bhṛ-*), *bedhé* (V*bandh-*, AV.), *bhejé* (*bhaj-* 'divide'), *mamé* (*mā-* 'measure'), *māmahe*, *māmr̥jé*, *mimikśé*<sup>8</sup>, *yuyujé*, *yuyuvé* (yu- 'join'), *yejé*<sup>9</sup> (V*yaj-*), *yeme* (V*yam-*), *raraṇśé*, *rārabhe* (V*rambh-*), *riricé*, *rurucé*, *rebhē* (V*rabh-*, AV.), *vavakśé* (V*vakś-*), *vavande*, *vavné* (V*van-*), *vavré* (V*r-* 'cover'), *vāvasé* (*vaś-* 'desire'), *vāvase* (VIII. 4<sup>8</sup>, *vas-* 'clothe')<sup>10</sup>, *vāvr̥je*, *vāvr̥tē*, *vāvr̥dhé*, *vidé* (*vid-* 'know'), *vividé* (*vid-* 'find'), *vivyé* (*vṛā-* 'envelope'), *vivyé* (*vṛ-* 'be eager'), *śasamé* (VS. XXXIII. 87), *śasrathé*, *śasrē* (*śr-* 'crush'), *śis̥riyē* (*śri-* 'resort'), *śusruve*, *śusuve* (*śū-* 'swell'), *śépé* (V*śap-*, AV.), *sasāhé*<sup>11</sup> and *sasāhe*<sup>12</sup>, *sasr̥jé*, *sasrē* (*sr-* 'flow'), *sasvaje*, *sisice*, *sisyade* (V*syand-*, AV.), *susuvé* (*sū-* 'bring forth').

Du. 2. *āsāthe* (V*as-* 'attain'), *ījāthe* (AV.), *ūhyāthe*<sup>13</sup> (IV. 56<sup>6</sup>), *cakramāthe*, *cakrāthe*, *cikēthe*<sup>14</sup> (*ci-* 'note'), *dadāthe*, *dadhāthe*, *mamnāthe* (V*man-*), *raraṇthe* (*rā-* 'give'), *riricāthe*, *sasrāthe* (V*sr-*).

3. *āsāte*<sup>15</sup>, *cakrāte*, *dadhāte*, *paspṛdhāte*, *bhejāte* (*bhaj-* 'divide'), *mamāte* (*mā-* 'measure'), *mamnāte* (*man-* 'think'), *yuyudhāte*, *yemāte* (V*yam-*), *rebhāte* (V*rabh-*, AV.), *vāvr̥dhāte*<sup>16</sup>, *sasvajāte*.

Pl. I. *bubhujmāhe*, *mumucmāhe*, *vavrmāhe* (V*r-* 'choose'), *śāsādmahe* (*śad-* 'prevail'), *sasr̥jmāhe*. — 2. *dadhidhvé*.

3. *ānajre* (V*añj-*); *cāklpré*, *cikitré* (V*cit-*), *jagr̥bhre*<sup>17</sup>, *jahi-re* (V*hā-*, AV.), *juhuré*, *juhūrē*, *tatasrē* (V*tams-*), *tasthi-re*, *dadr̥śre*, *dadhi-ré*, *dadr̥he*, *duduhre*, *nunudré*, *paspṛdhre*, *pīpiśre*, *mami-ré* (*mā-* 'measure'), *mumucré*, *yuyujré*, *riricré*,

<sup>1</sup> With strong radical vowel: cp. p. 356, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> With passive sense.

<sup>3</sup> Omitted by AVERY 250.

<sup>4</sup> From *dhanv-* a transfer root from *dhan-* 'run'. Cp. WHITNEY, Roots 81.

<sup>5</sup> From *nakṣ-* 'attain', a secondary form of *naś-* 'attain'; cp. WHITNEY, Roots 87.

<sup>6</sup> IV. 43<sup>7</sup>. This form (which is perhaps rather to be taken as 1. sing.) may be formed from *praks-*, a secondary form of *prach-* 'ask'; cp. BENFEY, O. u. O. 3, 256; DELBRÜCK p. 126<sup>4</sup>; WHITNEY, Roots, and BR. s. v. *prach-*.

<sup>7</sup> *paprē*, given by AVERY 250 with a query, does not seem to occur in the RV.

<sup>8</sup> From *mikṣ-*, a desiderative formation from *miś-*; cp. WHITNEY, Roots.

<sup>9</sup> *yeje* occurs three times in the RV. (only with *ā-* and *pra-*), *ījé* occurs twice as 3. sing., once as 1. sing.

<sup>10</sup> WHITNEY, Roots, under *vas-* 'clothe'. This form is placed by BR. and GRASSMANN under a root *vas-* 'aim'.

<sup>11</sup> X. 104<sup>10</sup> (AVERY *sāsahe*), Pada text *sasāhé*.

<sup>12</sup> VIII. 96<sup>15</sup>, (AVERY *sāsāhe*), Pada text *sasāhe* cp. RPr. 580, 582, 587, 589.

<sup>13</sup> This seems to be an anomalous form for *ūhāthe* (*ūh-* 'consider'; cp. GRASSMANN).

<sup>14</sup> Irregular form (RV<sup>1</sup>) for *\*cikyāthe*.

<sup>15</sup> Thus irregularly accented v. 66<sup>2</sup>. This form, *āsāte*, also occurs five times unaccented.

<sup>16</sup> The AV. has also the transfer form *vāvr̥dhāte*.

<sup>17</sup> See notes on AV. XVIII. 34<sup>6</sup> in WHITNEY's Translation.

*rirudhre*, *vāvakre* (*vañc-* 'move crookedly')<sup>1</sup>, *vāvāsre*<sup>2</sup> (*vās-* 'bellow'), *vivjre*, *vidre*<sup>3</sup>, *vividre*, *vivipre*, *vivišre*, *śāśadrē*. — With connecting *-i-*: *arhire*<sup>3</sup>, *āšire* (Kh. I. 11<sup>1</sup>), *ījire* (√*yaj-*), *īdhire* (√*idh-*), *īrīre*<sup>4</sup>, *īšire*<sup>5</sup> (*iṣ-* 'send', AV.), *ūcīre* (√*vac-*, AV.), *ūhīre* (√*vah-*), *cakrīre*, *cacaksīre* (VS. XL. 10 : Up.), *jāgmire*, *jajīrē* (√*jan-*), *jabhīrē* (√*bhṛ-*), *jihīrē* (√*hū-*), *tataksīre*, *tatnīre* (√*tan-*), *tastrīre*<sup>6</sup> (√*str-*, AV.), *tenīre* (√*tan-*, VS. TS. AV.), *dadhanvīre*<sup>7</sup>, *dadhīre* (Kh. I. 4<sup>3</sup>), *dadhīre* (√*dhr-*), *pāpīre* (*pā-* 'drink'), *bedhīre* (√*bandh-*, AV.), *bhejīre* (√*bhag-*), *mīmīksīre* (√*mīks-* 'mix', and √*myaks-*), *yetīre* (√*yat-*), *yemīre* (√*yam-*), *rirucīre* (Kh. I. 12<sup>1</sup>), *rebhīre* (√*rabh-*), *lebhīre* (√*labh-*), *vavaksīre*, *vavandīre*, *vavāsīre*, *śaścīre* (√*sac-*), *secīre* (√*sac-*, AV.), *sedīre* (√*sad-*). — With ending *-rīre*: *cikīrīre* (√*cit-*), *jaḡbhīrīre*, *dadrīre* (√*dā-*), *bubhujīrīre*, *vividrīre*, *śaṣjīrīre*.

### Moods of the Perfect.

486. Modal forms of the perfect are of rare occurrence in the Samhitās except the RV. They are made from the perfect stem in the same way as from the present stem. It is, however, not always possible to distinguish modal forms of the perfect from those of other reduplicated stems (present reduplicating class, reduplicated aorist, and intensive) either in form (because the reduplication is in many instances the same) or in meaning (because the perfect is often used in a present sense).

### Perfect Subjunctive.

487. The normal method of forming the stem is to add *-a*<sup>8</sup> to the strong perfect stem, accented on the radical syllable. In the active the secondary endings are more usual; e. g. *tuṣṭāv-a-t*. If the primary endings are added in the active, the reduplicative syllable is in several forms<sup>9</sup> accented, as *jīljoṣ-a-si*<sup>10</sup>. In about a dozen forms, nearly all with secondary endings, the weak stem<sup>11</sup> is employed, but whether the reduplicative syllable was then accented is uncertain, because the examples that occur are unaccented. Middle forms, numbering not many more than a dozen, occur only in the 3. sing., with the ending *-te*, and in the 3. pl. with the ending *-anta*.

**Active. Sing. 1.** *anajā*<sup>12</sup>. — **2.** *jīljoṣasi*, *dīdāyasi*, *pāpṛcasi*<sup>13</sup>; *cakradas*, *cākānas*, *cikītas* (√*cit-*), *jīljoṣas*, *tatanas*, *dadāśas*, *dīdāyas*, *pāpṛāthas*, *pīpṛayas*, *bubodhas*, *mamādas*, *māmāhas*, *mumucas*<sup>14</sup>, *rārāṇas*, *sāsāhas*, *śiṣūdas*.

**3.** *ciketati* (√*cit-*), *jīljoṣati*, *dīdāśati*, *dadhārṣati*, *dīdeśati*<sup>15</sup>, *dīdāyati*, *bilbodhati*, *mumocati*, *vavārtati*; *cākānat*, *cākīpat* (AV.), *ciketati* (√*cit-*), *jaḡhānat*, *jabhārat*, *jugurat* (*gur-* = *gr-* 'greet'), *jīljoṣat*, *jūjūvat*<sup>14</sup>, *tatānat*, *tuṣṭāvat*, *dīdāśat*, *dadhānat*, *dadhārṣat*, *pāpṛāthāt*, *pāpṛāṣat*, *pīpṛāyat*, *mamādat* (AV.), *mamādat*, *dīdāyat*, *mumucat*<sup>14</sup>, *mumurat* (*mur-* = *mr-* 'crush'), *mumūcat*, *rārānat*, *vavārtat* and *vavṛiat*<sup>14</sup>, *vāvanat* (TS. II. 4. 5<sup>1</sup>), *vividat*<sup>14</sup>, *śuśravat*, *śuśuvāt*<sup>14</sup>, *sāsāhat*, *śuśūdāt*.

<sup>1</sup> With reversion to the original guttural.

<sup>2</sup> With shortening of the radical vowel.

<sup>3</sup> Without reduplication.

<sup>4</sup> In RV. regularly *erire*, Pp. *ā-īrīre* (but in 1. 6<sup>4</sup> for *erīre* the accentuation should be *erīre* = *ā-īrīre*). The AV. has once *sa-m-īrīre* (XIV. 146).

<sup>5</sup> *īšire* with irregular accent is probably to be regarded as a present (450, 2).

<sup>6</sup> IF. 8, Anzeiger 13.

<sup>7</sup> From the secondary root *dhanu-* = *dhan-* 'run'.

<sup>8</sup> Two subjunctive forms with double modal sign *-ā-* occur: *pāpṛcāsi* and *vāvṛdhāti*.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. the accentuation of the reduplicating class.

<sup>10</sup> Except the forms *dīdāyasi*, *dīdāyati*, *dadhārṣati* and *vavārtati*.

<sup>11</sup> The two roots *muc-* and *dhrṣ-* make subjunctive forms from both the strong and weak stem.

<sup>12</sup> RV. v. 54<sup>1</sup>: this form (Pp. *anajā*) is regarded by DELBRÜCK 126<sup>b</sup> and AVERY 251 as a 2. pl. ind.

<sup>13</sup> With double modal sign *-ā-*.

<sup>14</sup> With weak radical syllable.

<sup>15</sup> Always *ā-dīdeśati* in relative clauses.

Du. 2. *ciketathas, jījoṣathas; nīnthas*<sup>1</sup> (I. 181<sup>1</sup>).

Pl. 1. *cākānāma, tatānāma, śūśāvāma*. — 2. *jījoṣatha, bubodhatha*. — 3. *jujūṣan*<sup>2</sup>, *jījoṣan, tatānan, paprāthan, mamādan*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *śaśvacāi*<sup>3</sup> (√śvañc-). — 3. *jījoṣate*<sup>4</sup>, *tatāpate, dadhṛṣate*<sup>2</sup>, *juyjāte, vāvṛdhate*<sup>2</sup>, *śaśamate* (śam- 'labour'). — Pl. 1. *anśāmahai*.

### Perfect Injunctive.

488. There are a few singular active and 3. pl. middle forms which must be classed as injunctives, being identical in form with the corresponding un-augmented persons of the pluperfect. These are: Sing. 2. *śaśās* (= \*śaśās-s). — 3. *dūdhot* (*dhū-* 'shake'), *śiṣet*<sup>5</sup> (*si-* 'bind'); *sasvār* (= \*sasvar-t, from svar- 'sound'); with connecting -ṛ-: *dadharṣīt*.

Pl. 3. *cākramanta, cākānanta, tatānanta, dadabhanta, paprathanta, māmahanta, rurucanta*<sup>2</sup>, *vāvṛdhānta*<sup>2</sup>, *vivyacanta*.

### Perfect Optative.

489. This mood is formed by adding the accented optative modal suffix combined with the endings (416a) to the weak perfect stem. The active forms are the commonest, occurring more than twice as often as those of the middle.

a. There are a few irregularities in the formation of this mood. 1. The radical vowels of *pā-* 'drink', *śru-* 'hear', and *kr-* 'make', being treated as before the -ya of the passive (444), the stems of these roots appear before the optative suffix as *pāp-*, *śrūp-*, and *akrī-*. — 2. The vowel of the reduplicative syllable *ān-* is shortened (as if it contained the augment) in *ānājyāt* (√ahj-). — 3. A connecting -ṛ- is interposed in *jakṣ-ṛ-jyāt*, while the radical *i* is combined with the ending in *śiṣṛita*. — 4. A transfer according to the analogy of the *a-* conjugation is *ririṣes*; possibly also *śiṣet*<sup>6</sup>.

Active. Sing. 1. *ānaśyām; jagamyām, papṛcyām, riricyām, vavṛtyām*.

2. *cakriyās*<sup>7</sup>, *juguryās* (*gur-* = *gr-* 'greet'), *pūpūsyās, pūpūryās* (*pur-* = *pr-*, 'fill'), *babhūyās, rurucyās, vavṛtyās, vivīsyās, śrūśryās*<sup>8</sup>.

3. *anājyāt; cacchadyāt, jakṣyāt*<sup>9</sup> (*gha-* 'eat'), *jagamyāt, jagāyāt* (*gā-* 'go'), *jagrṛbhyāt, juguryāt, tutuṛjyāt, tuturyāt* (√tur- = *tṛ-*), *ninīyāt*<sup>10</sup>, *papatyāt* (AV.), *pāpyāt*<sup>11</sup> (*pā-* 'drink'), *papṛcyāt, babhūyāt, māmadyāt, riricyāt, vavṛtyāt, sasadyāt* (AV.), *sasṛjyāt, sāsahyāt*.

Du. 2. *jagamyātām, śrūśryātām*.

Pl. 1. *tuturyāma, vavṛtyāma, śūśuyāma, sāsahyāma*.

3. *jagamyur, tatanyur, dadhanyur, mamṛdyur, vavṛjyūr, vavṛtyur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *vavṛtīya*. — 2. *cakṣamīthās, vāvṛdhīthās*. — 3. *jagrasīta, dudhuvīta, māmṛjīta, vavṛtīta, śiṣṛitā* (*śri-* 'resort'), *śusucīta*.

Pl. 1. *vavṛtīmahi*.

There also occurs in the middle one precative form: Sing. 2. *sāsah-ṛ-ṣthās*.

### Perfect Imperative.

490. The regular perfect imperative is formed like the present imperative of the reduplicating class, the 3. sing. active being strong. Hardly more

<sup>1</sup> Abnormal form without modal sign or strong radical vowel; cp. HIRT, IF. 12, 220.

<sup>2</sup> With weak radical syllable.

<sup>3</sup> This form occurs only once (III. 33<sup>10</sup>) beside the s-aor. *naṃsai*, and may therefore be an irregular redupl. aorist, to which it is doubtfully assigned by WHITNEY 863 a.

<sup>4</sup> SV. *jūjōṣate*.

<sup>5</sup> This form, however, might be a transfer present optative from *sā-* (the collateral form

of the root *si-*) according to the reduplicating class; or a reduplicated aorist injunctive (GRASSMANN and WHITNEY 868 a).

<sup>6</sup> See note 5 on this form.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. v. NEGELEIN 66.

<sup>8</sup> With lengthened radical vowel.

<sup>9</sup> With interposed -ṛ-.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. HIRT, IF. 12, 220.

<sup>11</sup> With change of the final radical vowel *ā* to *ṛ*.

than twenty regular forms occur, nearly all of them being active. There are also some irregular imperatives, being transfer forms which follow the analogy of the *a*- conjugation, made from either the strong or the weak perfect stem.

**Active. Sing. 2.** *cakandhi*, *cikiddhi* (√*cit*-), *didiḍḍhi*<sup>1</sup> (√*diś*-), *pīprīhi*, *mumugdhi* (√*muc*-), *śaśādhi* (√*śās*- 'order'), *śusugdhi* (√*śuc*-).

**3.** *cakantu*, *dideṣtu*<sup>2</sup>, *babhūtu*<sup>3</sup>, *mamāntu*, *mumoktu*, *vārantu*.

**Du. 2.** *jajastām*<sup>3</sup> (*jas*- 'be exhausted'), *mumuktam*, *vavṛktam*.

**Pl. 2.** *jujūṣṭana*, *didiṣṭana* (√*diś*-), *vavṛttana*<sup>4</sup>.

**Middle. Sing. 2.** *dadhiṣvā*, *mimikṣvā*<sup>5</sup>, *vavṛtsvā*<sup>6</sup>.

**Pl. 2.** *dadhidhvam*, *vavṛddhvam*<sup>7</sup> (VIII. 20<sup>18</sup>). — **3.** With the unique ending *-rām*: *dadṛśrām* (AV<sup>1</sup>).<sup>8</sup> 'let be seen'.

**a.** The transfer forms are:

**Active. Du. 2.** *jujoṣatam*, *mumōcatam*. — **Pl. 2.** *mumōcata*<sup>9</sup>, *rarāṇdātā*<sup>10</sup> (I. 17<sup>11</sup>).

**Middle. Sing. 2.** *pīprāyasva*, *māmahasva*, *vāvṛdhasva*, *vāvṛṣasva*. — **Pl. 3.** *māmahanām*.

### Perfect Participle.

WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 802—807. — DELBRÜCK, Verbum 229. — LINDNER 84 and 216.

**491.** There is an active and a middle participle, and both occur frequently. Both are formed from the weak stem of the perfect, being accented on the suffix. The strong form is made by adding the suffix *-vāms* to the unstrengthened perfect stem; e. g. *cakr-vāms*, *jaghan-vāms*. If the stem is reduced to a monosyllable, the suffix is nearly always added with the connecting vowel *-i*-<sup>11</sup>, as *papt-i-vāms*- from *pat*- 'fall'. Unreduplicated stems, however, do not take the connecting vowel<sup>12</sup>, as *vid-vāms*-. The weak stem of the active participle is identical in form with the 3. pl. ind. act. if written with *-us* instead of *-ur*; e. g. *cakrus*-. The middle participle is formed by adding the suffix *-ānā* to the weak perfect stem; thus from *cakr*- is made *cakr-ānā*-.

### Active.

**492.** *cakrvāms*-<sup>13</sup>, *cakhvāms*-<sup>14</sup>, *cikitvāms*- (f. *cikitīṣṭ*-), *jaganvāms*- (f. *jagmīṣṭ*-), *jagrbhvāms*-, *jagnivāms*- (TS. IV. 2. 1<sup>1</sup> for RV. X. 1<sup>1</sup> *jaganvāms*-), *jaghanvāms*- (f. *ā-jaghnūṣṭ*-), *jānivāms*-<sup>15</sup>, *jigtvāms*- (*ji*- 'conquer'), *jujurvāms*-

<sup>1</sup> WHITNEY, Roots 73, doubtfully assigns this and the cognate forms *dideṣati*, *didiṣṭa* to the reduplicating present class.

<sup>2</sup> With *ū* unchanged, as elsewhere in strong forms.

<sup>3</sup> Beside ind. *jajāsa* (AV.). WHITNEY, Roots 53, assigns this form to the reduplicated aor. beside 3. sing. *ajjāsata* (SB.).

<sup>4</sup> Given by AVEY 268 as a reduplicated aorist in the form of *vavṛtana* (sic).

<sup>5</sup> For *\*mimikṣvā*. WHITNEY, Roots 120, assigns this form to the reduplicating present class.

<sup>6</sup> WHITNEY, Roots 164, assigns this form to the reduplicating present class.

<sup>7</sup> Written *vavṛddhvam*.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. XII. 333.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps also *śuśūdātā* (AV. I. 26<sup>4</sup>) placed by WHITNEY, Roots 188, under the perfect, but, Sanskrit Grammar 871, doubtfully under the reduplicated aorist.

<sup>10</sup> Owing to the strong radical vowel this should perhaps be regarded rather as a 2. pl. subjunctive. (The final vowel is long in the Pada text also.) The accent of these transfer forms was perhaps, except when the radical syllable was strong, normally on the thematic *-a*-. Cp. WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 815.

<sup>11</sup> Not, however, in *dadvāms*-, nor in the problematic form *cakhvāmsam* (II. 14<sup>4</sup>), which seems to be formed from a root *khā*-.

<sup>12</sup> Except *viśivāms*-. (AV.).

<sup>13</sup> With the weak stem in the acc. sing. *cakrīṣam* (X. 137<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>14</sup> Without connecting vowel.

<sup>15</sup> Only the weak stem of this participle occurs in the form *vi-jānūṣ-aḥ*; cp. above 482 e.

(*jur* = *jr* 'waste away'), *jujuṣvāms*-, *jūjuvāms*-, *tatanvāms*-, *tastabhvāms*-, *tasthi-vāms*-(f. *tasthīṣṭ*-), *titirvāms*-, *tuṣṭuvāms*-(*V* *stu*-), *dadaṣvāms*-(*damṣ* 'bite'), *dadasvāms*-, *dadāvāms*-(AV.), *dadāṣṭ*-, *dadivāms*-(AV.), *dadrivāms*-(f. *dadrīṣṭ*-, AV., *dr* 'pierce'), *dadrīṣvāms*-(f. *dadrīṣṭ*-), *dadvāms*-(*dā* 'give'), *dadhanvāms*-, *dadhrīṣvāms*-, *didivāms*-, *pāpivāms*-(*pā* 'drink'), *pāprvāms*-(f. *pāprīṣṭ*-; *pr* 'fill'), *pīpivāms*-(f. *pīpīṣṭ*-; *pī* 'swell'), *pupuvāms*-, *bābhūvāms*-(f. *bābhūṣṭ*-), *bībhūvāms*-(f. *bībhīṣṭ*-), *mamandīṣṭ*-, *mamrvāms*-(f. *mamrīṣṭ*-; *mṛ* 'die'); *yayī-vāms*-(*Yā*-, *rari-vāms*-(f. *rārīṣṭ*-, AV.), *ririkvāms*-(*ī* 'ric'), *ririhvāms*-, *rurukvāms*-(*V* *ruc*-), *vāvanvāms*-, *vavarjīṣṭ*-, *vavrvāms*-(*vṛ* 'cover'), *vavrtvāms*-, *vāvrdhvāms*-, *vivikvāms*-(*vic* 'sift'), *vividvāms*-, *vividhvāms*-(*V* *yadh*-), *śusukvāms*-(*V* *śuc*-), *śusruvāms*-, *śūśuvāms*-, *sasavāms*-, *sasrvāms*-(f. *sasrīṣṭ*-), *sāsahvāms*-, *susūpvāms*-(*V* *svap*-), *susuvāms*-, *sedīṣṭ*-(*sad* 'sit').

a. With connecting *-i*: *ārīvāms* presupposed by f. *ārīṣṭ*-(*r* 'go'), *zyīvāms*-(f. *zyīṣṭ*-), *ūśīvāms*-(*vas* 'dwell'), *ūśīṣṭ*-(TS. IV. 3. 11<sup>5</sup>: *vas* 'shine'), *okīvāms*-(weak stem *ūc-īṣ*-, *V* *uc*-), *jakṣīvāms*-(*ghas* 'eat', VS. AV. TS.), *jajīvāms*-(*V* *jā*-), *pāpīvāms*-, *vīviśīvāms*-(TS. IV. 7. 15<sup>1</sup>). Also the negative compound *ā-saścivāms* presupposed by the feminine *ā-saścuṣṭ*-.

b. Without reduplication: *dāśvāms*-, *vidvāms*-(f. *vidīṣṭ*-), *sāhvāms*-, perhaps also *khīdvāms* in the voc. *khīdvas*. Similarly formed is *mīdhvāms*-(f. *mīdhīṣṭ*-) 'bountiful', though the root is not found in independent use. With irregular connecting *-i*: *dāśīvāms*-(SV.), *vīśīvāms*-(AV.), and the negative compound *ā-varjivāms* presupposed by the f. *ā-varjīṣṭ*-(AV.).

#### Middle.

493. *ākṣānā*-(*V* *ākṣ*-), *ānajanā*-(*V* *añj*-), *ānasānā*-(*V* *amṣ*-, AV.), *ārānā*-, *āpānā*-, *ījānā*-(*V* *yaj*-), *ūcānā*-(*V* *vac*-), *cakamānā*-(AV.), *cakānā*-(*V* *kā*-), *cakramānā*-, *cakrānā*-, *cakṣadānā*-, *cakṣabhānā*-(AV.), *cikitānā*-(*V* *cit*-), *jagrasānā*-, *jagmānā*-, *jajjānā*-(*V* *jan*-), *jāhṛṣānā*-, *jihīlānā*-, *jujuṣānā*-, *juhurānā*-(*V* *hur*-), *jūjuvānā*-, *tātrānā*-, *tastabhānā*-, *tasthānā*-, *tātrpānā*-, *tātrāsānā*-, *tīviśānā*-, *tistirānā*-(*V* *stī*-), *tuṣṭuvānā*-, *tūtujānā*-(*V* *tap*-), *tepānā*-(*V* *tap*-), *dadānā*-, *dadrānā*-, *dadrānā*-(*drā* 'run'), *dādrhānā*-, *didyutānā*-, *duduhānā*-, *pāpānā*-(*pā* 'drink'), *pāprathānā*-, *pāspasānā*-, *pāsprdhānā*-, *pīpīyānā*-, *pīpyānā*-, *bābṛhānā*-, *bābṛhānā*-, *bubudhānā*-, *bhejānā*-, *māmahānā*-, *mimucānā*-(AV.), *yuyujānā*-, *yemānā*-(*V* *yam*-), *rārānā*-, *rārakṣānā*-, *rārahānā*-(*ramh* 'hasten'), *riricānā*-, *rurucānā*-, *rebhānā*-(AV.), *lebhānā*-(*V* *labh*-), 1. *vāvasānā*-(*vas* 'desire'), 2. *vāvasānā*-(*vās* 'bellow'), 1. *vāvasānā*-(*vas* 'wear'), 2. *vāvasānā*-(*vas* 'dwell'), 3. *vāvasānā*-(*vas* 'aim'), *vāvrdhānā*-, *vāvṛṣānā*-, *vīryānā*-(*V* *ryā*-), *śaśamānā*-(*ś* 'lie'), *śaśayānā*-(*śt* 'lie'), *śaśānā*-(*śā* 'sharpen', AV.), *śaśramānā*-,

<sup>1</sup> There also occurs the weak stem *tatarīṣ*-, to be read *sasavāms*-(cp. the f. *sasaniṣṭ* in B.); see ARNOLD, Vedic metre p. 144<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> With strong stem instead of weak.

<sup>3</sup> Given under *drā* 'run' in the AV. Index Verborum, but translated by WHITNEY, AV. V. 13<sup>8</sup>, as from *dr* 'pierce'.

<sup>4</sup> With reversion to the original guttural.

<sup>5</sup> With strong radical vowel.

<sup>6</sup> The anomalous gen. sing. with an additional reduplicative syllable, *va-vāvṛṣ* as appears once (I. 173<sup>5</sup>); cp. ZDMG. 22, 605.

<sup>7</sup> There occurs once (IV. 217) the anomalous participle with pres. suffix *vāvṛdhāntas* (GRASSMANN, Aorist).

<sup>8</sup> From *san* 'gain'. The metre seems almost invariably to require this participle

to be read *sasavāms*-(cp. the f. *sasaniṣṭ* in B.); see ARNOLD, Vedic metre p. 144<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> With strong radical vowel and reversion to the original guttural.

<sup>10</sup> The *i* may here perhaps more correctly be regarded as a reduced form of the basic vowel, as in *dadi*-, *tasthi* etc.

<sup>11</sup> The *a* is not syncopated in *kam*- or *śam*-.

<sup>12</sup> Doubtfully assigned by WHITNEY, Roots, to the reduplicating class.

<sup>13</sup> More frequently with the intensive accent *tūtujānā*-.

<sup>14</sup> With the double irregularity of strong radical syllable and reduplication with *a*.

*śāsādana*<sup>1</sup> (*śad* 'prevail'), *śīśriyānā* (*śri* 'resort'), *śūśucānā*, *śūśujānā*<sup>2</sup>, *śūśuvānā*<sup>3</sup>, *śasṛjānā*, *śasṛānā*<sup>4</sup>, *śasṛajānā*, *śasahānā*<sup>5</sup>, *śiśmiyānā*, *śiśvidānā*, *śuśupānā* (*√svap*), *śuśvānā* (*su* 'press'), *śehānā* (*√sah*)<sup>5</sup>.

### Pluperfect.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 353. — Abhandlungen der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 15, p. 151—154. — DELBRÜCK, Verbum 419. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 253. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 817—820.

494. This tense, which is a pluperfect in form but not in meaning, is an augmented preterite made from the perfect stem. As in the perfect, the strong stem is used in the singular active, the weak elsewhere. The endings are the secondary ones; in the 3. pl. *-ur* always appears in the active and *-iran* in the middle. There is some difficulty in distinguishing this tense from the imperfect of the reduplicating class and from the reduplicating aorist<sup>6</sup>. Though its sense is the same as that of the imperfect, its forms may usually be distinguished (when the reduplication would be identical in both tenses) by the fact that the verb in question is not otherwise conjugated according to the reduplicating present class. On the other hand, the sense helps to distinguish the pluperfect from the aorist, when the reduplication would be identical in both tenses. With the aid of these criteria some sixty forms may be classed as belonging to the pluperfect. The augment is, as in other past tenses, dropped in several instances. The *-s* and *-t* of the 2. 3. sing. are in some forms preserved by an interposed *-ī-* (as in the aorist). Several transfer forms according to the *a*-conjugation are met with in this tense.

495. Active. Sing. 1. *acacakṣam*, *ajagrabham*, *atuṣṭavam*; *āpiprayam*<sup>7</sup> (TS. v. 1. 113; VS. XXIX. 7); *cakaram*, *ciketam* (*√cit*), *jagrabham* (AV.).

2. *ājagan*<sup>8</sup>; *āīyes*<sup>9</sup> (v. 2<sup>8</sup>); *cākān*, *nanāmas*. — With *-ī-*: *ābubhojīs*, *āviveṣīs*, *āviveṣīs*; *jīhijīsīs*<sup>10</sup> (AV.).

3. *ājagan*<sup>11</sup>, *aciket* (*√cit*); *rārān*<sup>12</sup>. — With *-ī-*: *acucyavīt*<sup>13</sup>, *ājagrabhīt*, *arirecīt*, *āvāvacīt*, *āvāvarīt*<sup>14</sup>. — With thematic *-a-*: *acakrať*, *acikitať* and *acikitať* (*√cit*), *adadhāvat*<sup>15</sup> 'ran', *aśuśravat*<sup>16</sup> (MS.), *āsasvajat*; *cakradat*, *jagrabhat* (VS. XXXII. 2), *tastāmbhat* (I. 1213).

Du. 2. *ātataṣṣatam*<sup>17</sup>, *amumuktam*; *mumuktam*. — 3. *avāvaśītām* (*vaś* 'desire').

Pl. 2. *ājaganta*; *ājagantana*, *ajabhartana*<sup>18</sup>. — With *-ī-*: *acucyavītana*<sup>13</sup>.

3. *ācucyavur*, *āśīśrayur*, *aśuśravur*<sup>19</sup>, *ābībhayur* (Kh. I. 75).

Middle. Sing. 1. *āśuśravi*. — 3. *didīṣṭa* (*√diś*).

Du. 2. *āpasprdhethām*<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> With the intensive accent.

<sup>2</sup> With the intensive accent and regarded by WHITNEY, Roots 174, and by LINDNER, Nominalbildung p. 54, as an intensive.

<sup>3</sup> With the intensive accent and assigned by LINDNER, l. c., to the intensive, but by WHITNEY, Roots 175, to the perfect.

<sup>4</sup> Once also anomalously with *-māna*: *śasṛmānā*.

<sup>5</sup> *śāsahānā*—once in RV., *śehānā*—thrice, from *√sah*.

<sup>6</sup> On such doubtful forms see specially DELBRÜCK, Verbum 158 (p. 135 f.).

<sup>7</sup> WHITNEY 866 also quotes *āpiprayan* from the TS.

<sup>8</sup> For *\*ā-jagam-s*.

<sup>9</sup> BENFEY (p. 152) and DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 123 and 128, regard this form as a plu-

perfect of *i*- 'go' (= *ā-iy-e-s*), WHITNEY, Roots, as pluperfect of *iṣ-* or *eṣ-* 'move' (= *ā-iy-eṣ*), ROTH and GRASSMANN as aorist of *√iṣ*.

<sup>10</sup> With irregular accent.

<sup>11</sup> For *\*ā-jagam-t*.

<sup>12</sup> From *ran*- 'rejoice' (I. 12212).

<sup>13</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 868 a.

<sup>14</sup> From *vṛ-* 'cover'; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 122<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> WHITNEY regards this form as an aorist, but the reduplicative vowel is that of the pluperfect, while the sense (IX. 877) does not seem decisive.

<sup>16</sup> WHITNEY 866.

<sup>17</sup> Transfer form.

<sup>18</sup> With strong radical vowel.

<sup>19</sup> These three are, however, classed by WHITNEY 861, and Roots, as aorists.

Pl. 3. *ācakṛiran*, *ājagmīran*, *āpecīran* (√*pac*, AV.); *avacṛītran*; *āsasygram*<sup>1</sup>. — **Transfer forms** according to the *a*- conjugation: *ātītiṣanta*, *ādadarhanta*, *ādadarhanta* (TS. IV. 6. 2<sup>4</sup>), *dvīvaśanta* (*vāś*- 'bellow'); *cakṛpānta*, *dādhr̥ṣanta* (AV.), *vīvaśanta* (*vāś*- 'bellow'). — **With ending -ranta**: *avacṛītranta*.

### Periphrastic Perfect.

496. This formation made with the reduplicated perfect of *kr*- 'make' which governs the acc. of a fem. substantive in *-ā* derived from a secondary (causative) verbal stem, is found only once in the Mantra portion of the Vedas: *gamayāṇ cakṛta* (AV. XVIII. 2<sup>27</sup>) 'he caused to go' (lit. 'he made a causing to go'). In the Brāhmaṇa portions of the Saṃhitās (TS. MS. K.), such periphrastic forms (made even with an aorist) are occasionally met with.<sup>2</sup>

### III. The Aorist System.

497. The aorist is of frequent occurrence in the Vedas, being made from about 450 roots. An augmented tense taking the secondary endings and forming moods and participles, it is distinguished from the imperfect by lack of a corresponding present<sup>3</sup> (e. g. 3. sing. aor. *ā-kar*, 3. sing. imp. *ā-kṛṇot*, 3. sing. pres. *kṛṇōti*) and by difference of meaning (*ākar* 'he has done', *ākr̥ṇot*, 'he did').

There are three distinct types of aorist.

1. The **simple aorist** adds the endings to the root either directly or with the connecting vowel *-a-*. It thus resembles the imperfect of the root-class or of the accented *d*- class. This type of aorist is formed by nearly 170 roots. Some nine or ten roots have, beside the regular forms of the simple aorist, a certain number of other forms which have the appearance of indicatives present. They seem to represent a transition to the formation of a new present stem. The most striking example is the aorist stem *voca-* from which the 3. sing. *vocati* occurs several times.

2. The **reduplicated aorist** resembles the imperfect of the reduplicating present class. It is, however, distinguishable from the latter not only in meaning, but by a certain peculiarity of reduplication and by being nearly always formed with a connecting *-a-*. This type of aorist is taken by about 85 roots.

3. The **sigmatic aorist** inserts *-s-*, with or without an added *-a-*, between the root and the endings. It is taken by rather more than 200 roots.

Thus each of the three types has one form following the analogy of the graded conjugation, and another following that of the *a*- conjugation. The sigmatic aorist has, however, further subdivisions.

Upwards of 50 roots take more than one form of the aorist. One verb, *budh*- 'wake', has even forms from five varieties of the aorist; from two of the first type, e. g. *ā-bodh-i* and *budhā-nta*; from one of the second, e. g. *a-būbudh-a-t*; and from two of the third, e. g. *ā-bhūt-s-i* and *bōdh-i-s-a-t*.

<sup>1</sup> With reversion to the original guttural.

<sup>2</sup> See WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1073 a, b; JACOBI, KZ. 35: 578—587; BÖHTLINGK, ZDMG. 52, article 11; DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax 426 f.; LUDWIG, Sitzungsber. d. kgl. Böhm. Ges. d. W., phil.-hist. Kl. Nr. XIII.

<sup>3</sup> There are, however, sometimes sporadic forms from the same stem as the aorist beside the normal ones; thus the 2. du. pres. *kr-thās* occurs besides the numerous regular forms of the *mu*- class.

## 1. Simple Aorist.

## A. Root Aorist.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 840. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 253–256. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar, 299–304; Roots 222 f.; AV. Index Verborum 380.

498. This form of the simple aorist is taken by about 100 roots (and by more than 80 of these in the RV.), the commonest being those with medial *a* (nearly 30 in number). It is inflected in both the active and the middle voice. The root is strong in the indicative active singular, but weak elsewhere. Roots ending in vowels, however, show a tendency to retain the strong vowel throughout the indicative active except the 3. plural.

a. Roots ending in *ā*, of which there are some eight, retain the *ā* throughout the indicative active except the 3. pl., where they drop it before the ending which in these verbs is invariably *-ur*. In the middle indicative, the radical vowel is weakened to *i*¹.

The forms which occur from these roots, if made from *sthā*- 'stand', would be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *dsthām*. 2. *dsthās*. 3. *dsthāt*. — Du. 2. *dsthātām*. 3. *dsthātām*. — Pl. 1. *dsthāma*. 2. *dsthāta*. 3. *dsthur*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *dsthithās*. 3. *dsthita*. — Pl. 1. *dsthimahi*. 3. *dsthiran*.

b. Roots ending in *r*, of which there are some ten, take *Guṇa* throughout the indicative active except the 3. pl. Roots ending in *i* and *ū* (of which, however, few dual and plural forms occur) show the same tendency. The root *bhū*- 'be' retains its *ū* throughout (as in the perfect), interposing *v* between it and a following *a*. The forms met with from *kr*- 'make' are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *dkaram*. 2. *dkār*. 3. *dkar*. — Du. 2. *kartam* (AV.). 3. *dkartām*. — Pl. 1. *dkarma*. 2. *dkarta*. 3. *dkran*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *akri*. 2. *dkrthās*. 3. *dkryta*. — Pl. 3. *dkrata*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

## Indicative Active.

499. Sing. 1. *dkaram*, *dgamam*², *agām* (*gā*- 'go'), *dgrabham*, *adhām*, *dpām*³ (*pā*- 'drink'), *abhuvam*⁴, *abhedam*, *arodham* (*rudh*- 'hinder'), *dsravam*, *asthām* (AV.); *karam*, *gamam*, *gām* (AV.), *dām*⁵, *dhām* (AV.), *vam*⁶ (*vr*- 'cover').

2. *agās*, *adās*⁷, *dpās*, *apras*, *abhūs*, *dsres*, *dsthās*; *gās*, *dās*, *dhās*, *bhūs*, *sthās*. — With loss of ending: *akar*, *dkrān* (√*krand*-), *agan*⁸, *aghas*, *avar* (*vr*- 'cover'), *aspar*; *ānaṣ*⁹, *āvar* (*vr*- 'cover'); *kar*, *kran*¹⁰ (√*krām*-), *bhet* (√*bhid*-), *vār*, *vdark*¹¹.

3. *dgāt*, *acet*¹² (*ci*- 'collect'), *ādāt*¹², *ddhāt* (*dihā*- 'put'), *adhāt* (*dihā*- 'suck', AV.), *dpāt*, *aprāt* (AV.), *dbhūt*, *dsret* (√*śri*-), *dsrot*, *dsthāt*,

¹ As in the perfect before consonant endings and in the past passive participle, e. g. *ta-sthi-se* (AV.), and *sthi-tā*- from *sihā*- 'stand'.

² This might also be the sing. 1. of the thematic aorist *dgama-i* etc.

³ No forms of *pā*- 'protect' are made according to this aorist, while *pā*- 'drink' (present stem *piba*-) has no forms from the root in the present system except *pānti* (RV¹.) and *pāthās* (AV¹.), but perhaps even these are rather to be taken as meant for aorist forms; cp. p. 369, note ¹ and p. 368, note ¹⁰.

⁴ With the usual absence of *Guṇa* in this root; later *abhuvam*.

⁵ There is also the transfer form *ddam*

(1. 126²), which though not analyzed in the Pada text, appears to stand for *ā-adam* as indicated by both sense and accent.

⁶ For *varam* formed by false analogy as a first person to 2. sing. *vah* (for *\*var-s*) appearing as if formed with the *-s* of 2. sing.

⁷ There is also the transfer form *ādas* (1. 121⁸), which though not analyzed in the Pada text, is shown by both sense and accent to stand for *ā-adas*.

⁸ For *\*ā-gam-s*.

⁹ For *\*ā-naṣ-s* from *naṣ*- 'attain', where *\*ānaṣ* would have been phonetic (54, 6).

¹⁰ For *\*krām-s*.

¹¹ For *\*varj-s* from *√varj*.

¹² There is also the transfer form *ādāt*



*asrat*<sup>1</sup> (VS. VIII. 28); *gāt, dāt, dhāt*<sup>2</sup>, *bhūt, sthāt*. — With loss of ending: *ākar, ākran*<sup>3</sup> (√*kram*-), *ākrān* (√*krañ*-), *agan, aghas, ācet* (cit- 'observe'), *atan, adar* (dr- 'pierce'), *abhet, ābhrāt* (√*bhrāj*-), *amok* (√*muc*-, AV.), *ānyak* (√*nyaks*-), *āvant*<sup>4</sup>, *avrk*<sup>5</sup> (AV.), *āstar; ānat, āvar; kar, gan, na* (√*naś*- 'attain', AV.), *bhēt, vār, vark, skan* (√*skand*-).

Du. 2. *agātam* (AV.), *ābhūtam, amuktam* (Kh. I. 12<sup>6</sup>); *kartam* (AV.), *gātam* (AV.), *dātam, dhātam, spartam*.

3. *ākartām, agātām* (AV.), *ādhātām* (VS. XX. 57), *ānaṣtām* ('reach'), *āpātām* (VS. XXXVIII. 13), *ābhūtām; gātām* (AV.), *dātām*.

Pl. I. *ākarma, āganma, āgāma, ādarśma* (TS. III. 2. 5<sup>4</sup>), *ādāma*<sup>6</sup>, *āpāma, ābhūma*<sup>7</sup>, *āsthāma* (AV.), *āhema* (√*hi*-); *dhāma, bhūma* (AV.).

2. *ākarta, agāta* (AV.), *ābhūta; ābhūtana, āhetana; karta* (AV.) and *krta*<sup>8</sup> (AV.), *gāta* (AV.), *sthāta* (AV.).

3. *ākran* (√*kr*-), *āksan*<sup>9</sup> (√*ghas*-), *āgman, ābhūvan, avrjan, avrtan*<sup>10</sup> (AV.), *avran, āsriyan* (√*sri*-), *āsravan* (AV.), *āsvitan, ākryan* (√*hi*-), *āsthan*<sup>11</sup> (AV.); *kran* (AV.), *kṣan* (√*ghas*-), *gman, vran*. — With ending -ur: *ākramur, āgur, ādur, ādhur, āpur* (I. 164<sup>7</sup>), *āyamur, āsthur; gur, dabhūr, dūr, dhur, nrtur*<sup>12</sup>, *mandur, sthur*.

### Indicative Middle.

500. Sing. I. *akri, ajani, ayuji, avri* (vr- 'choose'), *ahvi* (√*hū*-, AV.).

2. *ākrthās, agathās* (VS. III. 19), *adhithās, āyukthās, āsthithās*.

3. *ākṛta, āgata* (AV.), *ādīṣta, adhita, aprkta* (√*prś*-), *āmata* (√*man*-), *amṛta* (AV.), *āyukta, āvrkta* (√*vrj*-), *avṛta* ('choose' and 'cover'), *āsrṣta, askṛta* (x. 127<sup>3</sup>), *āsthīta, āspaṣta* (√*spaś*-), *āśīta* (śr- 'sharpen'); *āyukta; āṛta* (r- 'go'), *āṣta* (aś- 'attain'); *ārta* (r- 'go'), *krta, gūrta* (gur- 'greet'), *gdha*<sup>13</sup>, *mṛta* (AV.).

Du. I. *gānvahi*. — 3. *ādhitām*<sup>14</sup> (√*dhā*-).

Pl. I. *āganmahi, adimahi* (TS. I. 8. 6<sup>2</sup>) and *adīmahi*<sup>14</sup> (VS. III. 58)<sup>15</sup>, *adhīmahi*<sup>14</sup> (√*dhā*-), *āpadmahi* (VS. IV. 29), *āmanmahi, ayujmahi, dhūmahi; dhīmahi*<sup>14</sup> (√*dhā*-).

2. *ācidhvam* (ci- 'note'), *āmugdhvam* (√*muc*-), *ayugdhvam*.

3. *ākṛata*<sup>16</sup>, *āgmata, ātmata; āṛata, āśata* (aś- 'attain'); *yujata*. — With the ending -ran: *ākṛpran*<sup>17</sup>, *agṛbhran, ajusran, ādṛsran, āpadran, ābudhran, āyujran, āvasran*<sup>18</sup> (vas- 'shine'), *āviśran, avṛtran, āsṛgran*<sup>19</sup>, *āsthiran, āsṛdhran*. — With ending -ram: *ādṛśram, ābudhram, āsṛgram*<sup>19</sup>.

(I. 127<sup>6</sup>, II. 124, V. 32<sup>8</sup>) which, though not analyzed in the Pada text, appears to stand for ā-adat.

<sup>1</sup> For \**asras-t*: see Sandhi p. 61<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Also the transfer form (*prāti*) *dhāt* (IV. 27<sup>5</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> For \**akram-t*.

<sup>4</sup> For \**āvant-t* from *vrt*- 'turn'.

<sup>5</sup> Seemingly with anomalously weak root for \**avrk-t*. But the form really stands by haplogy for the 3. sing. mid. *avrkta: āpāvrk tāmaḥ* (AV. XIII. 29) 'he has wasted away the darkness': see WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 40, 544-547.

<sup>6</sup> That is, in *ādāma* (v. 30<sup>15</sup>), which though not analyzed in the Pada text, must stand for ā-adāma.

<sup>7</sup> *arudhma* is quoted in WHITNEY's Roots as occurring in the MS. [I. 6<sup>5</sup>: 94, 6].

<sup>8</sup> Emendation for *krām* (AV. XIX. 44<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>9</sup> For *gh(a)san*.

<sup>10</sup> Misprinted as *acrta* in the text of AV.

III. 31<sup>1</sup>: see WHITNEY's note.

<sup>11</sup> Transfer form probably for *asthur* from *sthā*- 'stand'; see AJP. 12, 439; IF. 5, 388; KZ. 22, 435; WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 847, and his note on AV. XIII. 15.

<sup>12</sup> This form might be regarded as an un-augmented perfect.

<sup>13</sup> For *gh(a)ś-ia*, from √*ghas*-; cp. p. 56, 3.

<sup>14</sup> With *ī* for *i*; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 896; v. NEGELEIN 6<sup>1</sup>; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 297.

<sup>15</sup> From *dā*- 'share'.

<sup>16</sup> There is also the transfer form *krānta* (I. 141<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>17</sup> Cp. BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University Circular, Dec. 1906, p. 10.

<sup>18</sup> Cp. p. 327, note 7.

<sup>19</sup> With reversion to the original guttural.

## Passive Indicative of the Root Aorist.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum 181<sup>4</sup>. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 275. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 842—845; Roots 240. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 4. — Cp. OSTHOFF, IF. 3, 390; HIRT, IF. 17, 64 f.

501. There is a peculiar middle form, made from about 45 roots in the Samhitās (40 of them occurring in the RV.), which is used with a predominantly passive meaning<sup>1</sup>. When it is formed from verbs with a neuter signification, like *gam-* 'go', the sense remains unaltered (as in the past passive participle). It is a 3. sing. indicative, in which the augmented root takes the ending *-i*. This *-i*, otherwise the ending of the 1. sing. middle, appears to be used in the regular 3. sing. perfect middle (e. g. *dadhe*, 1. and 3. sing.), and sometimes in the 3. sing. present middle (e. g. *śāye*, 1. and 3. sing.). The characteristic feature of this passive form is the strengthening of the root as compared with other middle forms, e. g. *dkāri* beside *akri* (1. sing. mid.)<sup>2</sup>.

a. A prosodically short medial *i*, *u* or *r* takes *Guṇa*, while *a* is normally lengthened; a final *i*, *u* or *r* takes *Vṛddhi*, while final *ā* interposes a *y* before the ending. The accent in unaugmented forms is always on the root. The forms actually occurring are: Sing. 3. *dkāri*, *agāmi*, *āceti*, *acchedi*, *djani*<sup>3</sup>, *djñāyi*, *ātāpi*, *ādarśi*, *ādhyāyi*, *āpādi* (AV.), *āpāyi* ('drink'), *apṛāyi* (AV. VS.), *ābhoḍhi*, *ābhṛāji*, *amāyi* ('measure'), *āmōdi*, *āmyakṣi*, *dyāmi*, *dyāvī*<sup>4</sup> (VS. XXVIII. 15), *dyoji*, *ārādhi*, *aroci*, *avahi* (Kh. v. 153), *avāci*, *āvāri* ('cover'), *avedi* ('find'), *āsoci*, *āsrāyi* (*Vśri-*), *asarji*, *āsādi*, *āsāvi* (*Vsu-*), *āstāri*, *āstāvi*, *āhāvi*; *ceti*, *jāni*, *jāni*, *tāri*, *darśi*, *dāyi* ('give'), *dāyi* ('bind'), *dhāyi*, *pādi*, *vēdi* ('find'), *sādi*<sup>5</sup>. — Used injunctively: *ghōsi*, *ceti*, *chedi*, *tāri*, *dhāyi*, *bhāri*, *bhēdi* (VS. XI. 64), *mōci* (AV.), *yōji*, *reci*, *roci*, *vādi*, *varhi*, *vāci*, *śaṁsi*, *śāri*, *śeṣi* (*śiṣ-* 'leave', AV.), *śrāvī*, *sarji*, *sādi*, *hāyi* (*hā-* 'leave', AV.); also the unique form *jārayāyi* 'let him be embraced', from the secondary stem *jāra-ya-* 'play the lover'.

## Root Aorist Subjunctive.

502. Active. Sing. 1. *kārāni*, *gamāni*, *gāni*, *bhuvāni*. — 2. *kāraṣi*; *kāras*, *gamas*, *gās*<sup>6</sup>, *tārdas*, *dās*, *dhās*, *pārcas*, *pās* (IV. 20<sup>4</sup> 'drink'), *prās*, *bhūvas*<sup>7</sup>, *yamas*, *vāras* ('choose'), *śāsas*, *sthās*.

3. *karati*, *jōsati*, *darśati* (AV.), *dāti*, *dhāti*, *padāti*<sup>8</sup>, *bhēdati*, *rādhati*, *varjati*, *sthāti*; *kārat*, *gumat*, *garat* (*gr-* 'swallow', AV.), *gāt*, *jōsat*, *dāt*, *dhāt*, *padāt*<sup>8</sup> (AV.), *māthat*<sup>9</sup> (AV. VII. 50<sup>5</sup>), *yamat*, *yodhat*, *rādhat*, *vārat* ('choose'), *vārtat*, *śrāvāt*, *sāghat*, *sāt*, *sthāt*, *spārat*. — Without *Guṇa*: *ṛdhat*, *bhūvat*, *śrūvat* (RV<sup>1</sup>).

Du. 2. *karathas*, *gamathas*, *darśathas*, *pāthās*<sup>10</sup> (AV. VII. 29<sup>1</sup>), *bhūthās*<sup>11</sup>, *śravathas*. — 3. *karatas*, *gamatas*, *bhūtas*<sup>11</sup>, *śrāvatas*, *sthātas*.

<sup>1</sup> In one or two passages this form seems to have a transitive meaning; cp. WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 845 (end).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 1054, 3.

<sup>3</sup> This augmented form always occurs in the RV. with short radical vowel, beside the unaugmented *jāni* as well as *jāni*.

<sup>4</sup> From *yu-* 'separate'.

<sup>5</sup> The form *svāni* (VI. 46<sup>14</sup>) may be the 3. sing. passive aorist (BR. and doubtfully WHITNEY, Roots 201), but GRASSMANN, s. v. *svāni*, regards it as a neut. substantive in *-i*. Cp. NEISSER, BB. 30, 305 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The 2. 3. sing. with secondary endings

from roots ending in *ā* cannot be distinguished from injunctives.

<sup>7</sup> Formed without *Guṇa* as in the ind. aor. and perfect.

<sup>8</sup> With double modal sign *-ā-*.

<sup>9</sup> This form has a subjunctive sense ('might shake'); it might otherwise be an injunctive of the *a-* aorist.

<sup>10</sup> Assigned by WHITNEY, Roots, to the present of the root class.

<sup>11</sup> Both *bhūthās* (VI. 67<sup>5</sup>) and *bhūtas* (X. 27<sup>7</sup>) seem to be meant for subjunctives formed anomalously without mood sign, instead of *\*bhūvathas* and *\*bhūvatas*.

Pl. 1. *kārāma*, *gamāma*, *gāma*, *dhāma*, *rādhamā*. — 3. *karanti*, *gāmanti*, *pānti*<sup>1</sup> (II. 11<sup>14</sup>); *kāran*, *gāman*, *garan*, *dārśan*, *bhūvan*, *yaman*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *kārase*, *josase* (AV.). — 3. *idhaté*<sup>2</sup> (RV<sup>1</sup>), *kārate*, *bhūjate*, *yojate*, *vārjate*, *stārate*. — Du. 2. *dhātē*<sup>3</sup>, *dhaithe*. — Pl. 1. *kārāmahe*, *gāmāmahe*, *dhāmahe*, *manāmahe* (VS. IV. 11), *stārāmahe*. — 3. *yavanta* (yu- 'separate').

### Root Aorist Injunctive.

503. Active. Sing. 1. *karam* (AV.), *gām*, *dhām* (VS. I. 20), *bhuvam*, *bhojam*, *yojam*, *sthām*.

2. *jes*, *bhūs*, *bhēs* (√*bhū-*, VS. I. 23 etc.; TS. IV. 5. 10<sup>1</sup>). — With loss of ending: *kar* (TS. I. 3. 7<sup>2</sup>), *dhak* (dagh- 'reach'), *bhet* (√*bhid-*), *rok* (√*ruj-*, VS.), *var* ('cover'), *vark* (√*vrj-*), *star*, *spar*.

3. *bhūt*, *śret*, *ut-thāt* (√*sthā-*, Kh. II. 11<sup>3</sup>). — With loss of ending: *gan* (VS. XXVII. 31; TS. v. 6. 1<sup>4</sup>), *dhak* (√*dagh-*), *nak* and *naṭ* (naś- 'attain'), *vār*, *vark*, *skān* (√*skand-*), *stan*<sup>4</sup>.

Pl. 1. *gāma*, *chedma*<sup>5</sup>, *daghma*, *bhūma*, *bhema*<sup>5</sup>, *hōma*<sup>5</sup> (hū- 'call'). — 3. *bhūvan*, *vrān*. — With ending -ur: *kramur*, *gur*, *dabhūr*, *dūr*, *dhūr*, *sthur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *nānśi* (nañś- = naś- 'attain'). — 2. *dhṛthās* (AV.), *nutthās*, *bhitthās* (VS. XI. 68), *mṛthās* (mṛ- 'die'), *mṛṣthās* (√*mṛs-*), *rikthās* (√*ric-*), *vikthās* (√*vij-*, VS. I. 23). — 3. *arta* (√*r-*), *aṣṭa* (aś- 'attain'), *vukta* (TS. IV. 3. 11<sup>4</sup>), *vikta* (√*vij-*), *vrta* (vr- 'choose'). — Pl. 1. *dhīmahi*<sup>6</sup> (√*dhā-*). — 3. *aśata* (SA. XII. 19).

### Root Aorist Optative.

504. Active. Sing. 1. *asyām* (aś- 'attain'), *rdhyām* (AV.), *deyām*<sup>7</sup>, *dheyām*<sup>7</sup>, *vrjyām*, *sakyām*. — 2. *avyās*, *asyās*, *rdhyās*, *gamyās*, *jñeyās*, *bhūyās*, *mṛdhyās*, *sahyās*. — 3. *bhūyāt*<sup>8</sup> (AV.).

Du. 1. *yuyāva*. — 3. *yuyātām*.

Pl. 1. *asyāma*, *rdhyāma*, *kriyāma*, *bhūyāma*, *vrjyāma*, *sāhyāma*<sup>9</sup>, *stheyāma*<sup>7</sup>. — 3. *asyur* (aś- 'attain'), *dheyur*, *sahyur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *aśīya*, *murīya* (mṛ- 'die', AV.). — 3. *arīta* (√*r-*) *uṛīta*<sup>10</sup> (√*vah-*), *urīta* (vr- 'choose'). — Du. 2. *rdhātē*.

Pl. 1. *aśīmahi*, *idhīmahi*, *rdhīmahi*, *naśīmahi* ('reach'), *naśīmahi*, *prcīmahi*, *mudīmahi*, *yamīmahi*, *sīmahi*<sup>11</sup> (sā- 'bind').

a. Precative forms of the root aorist are common in the active, being made from about twenty roots in the Samhitās.

Active. Sing. 1. *āpyāsam*<sup>12</sup> (AA. v. 3. 2<sup>3</sup>) *rdhyāsam* (VS. VIII. 9), *jñyāsam* (AV. VS.), *priyāsam*<sup>13</sup> (AV.), *bhūyāsam*, *bhrājyāsam* (AV.), *bhriyāsam* (VS. II. 8), *rādhyāsam* (VS. XXXVII. 3), *vadyāsam* (VS. AV.), *śrūyāsam* (AV.). — 3. *avyās*, *asyās* ('reach'), *rdhyās*, *gamyās*, *daghyās*, *peyās* ('drink'), *bhūyās*, *yamyās*, *yūyās*<sup>14</sup> *yu-* 'separate'), *vrjyās*, *śrūyās*, *sahyās*.

<sup>1</sup> Assigned by WHITNEY, Roots, to the present of the root class.

<sup>2</sup> With weak and unaccented root.

<sup>3</sup> A transfer form for \**dhātē*.

<sup>4</sup> This form may, however, perhaps preferably be classed as an imperfect injunctive along with *stanīhi* as pres. impv., as in WHITNEY's Roots. These are the only forms of the simple verb beside the aor. *astānū* (AV.).

<sup>5</sup> With strong radical vowel.

<sup>6</sup> Probably to be explained as the injunctive corresponding to the augmented indicative *adhīmahi* (see 500, note <sup>14</sup>); it might, however, be the 1. pl. opt. mid. with loss of ā before the modal -i.

Indo-aryische Philologie. I. 4.

<sup>7</sup> For *dā-iyām*, *dhā-iyām*, *sthā-iyām*.

<sup>8</sup> The RV. has no forms of the 3. sing. in -yāt, but only the somewhat numerous precatives in -yās = \*-yās-i.

<sup>9</sup> With irregular strong radical vowel, Padapāṭha *sahyāma*; cp. RPr. IX. 30.

<sup>10</sup> Aor. opt. in WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 837 b, but pres. opt. in 'Roots' 157.

<sup>11</sup> With loss of ā before the modal -i.

<sup>12</sup> Accented *āpyāsam* in the ed. (B. I.).

<sup>13</sup> WHITNEY, in AV. III. 54, would emend this form to *bhriyāsam*: see his note on that passage.

<sup>14</sup> According to AVERY 241, 3. sing. pres. opt.

Du. 2. *bhūyāstam* (VS. II. 7). — Pl. I. *ṛdhyāśma* (AV.), *kriyāśma*, *bhūyāśma* (AV. VS.), *rādhyāśma* (AV.). — 2. *bhūyāsta*<sup>1</sup> (TS. III. 2. 5<sup>6</sup>).

Middle. Sing. 3. *padīṣṭā*, *mucīṣṭā*<sup>2</sup>.

### Root Aorist Imperative.

505. The active forms of this mood are fairly numerous, occurring in all the 2. and 3. persons; but middle forms occur in the 2. pers. only, ten in the sing. and two in the pl. In the 2. persons active of all numbers, several forms irregularly strengthen the root, which is then nearly always accented.

**Active. Sing. 2.** *ṛdhi*, *gadhi*, *bodhi*<sup>3</sup>, *yandhi* (√yam-), *yōdhi*<sup>4</sup>, *randhi* (= *rand-dhi*; √randh-), *viddhi* (√viś-, AV.), *vṛdhi* 'cover', *śagdhi* (√śak-), *śrudhi*, *śṛdhi*. — **With ending -hi:** *gahi*, *pāhi* (AV.), *māhi* 'measure', *sāhi* 'bind'.

3. *gantu*, *dātu*, *dhātu*, *pātu* (AV.), *bhātu*, *śrātu*, *sātu* (su- 'press').

Du. 2. *kartam*<sup>5</sup> (AV.) and *ktām*, *gatām* and *gantām*<sup>5</sup>, *jitām*, *dātām*, *dhaktām* (√dagh-), *dhātām*, *pātām* (AV.), *bhūtām*, *bhrtām* (VS. XI. 30), *yantām*<sup>5</sup>, *riktām* (√ric-), *varktam*<sup>5</sup> (√vrj-), *vartām*<sup>5</sup> (vr- 'cover'), *volhām*<sup>6</sup>, *śaktām*, *śrutām*, *sitām* (si- 'bind'), *sūtām*, *sthātām*, *śṛtām*.

3. *gantām*<sup>5</sup> (VS. IX. 19), *ghāstām* (VS. XXI. 43), *dātām*, *pātām*, *volhām*<sup>6</sup>.

Pl. 2. *kārtā*<sup>5</sup> and *ktā*, *gata* and *gāntā*<sup>7</sup>, *gātā*, *dāta*, *dhātā*<sup>8</sup>, *pāta* (AV.), *bhūtā*, *yāntā*<sup>5</sup>, *vartā*<sup>9</sup> (√vrt-), *śasta* (√śams-), *śrūta* and *śrūta*<sup>10</sup>, *sōtā*<sup>5</sup> (√su-), *sthātā*, *hētā*<sup>5</sup> (√hi-). — **With ending -tana:** *kārtana*<sup>5</sup>, *gāntana*<sup>5</sup>, *gātana*, *dhātana*, *dhetana*<sup>11</sup>, *pātana* (AV.), *bhūtana*, *yantana*<sup>5</sup>, *sotana* (√su-).

3. *gāmantu*, *dāntu* (dā- 'cut', AV. XII. 3<sup>3</sup>), *dhāntu*, *pāntu* (AV.), *śruvantu*.

**Middle. Sing. 2.** *ṛkṣvā*, *dhīsvā* (√dhā-), *yukṣvā*; accented on the root: *mātsva*, *yāḁsua*, *rāsua*, *vāmsua* (van- 'win'), *sākṣua*<sup>12</sup> (I. 42<sup>1</sup>, √sac-); unaccented *dīsva* (dā- 'give', VS. XXXVIII. 3), *māsva* 'measure'.

Pl. 2. *ṛdhvam*, *volhvam*<sup>13</sup> (VS.).

### Root Aorist Participle.

506. Of the active form of the participle of the root aorist few examples occur. But the middle form is common, nearly forty examples being met with in the RV. The accent here generally rests on the final syllable of the suffix -āna, but in several examples it is on the radical syllable.

**Active.** *ṛdhānt*, *krānt*, *gmānt*, *citānt*, *pānt*, *bhidānt*, *sthānt*; also *dyutānt*<sup>14</sup> as first member of a compound.

**Middle.** *arānā*, *idhānā*, *urānā* 'choosing', *ihāna* (√vah-), *krānā*<sup>15</sup>, *clitāna*, *cyāvāna*, *juṣānā*, *trṣānā*, *dṛśānā* and *dṛśāna*, *dyutānā* and *dyūtāna*, *dhuvānā* (TS. IV. 4. 12<sup>5</sup>), *nidānā*, *piśānā*, *prcānā*, *prathānā*, *budhānā*, *bhiyānā*, *manānā*, *mandānā*, (vr-) *māna* (TS. IV. 6. 3<sup>3</sup>), *yatānā* and *yātāna*, *yujānā*,

<sup>1</sup> AV. XVIII. 4<sup>86</sup> has the corrupt reading *bhūyāstka*; see WHITNEY's note on that passage.

<sup>2</sup> The form *grabhīṣṭa* is a 2. pl. injv. beside the 1. pl. ind. *agrabhīṣma* according to the iṣ- aorist.

<sup>3</sup> From both *bhū*- 'be' for \**bhū-dhi* and *budh*- 'awake' for \**bōd-dhi* instead of \**bud-dhi*.

<sup>4</sup> For \**yōd-dhi* instead of \**yuddhi*.

<sup>5</sup> With strong root.

<sup>6</sup> For *vah-tam*, *vah-tām* through \**vagh-tam*, \**vozh-tām*.

<sup>7</sup> Once (VI. 49<sup>11</sup>) accented *gantā*.

<sup>8</sup> With the accent of strong forms.

<sup>9</sup> For *vart-ta* (like *varti* for *vart-ti*).

<sup>10</sup> Always *śrutā* or *śrūtā*; also *sōtā* (cp. RPr. VII. 14 f.).

<sup>11</sup> With *e* for *ā*.

<sup>12</sup> *sākṣva* (III. 37<sup>7</sup>) is from √*sak*-, being an s- aor. form, for \**sah-s-sva* beside 1. sing. mid. *asākṣi* and *sākṣi*.

<sup>13</sup> For *vah-dhvam* through \**vagh-dhvam*.

<sup>14</sup> In *dyutānā-yāman*- 'having a shining track'.

<sup>15</sup> Cp. BB. 20, 89.

*rucānā-*, *rūhāṇa-*, *vāsāna-* 'dwelling', *vipānā-*, *vrāṇā-* 'covering', *subhānā-* and *śūmbhāna-*, *śvitānā-*, *sacānā-*, *suvānā-*<sup>1</sup> and *svānā-* (SV.) (*su-* 'press'), *śṛjānā-*, *śṛṇhānā-*, *hiyānā-*<sup>2</sup>. As members of compounds only, *-cetāna-* and *-hrayāṇa-*<sup>3</sup> occur.

### B. *a-* Aorist.

AVERY, Verb-Inflection 256 f. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 305—308; Roots 224; AV. Index Verborum 380. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 32—34.

507. This form of the simple aorist is taken by nearly 60 roots, chiefly by such as contain a medial vowel. In the RV. less than half as many verbs form the *a-* aorist as form the root-aorist; and it is more frequent in the AV. than in the RV. The root generally appears in the weak form, the stem being made with an added *-a*, which in unaugmented forms is normally accented. This form of the aorist therefore resembles an imperfect of the *i-* class. Middle forms are of rare occurrence in this aorist.

a. A certain number of irregularities occur in the formation of the stem. 1. The radical vowel of *śās-* 'order' is reduced to *i*<sup>4</sup>, e. g. *śiṣat*<sup>5</sup> (IV. 27). — 2. Some half dozen roots containing a medial *a* followed by a nasal, drop the nasal; these are *kṛand-* 'cry out', *tamṣ-* 'shake', *dhvaṃṣ-* 'scatter', *bhramṣ-* 'fall', *randh-* 'make subject', *sramṣ-* 'fall'. — 3. On the other hand *ṛ-* 'go' and *ṣṛ-* 'flow' take Guṇa and accent the radical syllable, as *dranta* (unaugmented 3. pl.) and *sārat*. — 4. Several roots form transfer stems from the root aorist. Some half dozen do this by reducing a final radical *ā* to *a*. This is regularly the case in *khyā-* 'see', *vyā-* 'envelope', *hvā-* 'call'; e. g. *ākhyat*, *avyat*, *dhvat*; but from *dā-* 'give', *dhā-* 'put', and *sthā-* 'stand', only occasional transfer forms occur; thus *dadat*; *adhat* (SV.) and *dhat*; *āsthat* (AV<sup>1</sup>). On the other hand, occasional transfer forms are made from *ky-* 'make', and *gam-* 'go', in which the radical syllable remains strong; e. g. *ākarat* (AV.) and *āgamat*.

### Indicative.

508. The forms of the indicative actually occurring, if made from *vid-* 'find', would be as follows:

**Active.** Sing. 1. *avidam*. 2. *avidas*. 3. *avidat*. — Pl. 1. *avidāma*. 2. *avidata*. 3. *avidan*.

**Middle.** Sing. 1. *avidc*. 3. *avidata*. — Pl. 1. *vidāmahi*. 3. *avidanta*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

**Active.** Sing. 1. *ākhyam*, *agrbham* (Kh. III. 15<sup>5</sup>), *ātpam* (AV. TS.), *atṛham* (AV.), *anijam* (AV.), *āmucam* (AV.), *druham* (TS. VS. AV.), *avidam*, *āvṛdham* (Kh. IV. 8<sup>5</sup>), *āsakam* (VS. II. 28), *āsanam*, *āsaram*, *ahyam*<sup>6</sup> (√hi-, AV.), *ahvam* (AV.); *āpam* (AV.); *aram*, *vidam*.

2. *ākaras* (AV.), *ākṛtas* (kṛt- 'cut'), *ākhyas* (TS. AV.), *āruhas*, *avidas*, *asadas* (TS. VS. AV.), *āsaras*; *āpas*; *kāras*, *guhas*, *druhas*, *bhūvas*<sup>7</sup>, *mucas* (AV.), *vidās*.

3. *ākarat*<sup>8</sup> (AV.), *akramat* (AV.), *ākhyat*, *āgamat*<sup>8</sup> (AV.), *āgrāhat*, *acchidat* (AV.), *atanat*, *ātasat* (VS. AV.), *adrpat*<sup>9</sup> (AV.), *adhat*<sup>10</sup> (√dhā-, SV.), *āmucat*,

<sup>1</sup> Always written thus in the RV., but to be pronounced *svānā-*.

<sup>2</sup> Hardly any of these participles occur in any of the other Samhitās: *rucānā-* (VS. XII. 1), *rūhāṇa-* (TS. IV. 1. 2<sup>4</sup>), *svānā-* (SV.).

<sup>3</sup> In *ā-cetāna-* 'thoughtless', and *ā-hrayāṇa-* 'bold'.

<sup>4</sup> As in the weak forms of the present stem.

<sup>5</sup> At the same time accenting the radical syllable.

<sup>6</sup> Though the other forms from √hi-

follow the root-aorist (*āhema*, *ahyan*, etc.), this is probably to be regarded as a transfer form, since the regular form according to the root aorist ought to be *\*āhayam*.

<sup>7</sup> A transfer form, *bhūvas-*, following *bhuv-am* as if from a stem *bhūva-*.

<sup>8</sup> Transfers from the root aorist, following the 1. sing. *ākar-am*, *āgam-am*.

<sup>9</sup> Emendation in AV. XX. 136<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Transfer from the root aorist for *a-dhāt*.

*ārudat* (AV.), *arudhat*, *āruhat*, *dvidat*, *avṛtat* (AV.), *avṛdhāt*, *avyat*<sup>1</sup> (*√vyā-*), *āsakat* (AV.), *asucat*, *āsramat* (AV.), *āsadat*, *āsanaṭ*, *āsarat*, *āsīcat* (TS. III. 2. 8<sup>4</sup>), *āṣṛpat* (AV.), *āhvāt*<sup>1</sup>; *ādāt*<sup>2</sup> (*√dā-*), *āpat*, *ārat*, *āsthat*<sup>3</sup> (AV.<sup>1</sup>); *tr̥ṣat* (AV.), *dhat*<sup>4</sup> (*√dhā-*), *bhīvat*<sup>1</sup>, *vidāt*, *sadat* (AV.), *sānat*, *sārat*.

Pl. I. *aruhāma* (VS. VIII. 52), *dvidāma*, *āsanaāma*, *āhvāma*; *vṛdhāma*<sup>5</sup> (AV. V. 1<sup>9</sup>). — 2. *avyata*<sup>1</sup>; *ārata*.

3. *akhyān*, *akraman* (AV.), *agaman* (AV.), *acchidan* (AV.), *ādṛśan* (TS. IV. 5. 1<sup>3</sup>), *arudhan* (AV.), *āruhan*, *āvidan*, *avṛjan*, *avṛdhan* (VS. XXXIII. 60), *āsakan* (AV.), *āsadan*, *asanan*, *asaran*, *asican*; *āpan*, *āran*, *āsthan*<sup>6</sup> (AV. XIII. 1<sup>5</sup>); *khyān*, *dhvasān*<sup>7</sup>, *vidān*, *sadan*.

Middle. Sing. I. *dhve*; *hve* (AV.). — 3. *akhyata*, *avyata*<sup>1</sup>; *ārata*; *vyata*<sup>1</sup>. — Pl. I. *śiṣāmahi* (*√śās-*). — 3. *avidanta* (AV.), *ahvanta*; *āranta*, *krānta*<sup>1</sup>.

#### a- Aorist Subjunctive.

509. The forms of this mood are rare and almost restricted to the active.

Active. Sing. 2. *vidāsi*; *vidās*. — 3. *mucāti*; *vidāt*.

Du. I. *ruhāva*. — 2. *vidāthas*. — 3. *gamātas* (AV. X. 7<sup>12</sup>).

Pl. I. *arāma*; *radhāma*, *riṣāma*, *sadāma*. — 2. *gamātha* (AV.), *riṣātha*, *vidātha*; *riṣāthana*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *mucāte*, *śiṣātai*<sup>8</sup> (*śiṣ-* 'leave', AV. II. 31<sup>3</sup>).

Pl. I. *śiṣāmahe*<sup>9</sup> (AV. SV.).

#### a- Aorist Injunctive.

510. Active. Sing. I. *aram*, *khyam*, *dārśam*, *radham*, *riṣam*, *ruhām*, *vidam*, *sanam*.

2. *kradas*, *krudhas* (AV.), *khyds*, *guhas*, *grdhas* (AV. VS.), *druhas* (AV.), *mucds*, *vidas*, *riṣas* (VS. XI. 68; TS. IV. 1. 9<sup>1</sup>), *śiṣas* ('leave'), *sadas*, *sṛpas* (AV.).

3. *ksudhat* (AV.), *khyat*, *grdhat* (AV.), *tanat*, *tamat*, *tr̥ṣat* (AV.), *dasat*, *dhṛṣāt* (Kh. IV. 1), *bhraṣāt*, *mucat*, *riṣat*, *rudhat*, *rīhat*<sup>10</sup>, *vidāt*, *śiṣat*<sup>11</sup>, *śramat*, *śriṣat*, *śrīvat*<sup>12</sup>, *sādat*, *sānat*<sup>10</sup>, *sṛpat* (AV.), *sridhat*.

Pl. 3. *aran*, *khyān*, *gāman* (VS. XVII. 78), *tr̥pān*, *tr̥ṣan* (VS. VI. 31), *dr̥śan*, *druhan*, *riṣan*, *vidan*, *sakan* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 3. *vidata* (AV. XIII. 23<sup>1</sup>).

Pl. I. *arāmahi* (AV.); *grhāmahi*. — 3. *aranta*, *budhānta*, *mṛṣanta*, *vidānta*.

#### a- Aorist Optative.

511. This mood is rare and confined to the active in the RV., though three or four middle forms occur in the later Saṃhitās.

Active. Sing. I. *āpeyam*<sup>13</sup> (AV.), *gameyam*, *dr̥ṣeyam*, *bhidheyam* (AV.),

<sup>1</sup> Transfer form.

<sup>2</sup> A transfer form: see p. 366, note <sup>12</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 327, note <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *prāti dhat* (IV. 27<sup>5</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> WHITNEY, note on AV. V. 1<sup>9</sup>, would instead of *dvīm vṛdhāma* read (with Paipp.) *āvṛdhāma*.

<sup>6</sup> A transfer form from *√sthā-*; cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. XIII. 1<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> With loss of medial nasal, from *√dhvams-*.

<sup>8</sup> This form is probably a corrupt reading for the passive *śiṣyātai*: see WHITNEY's note on AV. II. 31<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> For *śiṣāmahi* of RV. VIII. 24<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> With accent on the radical syllable.

<sup>11</sup> From *śās-* 'order', with accent on the root.

<sup>12</sup> It is hard to decide whether this form, which occurs only once (I. 127<sup>3</sup>) beside the regular *śrāvāt*, should be classed here as an injunctive of the *a*-aorist, or as an irregular subjunctive of the root-class following the analogy of *bhīvat* (cp. 502).

<sup>13</sup> In *prāpeyam* (AV. III. 20<sup>9</sup>), analyzed in the Pāda text as *prā āpeyam*; cp. WHITNEY's note on the passage.

*vidīyam*<sup>1</sup> (AV.), *śākeyam* (Kh. IV. 84), *sanīyam*. — 2. *games* (VS.). — 3. *rdhet* (AV.), *gamēt*, *yamet*<sup>2</sup> (AV.), *videt*, *sanet*, *set*<sup>3</sup> (VS. IX. 5, 6).

Pl. 1. *aśema* ('attain'), *rdhema* (AV.), *gamēma*, *dr̥sema* (AV.), *puṣema*, *bhujema*, *ruhema*, *videma* (AV.), *śakēma*, *sadema*, *sanēma* and *sānema*, *srasema*<sup>4</sup>.

Middle. Sing. 1. *videya* (VS. IV. 23). — Pl. 1. *gamemahi*. There is also one precative form: 3. sing. *videṣṭa* (AV.) 'may she find'.

### a- Aorist Imperative.

512. This mood is also of rare occurrence and is restricted to the active, excepting two middle plural forms.

Active. Sing. 2. *kara*<sup>5</sup> (RV<sup>1</sup>), *bhuja* (TS. IV. 5. 14), *muca*, *ruha* (AV.), *sada*, *sāna*<sup>6</sup>, *sāra*. — 3. *sadatu*.

Du. 2. *aratam*, *karatam*<sup>7</sup> (RV<sup>1</sup>), *khyatam*, *ruhātam*, *vidatam*, *sādatam*.

3. *aratām*, *karatām*<sup>8</sup>, *sadatām*.

Pl. 2. *khyāta*, *sadata*; *sadatana*. — 3. *sadantu*.

Middle. Pl. 2. *mucadhvam*. — 3. *sadantām* (AV.).

### a- Aorist Participle.

a. There are hardly more than a dozen certain examples of the participle of this aorist.

Active. *trpānt-*, *dhr̥ṣānt-*, *r̥ṣant-* or *r̥ṣant-*<sup>9</sup>, *vṛdhānt-*, *śiśānt-* (*śās-* 'order'), *śucānt-*, *sādant-*<sup>10</sup>, *sānant-*<sup>10</sup>; and as first member of compounds: *kṛtānt-*, *guhānt-*, *vidānt-*<sup>11</sup>.

Middle. *guhāmāna-*, *dhr̥ṣāmāna-*, *nṛtāmāna-*, *śucāmāna-*; possibly also *dāsāmāna-*<sup>12</sup>. Probably three participles in *-āna* are to be regarded as belonging to this aorist: *dhr̥ṣāṇā-* (AV.), *vṛdhānā-*, *sridhānā-*.

### 2. Reduplicated Aorist.

DELBRÜCK, *Verbum* 143 f. — AVERY, *Verb-Inflection* 266—268. — WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* 856—873; *Roots* 224; *Atharvaveda*, *Index Verborum* 380. — v. NEGELEIN, *Zur Sprachgeschichte* 68 f.

513. This type of aorist is formed from nearly 90 verbs in the Samhitās. Though it has come to be associated with the secondary conjugation in *-āya* (causative), it is not in form (with a few slight exceptions) connected with that stem, being made directly from the root. It is, however, in sense connected with the causative, inasmuch as it has a causative meaning when the corresponding verb in *-āya* has that meaning. As an augmented reduplicated form, it has affinities with the imperfect of the reduplicating present class and with the pluperfect. It may, however, be distinguished from the imperfect by the long reduplicative vowel, by the thematic *-a-* which nearly always appears in the stem, and often by the meaning; and from the

<sup>1</sup> Emendation in AV. XIX. 42 for *vide yām*; see WHITNEY's note.

<sup>2</sup> A probable conjecture for *yame* in AV. XVIII. 23.

<sup>3</sup> From *sā-* 'gain', as if *sa-* (*sa-īt*). Cp. v. NEGELEIN 34.

<sup>4</sup> With loss of the radical nasal, from *√sram-*.

<sup>5</sup> A transfer from the root aorist (otherwise *kṛdhi*). AVERY 243 adds *gama*(?).

<sup>6</sup> With accent on the root instead of the second syllable; always *sānā*: cp. RPr. VII. 14, 19, 33.

<sup>7</sup> A transfer form from the root aorist (otherwise *kṛtām*).

<sup>8</sup> A transfer form from the root aorist.

<sup>9</sup> Once with the short, six times with the long vowel in the Samhitā text (Pp. always 2): see APr. 583, 584, 588.

<sup>10</sup> With accent on the root as also *r̥ṣant-* and *r̥ṣant-*.

<sup>11</sup> In *kṛtād-vasu-* 'disclosing wealth', *guhād-avadya-* 'concealing faults', *vidād-vasu-* 'winning wealth'.

<sup>12</sup> As occurring beside the *a-* aorist injunctive form *dasat* (510).

pluperfect by difference of reduplication when the root contains *a* or *i*; and often by meaning.

a. The characteristic feature of this aorist is the almost invariable quantitative sequence of a long reduplicative and a short radical vowel (—). The vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ī*<sup>1</sup>, as well as *ī*, are reduplicated with *i*<sup>2</sup>, which (unless it becomes long by position) is lengthened if the radical vowel is (or is made) prosodically short; e.g. *ā-jījan-a-t* from *jan-* 'beget'; *ā-vīrḍh-a-t* from *vīrḍh-* 'grow', but *cikṣip-a-s* from *kṣip-* 'throw'.

In order to bring about this trochaic rhythm, the radical vowel has to be shortened or the nasal dropped in the roots *vās-* 'bellow', *sādh-* 'succeed', *hū-* 'be hostile', *krand-* 'cry out', *jambh-* 'crush', *randh-* 'subject', *syand-* 'flow', *sraṇs-* 'fall'; e.g. *avvāśat*, *acikradat*. In *jihvaratam* (TS.) the reduplicative vowel, being already long by position, is unnecessarily lengthened.

1. In a few forms the reduplicative vowel is, contrary to the prevailing rhythmic rule, left short: *jigṛtām* and *jigṛtā* (beside *ājīgar*); *didṛtām* and *virīśas* (beside *vīrīśas*). On the other hand, in the isolated injunctive form *diḍipās*<sup>3</sup>, the radical vowel remains long, and in *āmīmet* both the reduplicative and the radical syllable are long (beside *mīmayat* with the regular rhythm).

2. The *p* of the causative stems *jñā-paya-*, *sthā-paya-*, *hā-paya-*, *ar-paya-* (*r-* 'go'), is retained in the aorist, the radical vowel being at the same time reduced to *i* in the first three: *ajīñī-* (TS.), *āstīṣipat*, *jīhipas*; the *s* of the causative stem *bhīṣaya-* is also retained: *bībhīṣ-as* (TS.).

3. The root *dyut-* 'shine', reduplicates with *i*: *adidyutat*<sup>4</sup>. In the aorist formed from the causative stem *ar-paya-*, the reduplicative *i* appears after, instead of before, the radical vowel, doubtless owing to the difficulty caused by the initial *a* and the augment: *ar-pi-p-am* (AV.). The initial *a* also led to the anomaly of reduplicating the whole of the root *am* 'injure', and then prefixing the augment: *ām-am-at*.

4. There are three anomalous aorists formed from *nas-* 'be lost', *pat-* 'fall', and *vac-* 'speak', in which besides an irregular reduplicative vowel, the radical *a* is syncopated (*a-pap-t-at*, *ā-ne-ś-an*) or contracted (*ā-vac-at*). As beside the former two the regular reduplicated aorists *apīpatat* and *anīnaśat* occur, and as all three have the regular reduplicative vowel *a* of the perfect<sup>5</sup>, they appear to have been originally pluperfects which before being shortened had the form of *\*ā-papat-at*<sup>6</sup>, *\*ā-nanaś-at*, *\*ā-vavac-at*<sup>7</sup>. But they all came to be regarded as aorists. This is undoubted in the case of *āvocat* owing to its numerous mood forms; *dpaptat*, moreover, has an imperative form beside it; and *āneśan* (TS VS.) has a distinctly aoristic meaning.

b. The reduplicated aorist in the great majority of forms makes its stems with a thematic *-a-*. Before this, a final *r* regularly, and *i* and *u* in two or three forms, take Guṇa; e.g. *adīdhar-a-t* (√*dhr-*), *bībhay-a-t* (√*bhr-*), *cucyav-a-t* (√*cyu-*), *dudrāv-a-t* (√*dru-*). The inflexion of this aorist stem is like that of an imperfect of the *a-* conjugation.

c. About a dozen roots, however, have occasional forms from stems made without thematic *-a-*, the inflexion then being like that of an imperfect of the reduplicating class. These roots are *mā-* 'bellow'; *śri-* 'resort'; *tu-* 'be strong'; *dru-* 'run'; *dhū-* 'shake'; *nu-* 'praise'; *pū-* 'cleanses'; *yu-* 'separate';

<sup>1</sup> In √*kṣip-*, the only root in which it occurs.

<sup>2</sup> In the reduplicating present class *ī* is almost invariably, and *ā* predominantly, reduplicated with *i* (457).

<sup>3</sup> In form this might be a pluperfect. A similar reversal of the ordinary rhythm appears in the three forms *ātataṃsalam* (I. 120<sup>7</sup>), *adadhāvat* (IX. 877), *vavāḥṣat* (SV. I. 1, 2, 2, 3 var. lect. for *vavāḥṣa* of RV. X. 115<sup>1</sup>) each occurring once, but owing to the reduplicative vowel they should rather be accounted pluperfects. Cp. p. 364, note 15.

<sup>4</sup> See 514, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> That is, *neś-* for *nanaś-*, on the analogy of *śed-* for *\*sazd-* in the perfect: this form of contraction would be unique in an original aorist.

<sup>6</sup> Like *a-sasvaj-at*; becoming *a-papt-at* like *a-cakr-at* beside *cakar-am*.

<sup>7</sup> The cause of the anomalous contraction may be due to the awkwardness of combining the augment with the reduced reduplicative syllable *u-* of the perfect (*\*a-uvac-at*). The accentuation of the augment would also favour the second syllable taking Samprasāraṇa: *ā-va-uc-at*.



*sū-* 'generate', *sru-* 'flow'; *gr-* 'waken', *dhṛ-* 'hold'; *svap-* 'sleep'; e. g. *aśīśret* (TS.), *ādudrot-t*, *ājīgar*, *śīśvap*. Beside forms made thus, occur others made from several of these roots with the thematic *-a-*; and those made from the roots ending in *ṣ* (the majority), cannot be distinguished in form from pluperfects. The number of forms of this type which can with certainty be classed as aorists is therefore very small.

d. Besides the<sup>1</sup> indicative all the moods are represented in this aorist, but no participial form has been found.

### Reduplicated Aorist Indicative.

514. The forms actually occurring would, if made from *jan-* 'beget' with thematic *-a-*, be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *ājījanam*. 2. *ājījanas*. 3. *ājījanat*. — Du. 2. *ajījanatam*. — Pl. 1. *ājījanāma*. 2. *ājījanata*. 3. *ājījanan*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *ājījanata*. — Pl. 2. *ājījanadhvam*. 3. *ājījananta*.

The forms actually occurring (including those made without thematic *-a-*) are:

Active. Sing. 1. *acikr̥ṣam*, *ajīgamam* (TS. VS. AV.), *ajījabham* (AV.), *atiṣṭhipam* (AV.), *adūduṣam* (AV.), *anīnaśam*, *apīparam* (*pr-* 'pass', AV.), *āmīmadam* (AV.), *avocam*, *āśīśamam* (*śam-* 'be quiet', AV.); *arpiṣam* (AV.), 2. *acikradas*, *ājījanas*, *atiṣṭhipas*, *ātīttaras* (AV.), *atīttṛpas* (AV.), *anīnaśas* ('be lost', AV.), *apīparas* (AV.), *abūbhuvās* (AV.), *āmīmadas* (AV.), *arūrupas* (AV.), *dvītvṛdhas* (AV.), *āśīśamas* (AV.); *jihvaras* (AV.), *didyutas*<sup>1</sup>, *rūrupas* (AV.), *śūśucas* (TS. IV. 1. 4<sup>3</sup>), *śīśvapas*. — Without thematic *-a-*: *tūtos*<sup>2</sup>, *susros*; *ājīgar*<sup>3</sup> (*gr-* 'swallow'), *ājīgar* (*gr-* 'waken'); *dīdhar*, *śīśvap*.

3. *acikradat*, *acikṛpat* (AV.), *acīcarat* (AV.), *ācukrudhat*, *acucyavat*<sup>4</sup> (K.), *ajījñipat* (TS. II. 1. 11<sup>3</sup>), *ājījanat*, *ājīhidat* (AV.), *atiṣṭhipat*, *ādīdyutat*<sup>5</sup>, *adīdharat*, *adūduṣat*, *anīnaśat*, *apaptat* and *apīpatat*, *abūbudhat*, *āmūmuhat* (AV.), *ārīramat*, *ārūrucat*, *avīvaśat* ('has bellowed', *√vāś-*), *avvīpat*, *avvīrtat*, *dvītvṛdhat*, *avocat*, *aśīśriyat*<sup>5</sup> (AV.), *āśīśvitat*, *āśīśamat* (AV.), *asiṣyadat* (*√syand-*); *āmamat* (*√am-*); *jījanat*, *didyutat* (VS. XXXVIII. 22), *dīdharat*, *dudrdvat*, *neśat*<sup>6</sup>, *bībhayat*, *vavṛtat*, *vocat*, *śīśnāthat*. — Without thematic *-a-*: *ādudrot*, *ānūnot*, *āpupot*, *āmīmet*<sup>7</sup> (*mā-* 'bellow'), *āśīśret*<sup>8</sup>, *asuṣot* (*√sū-*, MS.), *āsusrot* (VS. XVIII. 58; TS. v. 7. 7<sup>1</sup>); *tūtot*, *dūdhot* (*dhū-* 'shake'); *ājīgar* (*gr-* 'waken'), *aśīśnat* (*√snath-*); *dīdhar*. — Du. 2. *ārūrujatam* (Kh. I. 5<sup>10</sup>).

Pl. 1. *ātīttṛpāma* (VS. VII. 29), *atīttṛṣāma*, *apaptāma* (Kh. III. 19), *apīpadāma* (AV.), *dvītvṛtāma* (AV.), *avocatāma*.

2. *ājījapata*<sup>9</sup> (VS. IX. 12), *arūrucata* (VS. XXXVII. 15).

3. *ācīkradan*, *ājījanan*, *atīttṛasan* (AV.), *adīdharan* (AV.), *anīnaśan* (AV.), *āneśan* (VS. XVI. 10; TS. IV. 5. 14), *apaptan*, *apīparan* (*pr-* 'cross'), *āmīmr̥ṇan* (AV.), *dvīvatan*, *avvīvaran* (AV.), *avvīvaśan* (*vāś-* 'bellow'), *avvīpan*, *dvītvṛdhan*, *avocat*, *āśīśaman* (AV.), *āśīśubhan*, *asiśrasan* (*√sraṇs-*, AV.), *aśīśadan* (*√sad-*, VS. XII. 54; TS. IV. 2. 4<sup>4</sup>); *jījanan*, *paptan*.

<sup>1</sup> Reduplicated with *i* owing to the vocalic pronunciation of the *y* (*ajūt-*) as in the perfect: see 482 a 1.

<sup>2</sup> Classed by WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 868 a, as an aorist, but Roots 63, as pluperfect; similarly *tūtot* below.

<sup>3</sup> Occurring only in RV. I. 163<sup>7</sup> = VS. XXIX. 18 = TS. IV. 6. 7<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> WHITNEY 866 (Mantra?).

<sup>5</sup> This form occurs only once (AV. VI. 31<sup>3</sup>), as a variant for *dhīyate* in RV. X. 189<sup>3</sup>

(= SV.) and for *śīśriye* in TS. I. 5. 3<sup>1</sup>. See WHITNEY's note on AV. VI. 31<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> This form occurs once in the RV. (VI. 11<sup>7</sup>) as a past tense (along with three other un-augmented forms: *vocatā*, *arta*, *tiṣṭhat*) and twice as an injunctive. BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 27, 360, note 1, regards it as a pluperfect.

<sup>7</sup> WHITNEY 868 a; v. NEGELEIN 69<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Occurs TS. I. 8. 10<sup>2</sup> with other aorists.

<sup>9</sup> From the causative stem *jāpaya-* of *jū-* 'conquer'.

Middle. Sing. 3. *dv̥tvarata* (*vy-* 'cover', AV.; TS. v. 6. 1<sup>3</sup>). — With ending *-i* for *-ta*: *atitape*.

Pl. 2. *dv̥tvardhadhvam*. — 3. *atitṛpanta* (VS. XIX. 36), *ābībhayanta*, *āmīmadanta*, *dv̥tvaśanta* (*√vāś-*), *dv̥tvardhanta*, *dv̥vocanta*, *āsisyadanta* (*√syand-*), *āsūsudanta* (TS. I. 8. 10<sup>2</sup>); *jījananta*.

### Reduplicated Aorist Subjunctive.

515. This mood is of rare occurrence, only about a dozen forms having been noted. The active is represented in all the persons of the sing. and the 1. pl. only; the middle by a single dual form.

Active. Sing. 1. *rāradhā*, *vocā*. — 2. *titapāsi* (AV.), *vocāsi* (VS. XXIII. 51). — 3. *ciklpati*, *piṣṣrati*<sup>1</sup>, *vocati*<sup>2</sup>, *vocāti*, *siṣadhati*<sup>3</sup> (*√sād-*).

Pl. 1. *cukrudhāma*, *rīramāma*, *vocāma*, *siṣadhāma* (*√sād-*).

Middle. Du. 1. *vocāvahai*.

### Reduplicated Aorist Injunctive.

516. Forms of this mood are of common occurrence in the active, in which voice more than fifty have been found; but in the middle only five have been noted.

Active. Sing. 1. *cukrudham*, *jījanam*, *dūdham*, *vocam*.

2. *cikradas*, *cikṣipās*, *jihvaras*, *jīhipās* (caus. *hā-paya-*), *titṛśas* (TS. III. 2. 5<sup>3</sup>), *didṛśas*, *didyutas*, *dīdharas*, *nīnamas*, *nīnaśas*, *paptas*, *piṣṣrās*, *pīparas* (*pr-* 'cross'), *bībhiśas* (TS. III. 2. 5<sup>2</sup>), *mīmṣas*, *rīradhas*, *rīriśas*, *vīvijas*, *vocas*, *śīsnathas*, *śīsrāthas*, *śūsucas* (AV.), *siṣadhas* (*√sād-*).

3. *cucyavat*, *tiṣṣhipat*, *dīdharat*, *dudravat*, *dūduśat*, *neśat*, *paptat* (AV.), *pīparat* (*pr-* 'cross', RV<sup>1</sup>) and *pīpdrat* (*pr-* 'cross', RV<sup>1</sup> = TS. I. 6. 12<sup>3</sup>), *pīparat* (*pr-* 'fill'), *mīmayat*<sup>4</sup>, *rīradhat* (*√randh-*), *rīriśat*, *vocat*, *śīsrāthat*, *śīśvadat* (*√svād-*). — Without thematic *-a-*: *nūnot* (*nu-* 'praise'), *yūyot* (*yu-* 'separate'), *susrot*.

Du. 2. *jihvaratam*<sup>5</sup> (VS. v. 17) and *jīhvaratam*<sup>5</sup> (TS. I. 2. 13<sup>2</sup>), *rīradhatam*<sup>5</sup>.

Pl. 2. *rīradhata*<sup>5</sup>, *rīriśata*<sup>5</sup> (I. 89<sup>9</sup> = VS. XXV. 22).

3. *cikṣipān* (AV.), *paptān*, *rīramān*, *vocān*, *śūsucān* (VS. XXXV. 8).

Middle. Sing. 1. *vōce*. — 2. *bībhiśathās*<sup>6</sup>.

Pl. 3. *jījananta*, *vōcanta*, *siṣapanta* (*sap-* 'serve').

### Reduplicated Aorist Optative.

517. The forms of this mood are rare, numbering altogether (including a precative) not more than a dozen. The majority of these come from *vac-* 'speak', and the rest from two other roots, *cyu-* 'stir' and *rīṣ-* 'hurt'.

Active. Sing. 1. *vocēyam*. — 2. *rīriṣes*, *vocēs*. — 3. *vocet* (AV.).

Du. 2. *vocetam*. — Pl. 1. *vocēma*<sup>7</sup>. — 3. *vocēyum*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *vocēya*. — Pl. 1. *cucyuvīmāhi*<sup>8</sup>, *vocemāhi*. — 3. *cucyavitrata*<sup>8</sup>, There is also the precative sing. 3. *rīriṣ-ṛ-ṣ-ṭa*<sup>9</sup> (VI. 517) or *rīriṣ-ṛ-ṣ-ṭa* (VIII. 18<sup>23</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> As if from an indicative 3. sing. \**apisprk*.

<sup>2</sup> Like an indicative present in form.

<sup>3</sup> These forms refute the statement of HIRT, IF. 12, 214 f., that the reduplicated, as well as the root and *a-* aorist, has no subjunctive, but only injunctive forms. Cp. 502, 509.

<sup>4</sup> This form seems to have an injunctive sense in RV. x. 27<sup>22</sup>, its only occurrence.

<sup>5</sup> Reckoned here an injunctive form (not imperative) because accompanied by *mā*: cp. DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax p. 361<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Formed from the causative stem *bhīṣāya-* of *bhī-* 'fear'.

<sup>7</sup> This form occurs six times in the RV., three times unaccented and three times accented *vocēma*. AVERY 268 wrongly states *vocēma* to occur five times and *vōcema* (sic) once.

<sup>8</sup> Without thematic *-a-*.

<sup>9</sup> In the Pada text *rīriṣṛṣṭa*.

## Reduplicated Aorist Imperative.

518. Forms of this mood are rare, numbering hardly more than a dozen. They occur in the active only.

**Active. Sing. 2.** *vocatāt*. — **3.** *vocatu*. — **Du. 2.** *jigrtām* (*gr-* 'waken'), *didhrtām*, *vocatām*. — **Pl. 2.** *jigrtā*, *didhrtā*, *paptata*<sup>1</sup> (i. 88<sup>1</sup>), *vocata*, *susūddata* (AV. I. 26<sup>4</sup>)<sup>2</sup>. — **3.** *pūpurantu* (*pū-* 'fill'), *śiśrathantu*.

## 3. Sigmatic Aorist.

519. The general tense sign of this aorist is an *s* added to the root. This *s* in the vast majority of verbs (more than 200) comes immediately before the endings. When such is the case, the stem may be formed in three different ways: the *s* being added 1. direct to the root, e. g. *a-jai-s-am* (*ji-* 'conquer'); 2. with a connecting *-i-*, e. g. *a-kram-i-s-am* (*kram-* 'stride'); 3. with an additional *s-* prefixed to the connecting *-i-*, e. g. *a-yā-s-i-s-am* (*yā-* 'go'). The inflexion of these three varieties (A) follows that of the graded conjugation. In a small number of verbs the stem is formed by adding *-s* extended with a thematic *a*; e. g. *ā-ruk-sa-t* (*ruh-* 'mount'). The inflexion of this fourth form (B) of the sigmatic aorist is like that of an imperfect of the *a-* conjugation.

Of the four varieties of the sigmatic aorist, the first two, the *s-* aorist and the *iṣ-* aorist, are very common, each being formed by nearly 100 roots. The other two are rare, the *siṣ-* aorist being made from only six, and the *sa-* aorist from only nine roots.

A. 1. The *s-* aorist.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum 177—179. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 257—259. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 878—897; Roots 225—226; Atharvaveda, Index Verborum 380. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 83—84.

520. In this form of the sigmatic aorist, the radical vowel as a rule takes *ṽṛddhi* (*a* being lengthened) in the active. In the middle, on the other hand, excepting final *ī* and *u* (which take *Guṇa*), the radical vowel remains unchanged. Thus in the active there occur the forms 1. sing. *a-jai-sam* (*√ji-*), *a-bhār-sam* (*√bhr-*), 3. sing. *ā-raik* (*√ric-*), 3. pl. *ā-cchānt-sur* (*√chand-*); while in the middle we find 1. sing. *a-vit-si* (*√vid-*), *ā-bhūt-si* (*√budh-*), *a-srṣ-si* (*√srj-*), *a-nū-si* (*nū-* 'praise'), beside forms with *Guṇa* from roots ending in *ī* or *u* such as 3. pl. *a-he-s-ata* (*√hi-*), *a-ne-s-ata* (*√nī-*), 1. sing. *a-sto-si* (*√stu-*).

a. There are, however, some irregularities. 1. In a few active injunctive forms *Guṇa* appears instead of *ṽṛddhi*, e. g. sing. 2. *je-s* (*√ji-*), pl. 1. *jē-sma*. — 2. In two or three middle forms of *sah-* 'overcome', the *a* is lengthened, e. g. sing. 1. *sāh-si*<sup>3</sup>. — 3. The root is shortened in a few middle forms; thus the *ā* of *dā-* 'cut', is reduced to *i* in sing. 1. opt. *dī-s-īya*, and the nasal of *gam-* 'go' and *man-* 'think' is dropped in the forms *a-ga-smahi* and *ma-sīya*. — 4. After a consonant other than *n m r*, the tense sign *s* is dropped before *t*, *th*, and *dh*; thus *ā-bhak-ta* beside *ā-bhak-si* (*√bhaj-*); *pat-thās* (AV.) beside *pat-si* (*√pad-*, AV.); *ā-sto-dhvam*<sup>4</sup> (*√stu-*), where the *s* on becoming *ṣ* cerebralized the following dental before disappearing (\**ā-sto-ṣ-dhvam*).

In addition to the indicative, all the moods of this form of the aorist occur. There is also a participle, but it is rare.

<sup>1</sup> An imperative form like this justifies the classification of *āpaptat* etc. as an actual aorist, apart from its possible origin as a pluperfect.

<sup>2</sup> Pada text *susūddata*. It is perhaps better to class this form where (cp. WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 871) than as a transfer form of the perfect imperative from *√sūd-* (Roots

188), though the reduplicative vowel is short. Cp. p. 362, note 9.

<sup>3</sup> Also in the active subjunctive form *sākṣāma*, where the *a* would normally remain short, as the radical vowel in this mood takes *Guṇa* only.

<sup>4</sup> The only example in this aorist of the ending *-dhvam*.

## Indicative.

521. The only point in which the inflexion differs from that of the imperfect of the graded conjugation is that the 3. pl. active invariably ends in *-ur*.

a. The following peculiarities and irregularities are moreover to be noted. 1. In the active, in the RV.<sup>1</sup> the endings *-s* and *-t* of the 2. 3. sing. disappear, and the tense sign also, unless the root ends in a vowel; e. g. *a-hīr* (AV.), 3. sing. from *√hr-*, = *\*a-hīr-s-t*, but *a-hā-s*, 3. sing. from *hā-* 'leave' = *\*a-hā-s-t*. The AV. and TS., however, less often than not, insert a connecting *-i-* before these endings, thus preserving both the latter and the *s* of the tense stem; e. g. *a-naik-s-i-t* (Vñj-, AV.), *a-tām-s-i-t* (√tan-, TS.). In four forms in which the *-i-* is not inserted, the *-s* and *-t*, as distinctive of the 2. and 3. persons, abnormally take the place of the *-s* of the stem or the final consonant of the root: *a-srai-t* (AV.) for *\*a-srai-s-t* (√sri-); *d-hai-t* (AV.) for *\*d-hai-s-t* (√hi-); *a-vā-t* (AV. VIII. 121) for *\*a-vās-t* (vas- 'shine'); 2. sing. *srū-s* (AV.) for *\*srūj-s-s* (√srj-). The RV. also has a *yā-s* for *\*a-yāj-s-s* (yaj- 'sacrifice') beside the phonetically regular form in the 3. sing. *a-yā-t* for *\*a-yāj-s-t*. — 2. In the middle nine first and one or two third persons singular appear in which the stem is made with the addition of *-s*, but which have both the ending and the meaning of the present; and the *-s* is added to a present stem and not to the aorist form of the root. Thus formed are from a present stem of 1. the *a-* class: *arā-s-s-e* 'I praise', *yaja-s-s-e* 'I worship' (VIII. 25†); 2. the *ā-* class, nasalized: *ṛñja-s-s-e* 'I strive after'; 3. the *ya-* class: *gāy-i-s-e* 'I sing'; 4. the *nā-* class: *gṛñi-s-s-e* 'I praise'; *ṣunī-s-e* 'I purify'; 5. the root class: *kr-s-s-e* 'I make', *hi-s-s-e* 'I impel', *stu-s-s-e* 'I praise'<sup>8</sup>; 6. the intensive: *cārkr-s-s-e* which (like *stuśé*<sup>9</sup> in I. 122<sup>7</sup>) is a 3. sing. with a passive sense: 'is praised'.

522. The forms of the indicative actually occurring would, if made from *bhr-* 'bear' in the active and *stu-* 'praise' in the middle, be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *ābhārṣam*. 2. *ābhār, abhārṣts* (AV.). 3. *ābhār; abhārṣit* (AV. TS.). — Du. 2. *ābhārṣtam*. 3. *abhārṣtam*. — Pl. 1. *ābhārṣma*. 2. *ābhārṣta*. 3. *ābhārṣur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *āstoṣi*. 2. *āstoṣthās*. 3. *āstoṣta*. — Du. 3. *āstoṣātām*. — Pl. 1. *āstoṣmahi*. 2. *āstoṣhvam*. 3. *āstoṣata*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *akārṣam* (AV.), *ajaisam* (√ji-), *āprākṣam* (√prach-, AV.), *abhārṣam*, *āyāṁsam* (√yam-), *ayāsam*, *āspārṣam* (spr- 'win'), *āhārṣam* (√hr-).

2. *akrān* (√krand-), *aghās*<sup>10</sup> (√ghas-, AV. XX. 129<sup>16</sup>), *dhās* (hā- 'leave', AV. II. 10<sup>7</sup>). — With irregular *-s*: *ayās* (√yaj-), *srās* (√srj-, AV.). — With connecting *-i-*: *arātsis* (rād- 'succeed', AV.), *avātsis*<sup>11</sup> (vas- 'dwell', AV.); *bhaiṣis* (AV.).

3. With loss of the ending *-t*: *ajais*<sup>12</sup> (√ji-), *aprās* (√prā-), *ahās* (hā- 'leave'). — With loss of both tense sign and ending: *ākrān*<sup>13</sup> (√krand-), *ākṣār* (√kṣar-), *acait* (√cit-), *acchān* (√chand-), *atān* (√tan-), *atsār* (√tsar-), *ādyaūt* (√dyut-), *adhāk* (√dah-), *aprāk* (pr- 'mix', AV.), *aprāt* (√prach-), *ābhār*, *ayāt* (√yaj-), *āyān* (√yam-), *araut*<sup>14</sup> (√rudh-, AV.), *āvāt* (√vah-), *avāt*<sup>15</sup> (vas- 'shine', AV.), *aśvait* (√śvit-), *asyān* (√syand-), *āsrāk* (√srj-), *āsvār* (√svar-), *ahār* (√hr-, AV.); *āraik* (√ric-); *dyaut*, *vāt* (√vah-). —

<sup>1</sup> and the Kāthaka, WHITNEY 888.

<sup>2</sup> In *avāt* the *t* may, however, represent the final *s* of the root, the form possibly standing for *\*a-vāt-s-t*; see above 44 a 2, and WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 167.

<sup>3</sup> The phonetically regular form would be *\*srāḥ*. Cp. p. 61 (middle).

<sup>4</sup> Also the participle *ṛñjas-ānā-*.

<sup>5</sup> From *gāya-*, with *-i-* for *-a-*.

<sup>6</sup> From the weak stem.

<sup>7</sup> These three forms seem to represent the transition of aorist stems to employment as present stems.

<sup>8</sup> The form *stuśé* is frequent as a 1. sing. ;

in one passage (I. 122<sup>7</sup>), however, it appears to be a 3. sing. with a passive sense: 'is praised'.

<sup>9</sup> On *stuśé* in general, see OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 59, 355 ff., NEISSER, BB. 30, 315–325.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. above 499, *āghas* sing. 2. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. v. NEGELEIN 83, note 5; above 44, a 1.

<sup>12</sup> For *\*ajais-t*.

<sup>13</sup> For *\*ākrānd-s-t*.

<sup>14</sup> For *\*araudh-s-t*.

<sup>15</sup> Cp. *avāt-s-ts* (AV.) from *vas-* 'dwell'. Cp. note 2 and p. 36 (top).

With irregular *-t*: *asrait* (*√sri*-, AV.), *āhait* (*√hi*-, AV.). — With connecting *-ī-*: *atāṃsit* (*√tan*-, TS. IV. 7. 13<sup>5</sup>; VS. XV. 53), *anaikṣit* (*√nij*-, AV.); *rautsit* (*√rudh*-, Kh. IV. 7<sup>5</sup>).

Du. 2. *dsrāṣṭam*<sup>1</sup> (*√srj*-, AV.). — 3. *abhārṣṭām* (VS. XXVIII. 17), *asvārṣṭām* (*√svar*-).

Pl. 1. *ājaiṣma*, *ābhaiṣma*. — 2. *ācchānta*<sup>2</sup> (*√chand*-), *anaiṣṭa* (TS. V. 7. 2<sup>4</sup>). — 3. *ācchāntsur*, *ābhāisur*, *amatsur* (*√mad*-), *ayāsur*, *dvāksur* (*√vah*-, AV.)<sup>3</sup>.

Middle. Sing. 1. *ādikiṣi* (*√diś*-), *ādīṣi*<sup>4</sup> (*dā*- 'give', AV.), *anūṣi* (*√nū*-), *ābhakṣi* (*√bhaj*-), *ābhutsi* (*√budh*-), *āmāsi* (*mā*- 'measure', AV.), *āmukṣi* (*√muc*-, AV.), *avitsi* (*vid*- 'find'), *asākṣi*<sup>5</sup> (*√sah*-), *asṛkṣi*, *astoṣi*; *maṃsi* (*√man*-), *vṛkṣi*<sup>6</sup> (*√vṛj*-, AV.), *sākṣi*<sup>5</sup>.

2. *ājñāsthās* (AV.), *ātaptḥās*<sup>7</sup> (AV. IX. 5<sup>6</sup>), *apṛkthās* (*√pṛc*-, AV.), *āmukthās* (*√muc*-, AV.).

3. *apṛkta* (*√pṛc*-), *ābhakta* (*√bhaj*-), *āmamsta* (VS. V. 40), *amatta* (*√mad*-), *ayaṃsta* (*√yam*-), *ayaṣṭa* (*√yaj*-), *āraṃsta* (*√ram*-), *ārabdha* (*√rabh*-), *asakta* (*√saj*-), *āsrṣṭa* (*√srj*-), *astoṣṭa*.

Du. 3. *anūṣātām*, *amaṇsātām* (VS. XXXVIII. 13), *āyukṣātām* (*√yuj*-).

Pl. 1. *agasmahi*<sup>8</sup> (*√gam*-), *apṛkasmahi* (*√pṛc*-, AV.), *ābhutsmahi* (*√budh*-), *āvīkṣmahi* (*√viś*-), *asṛkṣmahi* (*√srj*-, TS. I. 4. 45<sup>3</sup>; VS. XX. 22).

2. *āstoḍhvam* (for \**ā-stoṣ-dhvam* from *stū*- 'praise').

3. *akṛaṃsata* (AV.), *dārṣata* (*√dṛś*-), *ādūksata* (*√duh*-), *ādḥrṣata*<sup>9</sup> (*dhvṛ*- 'injure'), *adhūṣata*, *anūṣata*, *aneṣata* (*√nū*-), *ābhutsata* (*√budh*-), *amaṇsata* (*√man*-), *amatsata* (*√mad*-), *ayaṇsata* (*√yam*-), *ayukṣata* (*√yuj*-), *araṇsata* (AV.), *ārāsata*, *alipsata*, *āvīkṣata* (*√viś*-), *avṛtsata* (*√vṛt*-), *avṛṣata* (*vṛ*- 'choose', AV. III. 3<sup>5</sup>), *asakṣata* (*sac*- 'accompany'), *āsrkṣata* (*√srj*-), *āstoṣata*, *ahāṣata*, *ahūṣata* (*hū*- 'call'), *ahrṣata* (*√hr*-), *aheṣata* (*√hi*-).

### s- Aorist Subjunctive.

523. This mood is quite common in the RV., but decidedly less so in the other Samhitās. Its forms are, however, frequent only in the active, in which all persons are represented except the 1. du. The middle is much less common, about 20 forms occurring altogether; only one of these is found in the dual, and two in the plural. The root regularly takes Guṇa throughout before the tense sign<sup>10</sup>, in the middle as well as the active. The primary endings are frequent, being used almost exclusively<sup>11</sup> in the du. and the 2. pl.

In the middle 3. sing. and pl. the exceptional ending *-tai* occurs in two forms in later Samhitās (AV. TS.).

Active. Sing. 1. *stoṣāṇi*. — 2. *dārṣasi* (*dṛ*- 'split'); *jéṣas* (*√ji*-), *vākṣas* (*√vah*-). — 3. *neṣati* (*√nū*-), *parṣati* (*pṛ*- 'take across'), *pāṣati* ('protect'), *matsati* (*√mad*-), *yoṣati* (*yu*- 'separate'), *vakṣati* (*√vah*-), *sakṣati* (*√sah*-, AV.); *ākṣat* (*aś*- 'attain', X. 11<sup>7</sup>), *kṣṣat* (*kṣi*- 'dwell'), *chanisat* (*√chand*-), *jéṣat* (*√ji*-), *dārṣat* (*dṛ*- 'split'), *dāsat* (*dā*- 'give'), *drāsat*

<sup>1</sup> Emendation for *āsrāṣṭram* of the Mss., AV. IV. 28<sup>4</sup>; see WHITNEY's note.

<sup>2</sup> For \**acchānt-s-ta*.

<sup>3</sup> AVERY 257 adds the form *aveṣan*, which occurs twice in the RV., regarding it doubtless as an *s*-aorist of *√vṛ*. It would as such have the double anomaly of absence of *Yṛddhi* and the ending *-an*. It is probably 3. pl. impf. of *√viś* in both passages (I. 170<sup>2</sup>; X. 114<sup>4</sup>). GRASSMANN in X. 114<sup>4</sup> regards it as aorist of *√vṛ*.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. v. NEGELEIN 83<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> With anomalous long vowel.

<sup>6</sup> See WHITNEY's note on AV. VI. 30<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> For \**ā-tap-s-thās*.

<sup>8</sup> With loss of the radical nasal (*a* taking the place of the sonant nasal).

<sup>9</sup> With interchange of the radical vowel and semivowel: see 50, b.

<sup>10</sup> The *a* of *sah* is lengthened in the forms *sākṣāma* and *sākṣate*.

<sup>11</sup> Excepting only the 3. du. act. *yakṣatām*.

(*drā-* 'run'), *nakṣat* (*naṣ-* 'reach'), *neṣat* (*Vnṛ-*), *pákṣat* (*Vpac-*), *párṣat* ('take across'), *préṣat* (*Vprṛ-*), *bhākṣat* (*Vbhaj-*), *bhārṣat* (*Vbhr-*), *mátsat* (*Vmad-*), *yámsat* (*Vyam-*), *yákṣat* (*Vyaj-*), *yásat*, *yósat* (*yu-* 'separate'), *rásat*, *vámsat* (*Vvan-*), *vákṣat* (*Vvah-*), *valṣat* (Kh. v. 15<sup>16</sup>), *véṣat*<sup>1</sup> (*Vvṛ-*)<sup>2</sup>, *sakṣat* (*sac-* 'accompany'<sup>3</sup> and *sah-* 'overcome'<sup>4</sup>), *satsat* (*Vsad-*), *sarṣat* (*Vsr-*, AV.), *stōṣat*, *sraṣat* (*Vsrj-*, VS. XXI. 46).

Du. 2. *dāsathas*, *dhāsathas*, *párṣathas* (*pr-* 'take across'), *vákṣathas* (*Vvah-*, AV.), *varṣathas* (*vṛ-* 'cover').

3. *pāsatas* ('protect'), *yámsatas* (*Vyam-*), *yákṣatas* (*Vyaj-*), *yóṣatas* (*yu-* 'separate', AV.), *vákṣatas* (*Vvah-*). — With *-tām*: *yakṣatām* (*Vyaj-*).

Pl. 1. *jéṣāma* (*Vji-*), *vámsāma* (*Vvan-*), *sákṣāma*<sup>5</sup> (*Vsah-*), *stōṣāma*. — 2. *dhāsatha*, *neṣatha*, *párṣatha* ('take across'), *mátsatha*. — 3. *parṣan* ('take across'), *yamisan* (*Vyam-*), *rāsan*, *vákṣan*, *śéṣan* (*śt-* 'lie').

Middle. Sing. 1. *nāṃsai*, *māṃsai* (*Vman-*). — 2. *dṛkṣase*<sup>6</sup>, *prkṣase*<sup>6</sup> (*Vprc-*), *maṃsase* (*Vman-*). — 3. *kraṇṣate*, *trāṣate*, *darṣate* (*dr-* 'split'), *māṃsate* (*Vman-*), *yāṃsate* (*Vyam-*), *yakṣate* (*Vyaj-*), *rāṣate*, *vaṃsate* (*Vvan-*), *sākṣate*<sup>7</sup> (*Vsah-*)<sup>7</sup>. — With ending *-tai*: *māsātai* (AV.).

Du. 2. *trāsāthe* (for *\*trāsāithe*). — Pl. 3. *nāṃsante* (*Vnam-*), *māṃsante* (*Vman-*). — With ending *-tai*: *maṃsatai*<sup>8</sup> (TS. VII. 4. 15<sup>1</sup>).

### s- Aorist Injunctive.

524. Injunctive forms are of fairly common occurrence, especially after *mā*. Judged by the extremely few accented forms occurring, the accent was on the radical syllable. All the forms occurring in the 1. sing. act. are irregular in one way or another: nearly all of them take Guṇa instead of Vṛddhi, while *yūṣam* (AV.) only lengthens the radical vowel (*yu-* 'separate'). Three first persons from roots in *-ā* substitute *e*<sup>9</sup> for that vowel, as *jeṣam* from *yā-* 'go'; the same substitution takes place in the 1. pl. *geṣma* (AV.), *deṣma* (VS.), and 3. pl. *stheṣur* (AV.).

Active. Sing. 1. *jeṣam*<sup>10</sup> (*Vji-*, VS. IX. 13 etc.), *yūṣam* (*yu-* 'separate', AV.), *stōṣam*<sup>10</sup>; from roots ending in *-ā*: *geṣam* (*gā-* 'go', VS. v. 5), *yeṣam* (*yā-* 'go'), *stheṣam*<sup>9</sup> (*sthā-* 'stand', VS. II. 8).

2. *jes*<sup>10</sup>; *bhāk* (*Vbhaj-*), *yāt* (*Vyaj-*), *yaus* (*yu-* 'separate'), *hvār* (*Vhvar-*, VS. I. 2). — With connecting *-r-*: *hāṣis* (Kh. IV. 85; AA. II. 7).

3. *dhāk* (*Vdah-*), *bhāk* (*Vbhaj-*), *bhār* (*Vbhr-*), *mauk* (*Vmuc-*, VS. I. 25), *hās*<sup>11</sup> (*hā-* 'leave'). — With connecting *-r-*: *tāṣit* (VS. XIII. 30), *vākṣit* (*Vvah-*, AV.), *hāṣit* (TS. VII. 3. 13<sup>1</sup>; AV.), *hvārṣit* (*Vhvar-*, VS. I. 2).

Du. 2. *tāptam* (*Vtāp-*, VS. v. 33), *yausṭam* (*yu-* 'separate'), *srūṣṭam* (*Vsrj-*, AV.).

<sup>1</sup> As appearing in immediate juxtaposition with *préṣat* (I. 180<sup>6</sup>), this form appears to be an aorist subjunctive of *vṛ-*, not a present injunctive of *Vvṛ-* (*vṛṣati*).

<sup>2</sup> AVERY 258 gives *śiṣat*, among these forms, as occurring once. He doubtless means *nī-śiṣat* (IV. 2<sup>7</sup>) which occurs beside the subjunctives *bhārāt* and *udhāt*. But it cannot be an *s-* aorist (which would be *śikṣat*). WHITNEY, *Roots*, takes it as an *a-* aorist of *śiṣ-* 'leave', GRASSMANN, *Wörterbuch* 1392, as an aorist of *śās-*. Cp. above 510.

<sup>3</sup> In I. 129<sup>10</sup> ('accompany').

<sup>4</sup> In v. 30<sup>6</sup> ('conquer').

<sup>5</sup> With lengthened radical vowel.

<sup>6</sup> Weak radical vowel instead of Guṇa.

<sup>7</sup> AVERY 258 adds *hāṣate*, also WHITNEY, *Grammar* 893 a; but this form is doubtless a 3. sing. mid. pres. of *hās-* 'hasten', a secondary form of *hā-* 'leave' according to the *a-* class; also *hāsante* (AV. IV. 36<sup>5</sup>). Cp. p. 321, note 7.

<sup>8</sup> See WEBER's ed. of the TS., p. 310, 15, note 12.

<sup>9</sup> Made perhaps from an *i-* form of roots ending in *-ā*. Cp. WHITNEY, *Grammar* 894 c.

<sup>10</sup> Formed perhaps under the influence of the subjunctives *jéṣat* and *stōṣat*.

<sup>11</sup> Unnecessarily regarded by DELBRÜCK, *Verbum* p. 60 (80) as from *hr-* 'take'.

Pl. 1. *yauṣma* (yu- 'separate', VS. IV. 22). — With Guṇa only: *geṣma*<sup>1</sup> (gā- 'go', AV.), *jēṣma* (√ji-), *deṣma*<sup>2</sup> (dā- 'give', VS. II. 32). — 2. *naiṣṭa* (√nī-), *yauṣṭa* (√yu- 'separate', AV.), *sāpta*<sup>2</sup> (TS. III. 3. 9<sup>1</sup>). — 3. *jaiṣur* (√ji-, AV.), *dhāsur*, *yauṣur* (yu- 'separate'), *stheṣur*<sup>1</sup> (AV. XVI. 47), *hāsur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *gāsi* (gā- 'sing'), *nikṣi* (√nij-, AV.), *paṭsi* (√pad-, AV.), *bhākṣi* (√bhaj-, VII. 41<sup>2</sup>), *meṣi* (mī- 'diminish', AV.), *yaṁsi* (√yam-), *yakṣi* (√yaj-), *vāṁsi* (√van-), *vṛkṣi* (√vrj-).

2. *cyoṣthās* (√cyu-), *chitthās* (√chid-, AV.), *paṭthās* (√pad-, AV.), *bhitthās* (TS. IV. 1. 9<sup>2</sup>), *maṁsthās* (√man-, AV.; VS. XIII. 41), *meṣthās* (√mī-, AV.), *raṁsthās* (√ram-, AV.), *hāsthās* (hā- 'go forth', AV.).

3. *kṣeṣṭa* (kṣi- 'destroy', AV.), *neṣṭa* (√nī-, AV.), *pāsta* (pā- 'drink', AV.), *maṁsta* (√man-, AV.), *māṁsta*<sup>6</sup> (√man-, AV. XI. 2<sup>8</sup>), *meṣṭa* (mī- 'fail', AV.), *hāsta* (hā- 'be left', AV.).

Du. 2. *srkṣāthām* (√srj-, VS. XIX. 7).

Pl. 1. *yutmahī*<sup>3</sup> (√yudh-, AV.), *hāsmahī* (hā- 'be deprived of').

3. *dhukṣata* (√duh-), *nāṣata*, *matsata* (√mad-), *mukṣata* (√muc-), *sakṣata* (√sac- 'accompany').

### s- Aorist Optative.

525. This mood occurs in the middle only in this form of the sigmatic aorist. The 2. 3. sing. always appears with the precativē *s* excepting the one form *bhākṣīta* in the SV. (I. I. 2. 4<sup>2</sup>).

Sing. 1. *diṣṭiya*<sup>4</sup> (dā- 'cut'), *bhākṣīyā* (√bhaj-), *maṣīyā*<sup>5</sup> (√man-), *mukṣīyā*, *rāṣīyā*, *sākṣīyā*<sup>6</sup> (√sah-, AV.), *strīyā* (√str-, AV.).

2. *maṁṣīṣṭhās* (√man-). — 3. *darṣīṣṭa* (dṛ- 'tear'), *bhākṣīta* (SV.), *maṁṣīṣṭa* (√man-), *mṛkṣīṣṭa* (mṛc- 'injure').

Du. 2. *trāṣīthām* (for \*trāṣīyāthām).

Pl. 1. *dhukṣīmāhi* (√duh-, TS. I. 6. 4<sup>3</sup>), *bhākṣīmāhi* (√bhaj-), *maṁṣīmāhi* (√man-), *vāṁṣīmāhi* and *vasīmāhi*<sup>5</sup> (√van-, IX. 72<sup>8</sup>), *sakṣīmāhi* (√sac-). — 3. *maṁṣīrata*.

### s- Aorist Imperative.

526. No certain regular forms of the imperative occur in the active. Two or three, such as *yauṣṭam*, *naiṣṭa*, might have been classed here, but as they occur with *mā* only, they have been placed among the injunctives. There are, however, the two transfer forms in the 2. sing. *neṣa* (√nī-, AV.) and *paṣā* (pr- 'take across')<sup>7</sup>. The only forms of the imperative occurring in the middle are three made from *rā*- 'give' and one from *śah*- 'conquer'.

Middle. Sing. 2. *sākṣva*. — 3. *rāsatām*. — Du. 2. *rāsāthām*. — Pl. 3. *rāsantām*.

### s- Aorist Participle.

527. Only two or three forms of the active participle are found. These are *dākṣant-* and *dhākṣant-* from *dah*- 'burn', and *sākṣant-* from *sah*- 'prevail'. In the middle there are no regular forms. There is one doubtful example in which the stem is extended with *-a-* and accordingly adds the suffix *-māna*, as in the *a-* conjugation: *dhī-ṣ-a-māna-* (*dhī*- 'think').

There are, besides, a dozen stems irregularly formed by adding *s* to the root with an intermediate *-a-*, and taking the regular ending *-āna*. These forms

<sup>1</sup> See p. 380, note 9.

<sup>2</sup> For *sāp-s-ia*.

<sup>3</sup> A somewhat doubtful reading: see WHITNEY's note on AV. VII. 52<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> With the radical *ā* weakened to *i*.

<sup>5</sup> Root weakened by loss of nasal (*a* taking the place of the sonant nasal).

<sup>6</sup> With irregular lengthening of the radical vowel.

<sup>7</sup> See WHITNEY, AV. Index Verborum 382.

may be accounted as belonging to the *s*-aorist. All but two of them occur in the RV. They are: *arśasānā*- 'injuring', *ōhasāna*- (√*āh*-) 'lying in wait', *jayasānā*- (√*jri*-) 'far-extending', *dhiyasānā*- (√*dhr̥*-) 'attending', *namasānā*- (√*nam*-) 'rendering homage' (AV.), *bhiyāsāna*- (√*bhr̥*-) 'fearing' (AV.), *mandasānā*- (√*mand*-) 'rejoicing', *yamasānā*- (√*yam*-) 'being driven' (with passive sense), *rabhasānā*- (√*rabh*-) 'agile', *vr̥dhasānā*- (√*vr̥dh*-) 'growing', *śavasānā*- (√*śū*-) 'strong', *sahasānā*- (√*sah*-) 'mighty'.

### A. 2. The *iṣ*-Aorist.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 179—180. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 259—261. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 898—910; Roots 226—227; AV. Index Verborum 380. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 85—86.

528. About 80 roots take this form of the sigmatic aorist in the RV. and about a dozen others in the AV.

The *-ṣ* is here added to the root with the connecting vowel *-i-*. The radical vowel as a general rule takes Guna throughout; but in the active a final vowel takes Vr̥ddhi and a medial *-a* is sometimes lengthened. No roots with final *-ā* and few with final *-ī* take this aorist. The terminations are the same as those of the *s*-aorist, excepting that the 2. and 3. sing. act. end in *-ṣ* (= *iṣ-s*) and *-ṣt* (= *iṣ-t*). Active and middle forms, though frequent, are rarely both made from the same root, occurring thus in about fifteen verbs only. This is the only aorist from which a few forms are made in the secondary conjugation<sup>1</sup>.

Besides the indicative, all the moods are represented in this aorist, but no participial forms have been met with.

### Indicative.

529. In the active all persons are represented except du. 1. 2. and pl. 2.; but in the middle only sing. 2. and 3. occur besides a single form of sing. 1. (Kh.), du. 3. and pl. 3. (VS.).

a. A few irregularities occur in the formation of this tense<sup>2</sup>. 1. The forms *atārima* (beside the normal *ātariṣma*) and *avādīran*<sup>3</sup> (AV.), are probably to be regarded as irregular forms with abnormal loss of the aoristic *-s*. — 2. The root *grabh-* 'seize' takes the connecting vowel *ī*<sup>3</sup> (as it does in other verbal forms) instead of *-i-*, as *agrabhīṣma*. — 3. In the sing. 1. act., the ending *-īm* appears instead of *-iṣam* in the three forms *ākramīm*, *vādhīm*, and *agrabhīm* (TS.), doubtless owing to the analogy of the 2. and 3. sing. *-ṣ* and *-ṣt*<sup>4</sup>. — 4. The abnormal ending *-ait* appears in the 3. sing. in *āsarait*<sup>5</sup> (AV.) beside *aśarīt* (AV.)<sup>6</sup>.

The normal forms occurring, if made from *kram-* 'stride', would be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *ākramiṣam*. 2. *ākramīṣ*. 3. *ākramīt*. — Du. 3. *ākramiṣtām*. — Pl. 1. *ākramiṣma*. 3. *ākramiṣur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *ākramiṣi* (Kh.). 2. *ākramiṣthās*. 3. *ākramiṣṭa*. — Du. 3. *ākramiṣātām*. — Pl. 3. *ākramiṣata* (VS.).

The forms which actually occur are the following:

<sup>1</sup> From causatives *dhvanayīt*, *ailayīt* (Vil., AV.), from a desiderative *vr̥tīs* (Vr̥dh-, AV.).

<sup>2</sup> The weak form of the root appears in the injunctive *nūdiṣthās* (AV.) and the optative *ruciṣīya* (AV.) and *gmiṣīya* (VS.), which syncopates the radical vowel as in the root aor. and the perfect of this verb.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 904 d.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 188.

<sup>5</sup> This abnormal ending also occurs in the secondary conjugation in the denominative aor. *śaṇaparyait* (AV.): see below 570.

<sup>6</sup> Both these forms also show the irregularity of taking Guna instead of Vr̥ddhi.



**Active. Sing. 1.** *akāṇiṣam, akāriṣam, akramiṣam, acāyiṣam* (AV.), *acāriṣam, abhāriṣam* (Vbhr-, AV.), *avadhiṣam* (AV.), *avādiṣam* (AV.), *śaṃsiṣam, asāniṣam; āsiṣam* (as- 'eat', AV.); *rāviṣam*. — With ending *-īm*: *akramīm, agrabhīm* (TS.); *vādhitm*.

**2.** *akramīs, adṛṃhīs* (VS. VI. 2), *dvadhīs, avarṣīs<sup>1</sup>, astarīs* (Vstr-, AV.); *āsīs<sup>2</sup>* (as- 'eat', AV.), *duksīs* (ukṣ- 'grow'); *kramīs, vādhitś*.

**3.** *ākārīt, ākramīt, āgrabhīt, āgrahīt* (AV.), *dtārīt, adṛṃhīt* (MS. IV. 13<sup>8</sup>), *anayīt<sup>2</sup>* (Vnr-, AV.), *āmandīt, ayāsīt, āyodhit, arāvīt, dvadhīt, āvarṣīt* (Vvṛṣ-, AV.), *āśamsīt, āśarīt<sup>3</sup>* (AV.), *asāvīt, astānīt* (AV.), *āsvanīt; āvīt, āsīt* (as- 'eat', AV.); *jūrūt* (jūru- 'consume'), *tārīt, vādhit*. — With ending *-ait*: *āśarait<sup>4</sup>* (AV.).

**Du. 3.** *āmanthiṣtām; jāniṣtām*.

**Pl. 1.** *agrabhīṣma, dtāriṣma* and *atāriṣa<sup>5</sup>, dvadhīṣma* (VS. IX. 38).

**3.** *ataksiṣur, dtāriṣur, adhanviṣur, ānartiṣur, ānindiṣur, apāviṣur, āmandiṣur, amādiṣur, arāfiṣur, arāniṣur* (ran- 'rejoice'), *drāviṣur, avādiṣur, asāviṣur; āksiṣur<sup>6</sup>* (I. 163<sup>10</sup>), *āniṣur* (Van-, AV., TS.), *āviṣur* (Vav-). — With *-ran*: *avādiran* (AV.).

**Middle. Sing. 1.** *aikṣiṣi* (Kh. I. 1<sup>1</sup>: Vṛkṣ-). — **2.** *ājaniṣthās* (AV.), *asamiṣthās* (śam- 'labour'), *āsayiṣthās, āsramiṣthās; jāniṣthās*.

**3.** *akrapīṣṭa* (Vkrp-), *ājaniṣṭa, adhāviṣṭa, anaviṣṭa, aprathiṣṭa, arociṣṭa* (VS. XXXVII. 15), *avasīṣṭa* (vas- 'wear'), *śasamiṣṭa, śasahiṣṭa; ūhiṣṭa* (ūh- 'consider'); *krāmiṣṭa, jāniṣṭa, prāthiṣṭa, māndiṣṭa, yaṃiṣṭa*.

**Du. 3.** *āmāndiṣātām*. — **Pl. 3.** *āgrbhīṣata* (VS. XXI. 60).

### iṣ- Aorist Subjunctive.

**530.** Active forms of this mood are fairly common, but are almost exclusively limited to the 2. and 3. sing. Middle forms are very rare, occurring only in the pl., where not more than four examples have been noted.

**Active. Sing. 1.** *daṃsiṇi<sup>7</sup>*. — **2.** *aviṣas, kāniṣas, tāriṣas, rakṣiṣas, vādhiṣas, vādiṣas* (AV.), *vēṣiṣas, śaṃsiṣas*.

**3.** *kāriṣat, jambhiṣat, jōṣiṣat, tāriṣat, nindiṣat* (AV.), *pāriṣat* ('take across'), *bōdhiṣat, mārddhiṣat, yāciṣat, yodhiṣat, rakṣiṣat, vaniṣat* (AV.), *vyathiṣat* (VS. VI. 18), *śaṃsiṣat* (TS. v. 6. 8<sup>6</sup>), *sanīṣat, sāviṣat<sup>8</sup>* (sū- 'vivify').

**Pl. 3.** *saniṣan<sup>9</sup>* (AV. v. 3<sup>5</sup>).

**Middle. Pl. 1.** *yāciṣāmahe, sanīṣāmahe*. — **3.** *vaniṣanta<sup>10</sup>* (TS. IV. 7. 14<sup>1</sup>), *sāniṣanta*.

### iṣ- Aorist Injunctive.

**531.** Forms of the injunctive are commoner than those of the subjunctive. In the active they are found almost exclusively in the 2. 3. sing., 2. du. and 2. 3. pl.; in the middle nearly a dozen forms occur, all but one in the sing.

The forms of this mood have the accent on the root (as in the un-augmented indicative).

**Active. Sing. 1.** *śaṃsiṣam, hiṃsiṣam* (VS. I. 25).

<sup>1</sup> AVERY 259 adds *āvarhīs* as occurring once.

<sup>2</sup> See WHITNEY's note on AV. XI. 3<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> With Guṇa instead of Vṛddhi of final vowel; cp. BARTHOLOMAE, Studien 2, 165.

<sup>4</sup> See WHITNEY's note on AV. VI. 66<sup>2</sup>, where the reading *āśarīt* is better supported; cp. his note on AV. VI. 65<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> With loss of the aoristic -s.

<sup>6</sup> From *akṣ-* 'attain' (WHITNEY, Roots 1) a secondary form of *√as-*; otherwise a *siṣ-* aorist from *as-* 'attain'.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 13, 119—122.

<sup>8</sup> This form occurs also in two passages of the AV.; in a third (AV. I. 18<sup>2</sup>) *sāviṣak* appears instead of it. Cp. WHITNEY's note on this passage, and his Grammar 151 a.

<sup>9</sup> The corresponding passage of the RV. (x. 128<sup>3</sup>) has *vaniṣanta*, and of the TS. (IV. 7. 14<sup>1</sup>) *vaniṣanta*.

<sup>10</sup> See preceding note.

2. *arīs*, *kramīs* (AV.), *jīvīs* (AV.), *tarīs*, *barhīs*, *māthīs*, *mardhīs*, *moṣṭīs*, *yāvīs*, *yodhīs*, *rakṣīs* (AV.), *randhīs*, *lekḥīs* (VS. v. 43), *vādhīs*, *śocīs* (VS. XI. 45), *sāvīs*, *spharīs*, *hīṃsīs* (VS. AV.). — With *-ais*: *śarais* (√*śr*-, AV.).

3. *aśit* (aś- 'eat'), *gārīt* (gr- 'swallow'), *cārīt*, *jīvīt* (AV.), *tārīt*, *dāsīt* (das- 'waste'), *barhīt*, *māthīt*, *vadhīt* (TS. IV. 2. 9<sup>1</sup>; VS. XIII. 16), *veśīt*, *svānīt*, *hīṃsīt*.  
Du. 2. *tāriṣṭam*, *mardhiṣṭam*, *hīṃsiṣṭam* (AV. VS.).

Pl. 1. *śramiṣma*. — 2. *grabhiṣṭa*, *vadhiṣṭa*, *hīṃsiṣṭa* (AV. TS.); *matḥiṣṭana* (AV.), *rāniṣṭana* (√*ran*-), *vadhiṣṭana*. — 3. *jāriṣur* (jr- 'waste away'), *jīviṣur* (AV.), *tāriṣūr*<sup>2</sup> (AV.), *vadhiṣur* (AV.), *vādiṣur* (AV.), *hīṃsiṣur* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 1. *rādhiṣi* (AV.). — 2. *kṣaniṣṭhās*<sup>2</sup> (AV.), *nudiṣṭhās*<sup>3</sup> (AV.), *marṣiṣṭhās* (√*mṛṣ*-), *vadhiṣṭhās* (Kh. II. 11<sup>3</sup>), *vyathiṣṭhās* (AV.). — 3. *paniṣṭa*, *paviṣṭa*, *bādhiṣṭa*. — Pl. 1. *vyathiṣmahī* (AV.).

### *iṣ*- Aorist Optative.

532. This mood is rare, occurring in the middle only and being formed from hardly a dozen roots. Though the ending is accented, the root appears in a weak form in *gmiṣṭya*<sup>4</sup> (VS.) and *ruciṣṭya* (AV.). The 2. and 3. sing. take the precativ *-s*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *edhiṣṭyā* (AV.), *gmiṣṭya*<sup>3</sup> (VS. III. 19), *janiṣṭya* (AV.)<sup>5</sup>, *ruciṣṭya*<sup>3</sup> (AV.). — 2. *modiṣṭhās* (AV.). — 3. *janiṣṭṣṭa*, *vaniṣṭṣṭa*.

Du. 1. *sahiṣṭvahi* (AV.). — Pl. 1. *edhiṣṭmāhi* (AV.), *tāriṣṭmāhi*, *mandiṣṭmāhi* (VS. IV. 14; TS. I. 2. 3<sup>1</sup> etc.), *vandiṣṭmāhi*, *vadhiṣṭmāhi* (VS. II. 14, XXXVIII. 21), *sahiṣṭmāhi* (AV.), *sāhiṣṭmāhi* (Pada text *sahiṣṭmāhi*).

### *iṣ*- Aorist Imperative.

533. Forms of this mood are rare, occurring in the active only and being made from six or seven roots at the most. Among these forms, two only are distinctively imperative, *aviṣṭu* and *aviṣṭu*; a few others can be distinguished by having the accent on the ending; the rest, being unaccented and used without *mā*, cannot be distinguished from injunctives.

Sing. 2. *aviṣṭu*. — 3. *aviṣṭu*. — Du. 1. *aviṣṭam*, *kramiṣṭam*, *gamiṣṭam*, *caniṣṭam*, *cayīṣṭam* (ci- 'gather'), *yodhiṣṭam* (√*yudh*-), *vadhiṣṭam*, *śnathiṣṭam*. — 3. *aviṣṭam*. — Pl. 2. *avitā*<sup>6</sup>; *aviṣṭāna*, *śnathiṣṭāna*.

### A. 3. The *sīṣ*- Aorist.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 179. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 261. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 911—916; Roots 227. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 86.

534. This aorist, which is inflected exactly like the *iṣ*- aorist, is formed by only six or seven roots in the Samhitās. Middle forms occur in the optative only.

#### Indicative.

Sing. 1. *ayāsiṣam*. — Du. 3. *ayāsiṣṭam* (VS. XXVIII. 14). — Pl. 2. *dyāsiṣṭa*. — 3. *agāsiṣur* (gā- 'sing'), *ayāsiṣur*<sup>7</sup>.

#### Subjunctive.

Sing. 3. *gāsiṣat* (gā- 'sing'), *yāsiṣat*.

<sup>1</sup> With accent on the ending instead of the root.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KZ. 24, 363 f.

<sup>3</sup> With weak form of root.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. ZIMMER, KZ. 30, 222.

<sup>5</sup> The Kāthaka has the forms *janiṣeyam* and *janiṣeya* made from a secondary *-a*-stem (WHITNEY 907).

<sup>6</sup> This may be regarded as a form irregularly lacking *s* = *aviṣṭā*.

<sup>7</sup> *āksiṣur* is formed from aś- 'attain', according to DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 179; according to WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 913, and Roots 1, from the secondary root *akṣ*-; see above p. 383, note 6.

## Optative.

Middle. Sing. 1. *vaṃsiṣṭya*<sup>1</sup> (*van-* 'win', AV.). — 2. *yāsiṣṭhās*<sup>2</sup>. — Pl. 1. *pyāsiṣṭmahī*<sup>3</sup> (AV.; VS. II. 14; MS. IV. 9<sup>10</sup> [p. 181, 9]).

## Injunctive.

Sing. 1. *raṃsiṣam*<sup>4</sup> (SV. I. 4. 1. 2<sup>5</sup>). — Du. 2. *hāsiṣtam* (AV.). — 3. *hāsiṣtām* (AV.). — Pl. 2. *hāsiṣa* (AV.). — 3. *hāsiṣur* (AV.).

## Imperative.

Du. 2. *yāsiṣtām*. — Pl. 2. *yāsiṣta*<sup>5</sup> (i. 165<sup>15</sup>).

B. The *sa-* Aorist.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 179. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 262. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 916—920; Roots 227. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 86.

535. In the Samhitās this form of the sigmatic aorist is taken by only nine roots, which end in *j ś ṣ* or *h* and contain the medial vowels *i u* or *r*. The thematic *a* doubtless came to be employed in these few verbs to avoid a difficult agglomeration of consonants when the endings were added. The inflexion is like that of an imperfect of the *d-* class of the first conjugation, the *-sá-* being accented<sup>6</sup> in unaugmented forms. Besides the indicative, only forms of the injunctive and imperative occur, altogether fewer than a dozen. No subjunctive, optative, or participial forms have been noted.

## Indicative.

536. Neither forms of any person of the dual nor of the 2. pl. occur in the indicative of this type of the *s-* aorist. The active forms greatly predominate, the middle being represented in the 3. sing. and pl. by only three or four forms altogether.

Active. Sing. 1. *avṛkṣam* (√*vṛh*). — 2. *adhukṣas* (√*duh*-, VS. I. 3), *arukṣas* (√*ruh*-, AV.); *rukṣas* (√*ruh*-, AV.). — 3. *ākrukṣat* (√*kruś*-), *aghukṣat* (√*guh*-), *adukṣat*<sup>7</sup> and *dādhukṣat* (√*duh*-), *amṛkṣat* (√*mṛś*-, AV.) *ārukṣat* (√*ruh*-), *āsprukṣat* (√*sprś*-, AV.; VS. XXVIII. 18). — Pl. 1. *amṛkṣāma* (√*mṛj*- 'wipe'), *arukṣāma* (√*ruh*-, AV.). — 3. *dādhukṣan* (√*duh*-); *dukṣan*<sup>8</sup> and *dhukṣan* (√*duh*-).

Middle. Sing. 3. *dādhukṣata*<sup>9</sup>; *dukṣata*<sup>8</sup> and *dhukṣata*. — Pl. 3. *amṛkṣanta* (√*mṛj*-).

## Injunctive.

Active. Sing. 2. *dukṣas*, *mṛkṣas* (√*mṛś*-). — 3. *dvikṣat* (√*dviṣ*-, AV.). — Pl. 2. *mṛkṣata* (√*mṛś*-).

Middle. Sing. 3. *dukṣata*<sup>8</sup> and *dhukṣata* (√*duh*-), *dvikṣata* (√*dviṣ*-, AV.). — Pl. 3. *dhukṣanta* (√*duh*-).

## Imperative.

Active. Du. 2. *mṛkṣatām* (√*mṛj*-). — 3. *yakṣatām* (√*yaj*-).

Middle. Sing. 2. *dhukṣdsva* (√*duh*-).

<sup>1</sup> In the Mss. *vaṃsiṣṭya*; see WHITNEY's note on AV. IX. 114.

<sup>2</sup> With precativ *s*.

<sup>3</sup> In the Mss. *pyāsiṣṭmahī*; see WHITNEY's note on AV. VII. 81<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Variant for *rāsiṣya* of the RV.

<sup>5</sup> With *ī* for *i*. AVERY 261 gives the form as *yāsiṣṭā*.

<sup>6</sup> Three forms occur accented thus; the root is, however, accented in *dhukṣata*.

<sup>7</sup> See above 32 b.

<sup>8</sup> See above 32 b.

<sup>9</sup> In IX. 110<sup>8</sup> the form *dādhukṣata* seems to be a 3. pl.

## IV. The Future System.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 183—184. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 262. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 931—941; Roots 228 f.; AV. Index Verborum 380. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 86—87.

537. The stem is formed by adding *-syá¹* or (rather less frequently with connecting *-i-*) *-isyá¹* to the root, which gunates a final or a prosodically short medial vowel. As the subjunctive frequently has a future sense, and even the present indicative may have it, the occasion for the use of actual future forms seldom arises in the RV., which forms a future stem from only fifteen roots, while the AV. does so from more than thirty (about eight of these occurring in the RV. also)². There is only one subjunctive and one conditional form, but some twenty participles occur.

a. In the following stems the suffix *-sya* is added direct: *kṣi-* 'abide': *kṣe-syá¹*³; *ji-* 'conquer': *je-syá¹*; *dah-* 'burn': *dhak-syá¹*; *yaj-* 'sacrifice': *yak-syá¹*; *vac-* 'speak': *vak-syá¹*; *sā-* 'bring forth': *sā-sya*⁴. In the AV. also occur: *i-* 'go': *e-syá¹*; *kṛt-* 'cut': *kart-sya*; *kram-* 'stride': *kram-syá¹*; *gṛ-* 'protect': *gop-sya*; *dā-* 'give': *dā-syá¹*; *nī-* 'lead': *ne-sya*; *mih-* 'mingere': *mek-syá¹*⁵; *yā-* 'go': *yā-syá¹*; *yuj-* 'join': *yok-sya*⁶; *rādh-* 'succeed': *rāt-sya*; *vah-* 'carry': *vak-syá¹*; *vṛt-* 'turn': *-vart-syá¹*⁷; *śad-* 'fall': *śat-sya*; *sah-* 'prevail': *sāk-sya*⁸; *hā-* 'leave': *hā-sya*; *hu-* 'sacrifice': *ho-syá¹*. In the VS. *bandh-* 'bind': *bhant-syá¹*.

b. In the following stems the suffix is added with connecting *-i-*: *av-* 'favour': *av-is-yá¹*⁹; *as-* 'shoot': *as-is-yá¹*; *kṛ-* 'do': *kar-is-yá¹*; *jan-* 'beget': *jan-is-ya*; *bhū-* 'be': *bhav-is-yá¹*; *man-* 'think': *man-is-yá¹*; *vā-* 'weave': *vay-is-yá¹*¹⁰; *san-* 'acquire': *san-is-yá¹*; *śṛ-* 'hasten': *śar-is-yá¹*; *stu-* 'praise': *stav-is-yá¹*. From causative stems: *dhr-* 'support': *dhāray-is-yá¹*; *vas-* 'clothe oneself': *vāsay-is-yá¹*.

The AV. has the following additional stems: *gam-* 'go': *gam-is-ya*; *dhr-* 'maintain': *dhār-is-yá¹*; *naś-* 'disappear': *naś-is-ya*; *pat-* 'fly': *pat-is-yá¹*; *mṛ-* 'die': *mar-is-ya*; *vad-* 'speak': *vad-is-ya*; *vṛt-* 'turn': *vart-is-ya*¹¹; *svap-* 'sleep': *svap-is-yá¹*¹²; *han-* 'slay': *han-is-yá¹*. From causative stems: *duṣ-* 'spoil': *dūṣay-is-ya*; *vṛ-* 'cover': *vāray-is-ya* 'shield'.

538. a. Subjunctive. The only subjunctive form occurring is *kar-is-yā¹*(-s) in IV. 30²³.

b. Conditional. The only example occurring is formed from *bhr-* 'bear': *ā-bhar-is-ya-t* 'he was going to bear off' (II. 30²).

c. Participles. A good many participial forms occur. The following stems are met with:

Active. *av-is-yānt*¹⁴, *as-is-yānt*, *e-syānt* (AV.)¹⁵, *kar-is-yānt*, *kṣe-syānt*, *khan-is-yānt* (TS.), *je-syānt*¹⁶ (AV.), *dā-syānt* (AV.), *dhak-syānt*, *pat-is-yānt* (AV.),

¹ On the origin of this suffix see BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 747 (p. 1692), who connects the *-isya* form with the *is-* aorist; and v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 86.

² According to WHITNEY 937 the future is formed from over 60 roots in the TS. but I am uncertain how many of these occur in independent Mantra passages.

³ This is the only stem in which *-syá* is to be read *-sia*: *kṣeḍāntas*.

⁴ This stem has the double irregularity of accenting the root and not taking Guṇa: cp. the perfect *sasiva*.

⁵ The Mss. read *mekṣāmi* in AV. VII. 102¹: cp. WHITNEY's note.

⁶ Doubtful reading see note³ p. 387 on *yokṣye*.

⁷ See WHITNEY's note on AV. xv. 67.

⁸ An emendation: see note on *sāksye*.

⁹ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 184.

¹⁰ Op. cit. p. 183.

¹¹ In the form *ānvartisyē* for *ānu-vartisyē*; see p. 11, 18.

¹² See WHITNEY's note on AV. XIX. 479.

¹³ The form *karisyā* (I. 1659) is probably to be explained as the same subjunctive (= *karisyās*): cp. BR. sv. *karisyā*.

¹⁴ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 183.

¹⁵ In *praisyān* (AV. v. 22¹⁴), Pp. *pra-esyān*, but WHITNEY = *pra-isyan*.

¹⁶ In AV. xv. 20¹ nearly all the Mss. read *jyēsyan* (as if from *√jyā-*) for *jesyān*.

*bhar-isyánt-* (TS.), *bhav-isyánt-* (AV.VS.), *yā-syánt-* (AV.), *vac-* 'speak': *vak-syánt-*, *vay-isyánt-*, *san-isyánt-*, *sar-isyánt-*, *sā-syant-*, *han-isyánt-*.

**Middle.** *kraṇsyā-māṇa-* (AV.), *janīsyā-māṇa-* (VS.XVIII.5), *yakṣyā-māṇa-*, *staviṣyā-māṇa-* (AV.).

### Future Indicative.

539. The future is inflected, in both active and middle, like the present of the *a-* conjugation. The forms actually met with in the *Saṃhitās* would, if made from *kṛ-* 'do', be the following:

**Active.** Sing. 1. *karīsyāmi*. 2. *karīsyāsi*. 3. *karīsyāti*. — Du. 2. *karīsyāthas* (TS.). 3. *karīsyatas* (AV.). — Pl. 1. *karīsyāmas* and *karīsyāmasi* (AV.). 2. *karīsyātha*. 3. *karīsyanti* (AV.).

**Middle.** Sing. 1. *karīsyē*. 2. *karīsyase*. 3. *karīsyate*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

**Active.** Sing. 1. *esyāmi* (AV.), *karīsyāmi* (AV.), *kartsyāmi* (AV.), *carīsyāmi* (VS. I. 5), *jesyāmi*, *bhantsyāmi* (1<sup>st</sup> *bandh-*, VS. XXII. 4)<sup>1</sup>, *mekṣyāmi*<sup>2</sup> (AV.), *vakṣyāmi* (1<sup>st</sup> *vac-*), *staviṣyāmi*.

2. *karīsyāsi*, *jesyasi* (VS. XXIII. 17), *bhaviṣyasi* (AV.), *maṛīsyasi* (AV.), *rātsyasi* (1<sup>st</sup> *rādḥ-*, AV.), *vakṣyasi* (1<sup>st</sup> *vac-*, TS. II. 6. 12<sup>5</sup>), *sanīsyasi*, *hanīsyasi* (AV.).

3. *karīsyāti*, *gamīsyati* (AV.), *naṣīyati* (AV.), *nesyati* (AV.), *paṭīsyati* (AV.), *bhaviṣyāti*, *maṛīsyati* (AV.), *vaḍīsyati* (AV.), *sanīsyati*, *sthāsyati* (VS. VI. 2), *hanīsyati* (AV.).

Du. 2. *karīsyāthas* (TS. IV. I. 9<sup>2</sup>). — 3. *maṛīsyatas* (AV.), *vakṣyatas* (1<sup>st</sup> *vacḥ-*, AV.).

Pl. 1. *bharīsyāmas* (VS. XI. 16), *vakṣyāmas* (1<sup>st</sup> *vac-*), *svapīsyāmasi* (AV.).

2. *karīsyātha*, *bhaviṣyatha*, *sarīsyatha* (AV.).

3. *gopīsyanti* (1<sup>st</sup> *gup-*, AV.), *śatsyanti* (1<sup>st</sup> *śad-*, AV.), *hāsyanti* (1<sup>st</sup> *hā-*, AV.).

**Middle.** Sing. 1. *dhariṣyē* (AV.), *maṇīsyē*, *yokṣyē*<sup>3</sup> (AV.), *vartīsyē*<sup>4</sup> (AV.), *sākṣyē*<sup>5</sup> (1<sup>st</sup> *sah-*, AV.). — 2. *staviṣyase*. — 3. *janīsyate*, *staviṣyate* (AV.).

### Periphrastic Future.

540. Of this formation, common in the later language, there seems to be an incipient example in VS. XVIII. 59 = TS. V. 7. 7<sup>1</sup>: *anvāgantā yajñāpatir vo dtra* 'the sacrificer is following after you here', a modification of AV. VI. 123<sup>1. 2</sup>: *anvāgantū yajamānaḥ svastī*, which WHITNEY translates 'the sacrificer follows after well-being'<sup>6</sup>.

## V. Secondary Conjugation.

541. As opposed to the primary conjugation, there are four derivative formations in which the present stem is used throughout the inflexion of the verb and is everywhere accompanied by the specific sense connected with that stem. The forms which occur outside the present system are, however, rare. The four derivative formations are the desiderative, the intensive, the causative, and the denominative.

### 1. The Desiderative.

DELBRÜCK, *Verbum* p. 184—186. — AVERY, *Verb-Inflection* 230, 268—270. — WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* 1026—1040; *Roots* 233f. — v. NEGELEIN, *Zur Sprachgeschichte* 88—90.

542. Though the least frequent of the secondary conjugations, the desiderative is perhaps best dealt with first, as being akin in derivation and

<sup>1</sup> In AV. III. 95 ROTH and WHITNEY's edition reads *bhartīsyāmi*; but WHITNEY, note on that passage, would emend this to *bhantsyāmi* (1<sup>st</sup> *bandh-*), and SHANKAR PANDIT reads *bhatsyāmi*.

<sup>2</sup> WHITNEY's emendation for *mekṣyāmi* of the Mss.; see his note on AV. VII. 102<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> All the Mss. in AV. XIX. 13<sup>1</sup> read *yokṣe* (but Paipp. *yokṣye*).

<sup>4</sup> In *ānvartīsyē* (AV. XIV. 156) given under the root *art-* by WHITNEY, AV. Index Verborum; see p. 386, note 11.

<sup>5</sup> The Mss. in AV. II. 275 read *sākṣe*.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* 946.

meaning to the future<sup>1</sup>, the last of the primary verbal formations treated above (537—540). The desiderative is formed from the root with an accented reduplicative syllable and the suffix *-sa*, which expresses the desire for the action or condition denoted by the root; e. g. *pā-* 'drink' : *pi-pā-sa-* 'desire to drink'. Desiderative stems from fewer than sixty roots are met with in the *Samhitās*.

The characteristic reduplicative vowel is *i*, which appears in all stems except those formed from roots containing *ū* (which reduplicate with *u*); and the root generally remains unchanged. Thus *jñā-* 'know' : *ji-jñā-sa-* (AV.); *jyā-* 'overpower' : *ji-jyā-sa-*; *dā-* 'give' : *dī-dā-sa-*; *pā-* 'drink' : *pi-pā-sa-*; *tij-* 'be sharp' : *tī-tik-sa-*; *nīd-* 'blame' : *nī-nit-sa-*; *bhid-* 'split' : *bī-bhit-sa-*; *miś-* 'mix' : *mī-mik-sa-*; *riś-* 'hurt' : *rī-rik-sa-*; *nī-* 'lead' : *nī-nī-sa-*; *prī-* 'love' : *pī-prī-sa-*; *guh-* 'hide' : *ju-guk-sa-*<sup>2</sup>; *duh-* 'milk' : *dū-duk-sa-*<sup>2</sup>; *muc-* 'release' : *mī-muk-sa-*; *yudh-* 'fight' : *yī-yut-sa-*; *ruh-* 'ascend' : *rū-ruk-sa-*; *bhū-* 'be' : *bī-bhū-sa-*; *trīd-* 'pierce' : *tī-trī-sa-*; *tīp-* 'delight' : *tī-tīp-sa-*; *dīś-* 'see' : *dī-dīś-sa-*; *vṛt-* 'turn' : *vī-vṛt-sa-*; *śīp-* 'creep' : *śī-śīp-sa-*.

a. A few desideratives reduplicate with a long vowel: *tur-* (= *tī-*) 'cross' : *tū-tūr-sa-*; *bādh-* 'oppress' : *bī-bhat-sa-*; *man-* 'think' : *mī-mām-sa-* (AV.) 'investigate'. On the other hand, two desideratives abbreviate the reduplicative syllable by dropping its consonant; thus *yaj-* 'sacrifice' : *ī-yak-sa-* for *\*yī-yak-sa-*<sup>3</sup>; *naś-* 'attain' : *ī-nak-sa-*, for *\*nī-nak-sa-*, perhaps through the influence of *īyak-sa-*; and the RV. has one desiderative form from *āp-* 'obtain' in which the reduplication is dropped altogether: *ap-santa*.

b. The radical vowel is lengthened when *i*, *u*, or *r* is final (the latter becoming *īr*); thus *ci-* 'see' : *cī-kī-sa-*; *ji-* 'conquer' : *jī-gī-sa-*; *yu-* 'unite' : *yū-yū-sa-*; *śru-* 'hear' : *śī-śrū-sa-*; *kṛ-* 'make' : *cī-kīr-sa-* (AV.); *hṛ-* 'take' : *jī-hīr-sa-* (AV.); *dhṛ-* 'injure' : *dī-dhūr-sa-* with *ū* because vowel and semi-vowel have interchanged<sup>4</sup>.

a. A few roots with medial *a* followed by *n* or *m* lengthen the vowel; thus *man-* 'think' : *mī-mām-sa-* (AV.); *han-* 'smite' : *jī-ghām-sa-*; *gam-* 'go' : *jī-gām-sa-* (AV.); two others do so after dropping the nasal, viz. *van-* 'win' : *vī-vā-sa-*; and *san-* 'gain' : *sī-sā-sa-*<sup>5</sup>.

c. In nearly a dozen roots, on the other hand, the radical vowel is weakened.

1. In a few roots final *ā* is reduced to *ī* and, in one instance, even *i*<sup>6</sup>; thus *gā-* 'go' : *jī-gī-sa-* (SV<sup>1</sup>); *pā-* 'drink' : *pī-pī-sa-* (RV.) beside *pi-pā-sa-*; *hā-* 'go forth' : *jī-hī-sa-*<sup>7</sup> (AV.); *dhā-* 'put' : *dī-dhī-sa-* (RV.) beside *dhit-sa-*.

2. Half a dozen roots containing *ā* or *a* shorten the root by syncopation resulting in contraction with the reduplicative syllable; *dā-* 'give' : *dīt-sa-*, for *dī-d[ā]-sa-*, beside *dī-dā-sa-*; *dhā-* 'put' : *dhit-t-sa-*, for *dī-dh[ā]-sa-*, beside *dī-dhi-sa-*; *dabh-* 'harm' : *dī-p-sa-*, for *dī-d[a]bh-sa-*; *labh-* 'take' : *lī-p-sa-* (AV.), for *lī-l[a]bh-sa-*; *śak-* 'be able' : *sī-k-sa-*, for *sī-s[a]k-sa-*; *sah-* 'prevail' : *sī-k-sa-*, for *sī-s[a]k-sa-*; similarly initial *ā* in *āp-* 'obtain' : *īp-sa-*<sup>8</sup> (AV.); and in *rdh-* 'thrive' : *īrt-sa-* (AV.) the initial *r* is treated as if it were *ar*<sup>9</sup>.

a. In a few roots the consonants undergo exceptional changes; thus palatals revert to the original guttural in *cī-* 'note' : *cī-kī-sa-*; *cī-* 'perceive' : *cī-kut-sa-*; *ji-* 'conquer' : *jī-gī-sa-*;

<sup>1</sup> Cp. v. NEGELEIN 86.

<sup>2</sup> See above 32 b.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. v. NEGELEIN 68, note 2. The *i* being the reduplicative vowel, cannot be explained in the same way as that of the perfect *i-yā-* for *\*ya-yā-*, where *i-* has the nature of *Samprasāraṇa*.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. *√dīv-* : *dyū-tā-* etc., below 573 a.

<sup>5</sup> As in the past participle 574, 2 a.

<sup>6</sup> As in the past participle 574, 3.

<sup>7</sup> In AV. XX. 127<sup>2</sup> the Mss. read *jihīṣate* probably for *jihīṣate*.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN 2, 854, 1027.

<sup>9</sup> v. NEGELEIN (89, note 2) thinks *īrt-sā-* can only be explained from *ī-īrdh-sa-*.

*han-* 'slay': *ji-ghāṃ-sa-*. In *ghas-* 'eat' the final *s* becomes *t* before the *s* of the suffix: *ji-ghat-sa-*<sup>1</sup> (AV.).

β. The desiderative suffix *-sa* is never added in the RV. with the connecting vowel *-i-*; but there is one example of this formation in the AV., viz. *pat-* 'fly': *pi-pat-i-sa-*<sup>2</sup>.

### Inflexion.

543. The desiderative is inflected regularly like verbs of the *a-* conjugation in both voices, having the moods and participles of the present tense, as well as an imperfect. No forms outside the present system occur in the RV. with the exception of the perfect from *miś-*, *mi-miś-vr*<sup>3</sup> etc. (in which, however, the desiderative stem is treated as a root) besides two aorist forms and one passive participle in the AV.<sup>4</sup>.

The forms of the present indicative, active and middle, which actually occur, would if made from *vi-vā-sa-* 'desire to win', be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *vivāsāmi*. 2. *vivāsasi*. 3. *vivāsati*. — Du. 2. *vivāsathas*. 3. *vivāsatas*. — Pl. 1. *vivāsāmas*. 3. *vivāsanti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *vivāse*. 2. *vivāsase*. 3. *vivāsate*. — Pl. 1. *vivāsāmahe*. *vivāsante*.

544. Forms occurring elsewhere in the present system are the following:

a. Subjunctive. Active. Sing. 3. *jighāṃsāt* (TS.), *titypsāt*, *dīpsāt* (TS. AV.), *niniśāt*, *vivāsāt*. — Pl. 3. *hyakṣān*, *tityśān*, *vivāsān*.

b. Injunctive. Active. Sing. 3. *inakṣat*, *clikitsat*, *vivāsāt*. — Middle. Pl. 3. *apsanta*, *didhiśanta*, *śīkṣanta*.

c. Optative. Active. Sing. 1. *dītseyam*, *vivāseyam*. — 3. *vivāset*. — Pl. 1. *didhiśema*, *vivāsema*. — Middle. Sing. 1. *didhiśeya*.

d. Imperative. Active. Sing. 2. *cikitsa*, *dīpsa* (AV.), *mimikṣa*, *vivāsa*. — 3. *clikitsatu* (AV.). — Du. 2. *mimikṣatam*, *śīśāsatam*. — 3. *mimikṣatām*. — Pl. 2. *cikitsata* (TS.), *vivāsata*. — 3. *didhiśantu*.

e. Participles. Active. *inakṣant-*, *hyakṣant-*, *īpsant-* (AV.), *īrtsant-* (AV.), *clikitsant-*, *jighāṃsant-*, *dītsant-*, *dīpsant-*, *dūduṣant-*, *pīpīśant-*, *bibhīśant-*, *yilyuśant-*, *yilyūśant-*, *rīriṣant-* (V<sup>1</sup>riṣ-), *rūruṣant-* (V<sup>1</sup>ruh-), *vivāsant-*, *śīśāsant-*, *śīrīpsant-*, *śīkṣant-*. — Middle. *hyakṣamāṇa-*, *īrtamāṇa-* (AV.), *jīgīṣamāṇa-*, *mimikṣamāṇa-*, *īpsamāṇa-* (AV.), *śīkṣamāṇa-* (TS.), *śīśrūṣamāṇa-*; and with *-āna*: *didhiśāṇa-*.

f. Imperfect. Active. Sing. 2. *āśīśāsas*. — 3. *ajighāṃsat*, *āśīśāsāt*. — Pl. 3. *āyuyutsan*, *āśīśāsan*; *dūduṣan*, *bibhīśan*.

g. Aorist. Sing. 2. *acikitsīs* (AV.), *īrtsīs* (AV.).

h. Passive. No finite form of the passive seems to occur in the Samhitās; of participles, no certain form of the present occurs, *mīmāṃṣyāmāṇa-* (AV. IX. 6<sup>24</sup>)<sup>5</sup> being a conjecture; and of the past only one form has been noted: *mīmāṃṣitā-* (AV. IX. 6<sup>24</sup>)<sup>6</sup>.

i. Gerundive. Two regular forms occur: *didrṣ-ḥya-* 'worthy to be seen' and *śuśrūṣ-ḥya-* (TS.) 'worthy to be heard'. There are also one or two irregular formations: *didrṣ-ḥya-* 'worthy to be seen' and *papṛṣ-ḥya-* 'to be asked' (unless from aorist stem)<sup>7</sup>.

k. Verbal adjective. A considerable number (more than a dozen in the RV.) of verbal adjectives are formed from the desiderative stem with the

<sup>1</sup> See above 44 a, I.

<sup>2</sup> The desiderative of *jīw-* 'live', *jīw-i-ṣa-*, occurs in VS. XL. (Iśā Up.).

<sup>3</sup> According to GRASSMANN, perf. des. of *mih-* 'mingere'; cp. WHITNEY, Roots, s.v. *mikṣ*.

<sup>4</sup> In all these forms the stems have lost their distinct desiderative meaning: cp. WHITNEY 1033.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. WHITNEY's note in his translation; in his grammar 1039 he quotes *rūruṣyamāṇa* (V<sup>1</sup>rūdḥ-) from K. 37, 12 (*apa-*).

<sup>6</sup> WHITNEY 1037 quotes the gerund *mīmāṃṣitvā* from K.

<sup>7</sup> See below, Gerundive 580.

suffix *-u*. They have the value of a present participle governing a case; thus *īyaks-ī-* 'wishing to sacrifice'; *jigīs-ī-* 'wishing to conquer'; *didhīs-ī-* 'desiring to win'; *dīps-ī-* 'wishing to injure'; *vivaks-ī-* (AV.) from *vac-* 'speak'; *sīsās-ī-* 'eager to win'<sup>1</sup>.

## 2. Intensives.

DELBRÜCK, *Verbum* p. 130—134. — AVERY, *Verb-Inflection* 230, 270—272. — WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* 1000—1025; *Roots* 232 f. — v. NEGELEIN, *Zur Sprachgeschichte* 78—80. — LINDNER, *Altindische Nominalbildung* 10 (p. 48) and 21 c (participles). — BURCHARDI, *Die Intensiva des Sanskrit und Avesta*. Teil I. Halle 1892; Teil II. BB. 19, 169—225.

545. The intensive or, as it is also often called, the frequentative implies intensification or repetition of the sense expressed by the root<sup>2</sup>. It is a common formation, being made from over 90 roots in the *Sapthitās*. The stem is derived from the root by means of a reduplicative syllable, the characteristic feature of which is that it always has a strong form. The reduplicative syllable may be formed in three different ways: 1. radical *ī* *ū* are always reduplicated with a Guna vowel, and *ā* and *r* (*ar*) often with *ā*; 2. roots containing *r* or *a* followed by *r l n m* more usually reduplicate with *a* and liquid or nasal; 3. a considerable number of intensives interpose the vowel *z* between the reduplicative syllable and the root.

1. a. Roots containing *ī* or *ū* reduplicate with *e* or *o*; thus *cit-* 'perceive': *cēkit-*; *tij-* 'be sharp': *tē-tij-*; *dis-* 'point': *dē-dis-*; *nij-* 'wash': *nē-nij-*; *nī-* 'lead': *nē-nī-*; *piś-* 'adorn': *pē-piś-*; *mī-* 'damage': *mē-mī-*; *rih-* 'lick': *rē-rih-*; *rih-* 'tremble': *rē-rīh-*; *vid-* 'find': *vē-vid-*; *viś-* 'be active': *vē-viś-*; *vī-* 'enjoy': *vē-vī-*; *sidh-* 'repel': *sē-śidh-*; *gu-* 'sound': *jo-gu-*; *dhū-* 'shake': *do-dhū-*; *nu-* 'praise': *no-nu-*; *pruth-* 'snort': *po-pruth-*; *bhū-* 'be': *bo-bhū-*; *yu-* 'join': *yō-yu-*; *yu-* 'separate': *yō-yu-*; *ru-* 'cry': *ro-ru-*; *ru-* 'break': *ro-ru-*; *śuc-* 'gleam': *śō-śuc-*; *stū-* 'generate': *so-śtū-*; *sku-* 'tear': *co-śkū-*; *hū-* 'call': *jo-hū-*.

b. More than a dozen roots with medial *ā* (ending in mutes or sibilants, and one in *m*), as well as three with final *-r*, reduplicate with *ā*: *kās-* 'appear': *cā-kās-*; *gam-* 'go': *jā-gam-*; *nad-* 'sound': *nā-nad-*; *pat-* 'fall': *pā-pat-*; *bādḥ-* 'oppress': *bā-bādḥ-*; *raj-* 'colour': *rā-raj-*; *randh-* 'make subject': *rā-randh-*; *rap-* 'chatter': *rā-rap-*; *lap-* 'prate': *lā-lap-*; *vac-* 'speak': *vā-vac-*; *vad-* 'speak': *vā-vad-*; *vas-* 'be eager': *vā-vas-*; *vās-* 'bellow': *vā-vas-*; *śvas-* 'blow': *śā-śvas-*; *gr-* 'wake': *jā-gr-*; *dy-* 'split': *dā-dy-*; *dhy-* 'hold': *dā-dhy-*; also *cal-* 'stir': *cā-cal-* (AV.).

2. All other roots containing *r* (and *dy-* and *dhy-* alternatively) and several with medial *a* followed by *r l*, or a nasal, reduplicate with *-ar*, *-al* or *-an*, *-am*. Thus:

a. *kr-* 'commemorate': *car-kr-* and *car-kir-*; *kṛs-* 'drag': *car-kṛs-*; *gṛ-* 'swallow': *jār-gur-* and *jāl-gul-*; *ty-* 'cross': *tar-ty-* (RV.); *dy-* 'split': *dār-dy-* and *dar-dīr-*; *dhy-* 'hold': *dār-dhy-*; *brh-* 'make strong': *bār-brh-*; *bhr-* 'bear': *jar-bhr-*; *mṛj-* 'wipe': *mar-mṛj-*; *mṛś-* 'touch': *mār-mṛś-*; *vṛt-* 'turn': *var-vṛt-*; *śr-* 'flow': *sar-śr-*; *hṛs-* 'be excited': *jar-hṛs-*.

b. *car-* 'move': *car-car-* (AV.); *cal-* 'stir': *cal-cal-* (MS.) beside *cā-cal-* (AV.); *phar-* 'scatter' (?): *par-phar-*; *kram-* 'stride': *cañ-kram-*; *gam-* 'go': *jañ-gam-*; *jambh-* 'chew up': *jañ-jabh-*; *taṃs-* 'shake': *tan-tas-*; *dañś-* 'bite': *dan-daś-*; *nam-* 'bend': *nan-nam-*; *yam-* 'reach': *yañ-yam-*; *stan-* 'thunder': *tañ-stan-* (AV.).

<sup>1</sup> GRASSMANN, p. 1727, gives a list of the desiderative adjectives in *-su* occurring in the RV. (about 15); four occur in the AV.: *cikitsū-*, *jighatsū-*, *dīpsū-*, *bibhatsū-*; cp. WHIT-

<sup>2</sup> The specific meaning of the formation is wanting in the intensives of *gy-* 'wake', *cit-* 'perceive', *nij-* 'wash', *viś-* 'work'.

<sup>3</sup> The palatal *j* in the reduplication is like that of *bhr-* in the perfect form *ja-bhāra* (482 d).



a. A few intensives show irregularities in the reduplicative syllable; thus *γ*-‘go’: *al-ar-* (dissimilation); *gāh*-‘plunge’: *jañ-gah-* (from a root which otherwise has no nasal in inflected forms)<sup>1</sup>; *bādh*-‘oppress’: *bad-badh-* (only example of a final mute being reduplicated); *gur-*‘greet’ and *bhur-*‘quiver’ reduplicate with *a*: *jar-gur-* and *jar-bhur-*<sup>2</sup>.

β. In a few roots containing *r* or *r* the radical syllable varies; thus *gār-* 'swallow': *jar-gur-* and *jal-gul-*; *car-* 'move': *car-cur-* beside *car-car-*; *tar-* 'cross': *lar-tur-* beside *tar-tar-*.

3. Over twenty roots with final or penultimate nasal, *r*, or *ŕ*, interpose an *ɾ* (or *ɿ* if the vowel would be long by position) between the reduplicative syllable and the root:

a. *krand*- 'cry out': *kan-i-krand*- and *kan-i-krad*-; *gam*- 'go': *gan-t-gam*- (but *gan-i-gm-at*); *pan*- 'admire': *pán-t-pan*-; *phan*- 'spring': *pán-t-phan*-; *scand*- 'shine': *can-i-scad*-; *san*- 'gain': *san-t-san*-; *skand*- 'leap': *kan-i-skand*- and *can-i-skad*-; *syand*- 'How': *sán-i-syad*-; *svan*- 'sound': *san-i-svan*-; *han*- 'slay': *ghan-t-ghan*-.

b. *ky-* 'make': *kar-i-ky-* and *car-i-ky-* (AV.)<sup>3</sup>; *ty-* 'cross': *tar-ṭ-ty-*; *bhy-* 'bear': *bhar-ṭ-bhy-*; *vy-* 'cover': *var-ṭ-vy-*; *vj-* 'twist': *vár-ṭ-vj-*; *vrt-* 'turn': *var-ṭ-vrt-*.

c. *tu* 'be strong': *táv-ī-tu*; *dhu* 'shake': *dáv-i-dhu*; *nu* 'praise': *náv-ī-nu*; *dyut* 'shine': *dáv-i-dyut*.

a. Primary Form. Present Indicative.

546. With the exception of eight or nine verbs, which take a secondary form (inflected in the middle only and identical in appearance with a passive), the intensive is inflected like the third conjugational class. The only difference is that *ɾ* may be inserted between the root and terminations beginning with consonants; it is common in the 1. and 3. sing. ind. act., and is also sometimes found to occur in the 2. 3. du. ind. and the 2. 3. sing. imperative and imperfect active<sup>4</sup>. The forms actually found, if made from the intensive of *nij-* 'wash', would be the following in the indicative:

**Active.** Sing. 1. *nénej-mi* and *nénej-ī-mi*. 2. *nének-si*. 3. *nének-ti* and *nénej-ī-ti*. — Du. 2. *nenej-ī-thas*<sup>5</sup>. 3. *nenik-tás*. — Pl. 1. *nenij-mas* and *nenij-masi* (AV.). 3. *nénij-ati*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *nenij-é*. 3. *nenik-té*. — Du. 3. *nenij-äte*. — Pl. 3. *nénij-ate*.

The forms actually met with are:

**Active. Sing. I.** *carkarmi, vevešmi* (AV.); *cākašmi, jōhavīmi, dardarmi*. — 2. *alarši, jāgarši* (Kh. II. 3), *dārdarši, dārdharši*. — 3. *ālarī, kārī, kārī, ganī, ganī, jānī, jānī, vārī, vārī* and *vārī*<sup>6</sup>; -*calalī* (MS. III. 13<sup>1</sup>); *cācarī* (AV.), *cākašī, jarbhurī, jalgulī* (TS.), *jōhavī, tartarī, dardarī, dodhavī, nānāmī*<sup>7</sup>, *nōnavī, pāpānī, bobhavī, yānyāmī, rārajī* (AV.), *rārapī, rōravī, tālapī* (AV.), *vāvadī, soṣavī*.

Du. 2. *tartarūthas*<sup>8</sup>. — 3. *jarbhṛtās*.

Pl. x. *nonumas* and *nonumasi* (AV.). — 3. *jāgrati* (AV.), *dāvidyutati*, *nānadati*, *bharibhṛati*, *vārvṛtati*.

Middle. Sing. I. *jogurve*. — 3. *tétikte*, *dédiste*, *nánnate*<sup>9</sup>, *nenikté*,

† Though it has in nominal derivatives; see WHITNEY, *Roots*, s. v. *gāh*; cp. BURCHARDI, *BB.* 19, 179; v. NEGELEIN 79.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. p. 390, note 3.

3 In the participle *kárikṛ-at* and *-cárikṛ-at* (AV.).

4 This  $\bar{i}$  never occurs if the reduplication contains  $\bar{i}$ : thus *no-nav- $\bar{i}$ -ti* and *nav- $\bar{i}$ -no-t*, but never *\*nav- $\bar{i}$ -nav- $\bar{i}$ -ti*. Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 131; v. NEGELEIN 79.

5 For \**nenik-thás*; the only 2. du. which occurs is *tartar-i-thas* for \**tary-thás*.

<sup>6</sup> For *várvalt-ti*, *varīvalt-ti*; cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *vrt*.

7 See note 9.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. note 5.

9 With loss of nasal ( $a$  = sonant nasal) for \**nānna*-*te* (l. 140<sup>6</sup>). AUFRECHT, RV<sup>2</sup>, and MAX MÜLLER, RV<sup>2</sup>, wrote *nānna-te* (also *Padapāṭha*); but the participle *nānnamat* (VIII. 43<sup>8</sup>). AUFRECHT *nām*-, MAX MÜLLER *nān*-; the 3.sing. *nānnamīti* (v. 83<sup>5</sup>) AUFRECHT<sup>2</sup>, *nānnamīti* MAX MÜLLER<sup>2</sup>; similarly *nānnamāne* (x. 82<sup>1</sup>) AUFRECHT, *nānnamāne* MAX MÜLLER (also Pp.).

sarsrte; with -e for -te: *ckkite*, *jāṅgahe*, *joguve*, *badbadhē<sup>1</sup>* and *bābadhe*, *yoyuve*, *sarsrē*. — Du. 3. *sarsrāte*. — Pl. 3. *dedīṣate*.

547. a. Subjunctive. Active. Sing. 1. *jāṅghānāni*. — 2. *jāgarāsi<sup>2</sup>* (AV.); *jāṅghanas*, *jāṅgulas*. — 3. *canīskadat*, *cārkr̥ṣat*, *cēkitat*, *jāṅghanat*, *jāgarat* (AV.), *dardīrat*, *davidyutat*, *parpharat*, *bārbr̥ṣat*, *mārmr̥ṣat*, *marmr̥ṣat*, *sanīṣvaṇat*. — Du. 1. *jāṅghanāva*. — Pl. 1. *cākirāma*, *vevidāma*. — 3. *cārikiran*, ('commemorate'), *cākaśān<sup>3</sup>* (AV.), *pāpatan*, *śśūcan*.

Middle. Du. 3. *tantasaite*. — Pl. 3. *jāṅghananta*, *jarhṣanta*, *nonuvanta*, *marmr̥janta*, *śśūcanta*.

b. Optative. No certain form occurs in the RV.<sup>3</sup>, and only two or three in other Samhitās: Sing. 3. *veviśyāt* (AV.). — Pl. 1. *jāgrīyāma* (VS. TS. MS.), *jāgrīyāma* (TS. I. 7. 10<sup>1</sup>).

c. Imperative. Examples of forms of all the 2. and 3. persons are found excepting the 3. pl., but no middle form has been met with.

Active. Sing. 2. *cārkr̥dhi* (AV.) 'remember', *jāgr̥hi*, *dardr̥hi*, *dādr̥hi*, *nenigdhi* (AV.), *barbr̥hi<sup>4</sup>*; *jāṅghanīhi* (AV.), *cākaśīhi* (VS. TS.), *taṁstanīhi* (AV.). — With -tāt: *cārkr̥tāt*, *jāgr̥tāt<sup>5</sup>*. — 3. *dardartu*, *marmartu*, *veveṣtu* (AV.); *vāvaditu* (AV.), *johavītu* (AV.). — Du. 2. *jāgr̥tam*. — 3. *jāgr̥tām* (AV.). — Pl. 2. *jāgr̥ta* (AV.), *caṅkramata<sup>6</sup>*.

548. Participle. Active. *kānikradat*, *kārikrat*, *ghānighnat*, -*cārikrat* (AV.), *cākaśat*, *cēkitat*, *jāṅghanat*, *jārbbhurat*, *jāgrat*, *dāridrat* (TS. IV. 5. 10<sup>1</sup>), *dārdrat*, *dāvidyutat*, *nānnamat*, *pānīpnat*, *pānīphanat*, *pēpīśat*, *bōbbhuvāt* (AV.), *mārmr̥jat*, *yōyuvāt* (yu- 'ward off'), *rērihat*, *rōriuvāt*, *vāvaśāt* (vāś- 'roar'), *veviśat*, *śśūcat*, *śśīdhat*.

Middle<sup>7</sup>. *cēkitāna*, *jāṅjabhāna* (AV.), *jārbbhurāna*, *jārhr̥ṣāna*, *dāndaśāna*, *nānnamāna*, *pēpīśāna* (AV. TS.), *bābadhāna*, *mēmyāna*, *yōyuvāna* (yu- 'join'), *rōrucāna*, *śśūcāna*, *sārsrāna*.

a. The participles *badbadhāna* and *marmr̥jāna* (beside *mārmr̥jāna*), though irregularly accented, unmistakably belong to the intensive. *kānikrat* once (IX. 63<sup>20</sup>) appears as an abbreviated form of *kānikradat*. The participle *jāṅghanat* syncopates the radical vowel in the gen. sing.: *jāṅghn-at-as*; another form of the intensive participle from the same root syncopates the radical vowel throughout: *ghānighnat*; also *pānīpnat*. The obscure form *cākan* (X. 29<sup>1</sup>) may be the nom. of an intensive participle with anomalous accent for *cākanat<sup>8</sup>*.

549. Imperfect. Altogether (including unaugmented forms, some of which are used injunctively) about thirty forms of the imperfect occur, among them only four examples of the middle. In the active all persons are represented except the 1. du. and the 2. pl.; but in the middle only the 3. sing. and pl. are met with.

Active. Sing. 1. *acākaśam*; *dedīṣam*. — 2. *ajāgar*, *adardar*; *dardar*. — 3. *adardar*, *adardhar*, *avarīvar*; *kāniṣkan*, *dardar*, *dāvidyot*, *nāvīnot*; *djohavīt*, *dyoyavīt*, *droravīt*, *āvāvavīt*.

Du. 2. *adardrtam*. — 3. *avāvaśītām*. — Pl. 1. *marmr̥jmd*. — 3. *acārkr̥ṣur* (AV.), *djohavur*, *adardirur*, *anonavur*.

<sup>1</sup> With irregular accent.

<sup>2</sup> With double modal sign.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 1009 a.

<sup>4</sup> For *barbr̥hi*, the final *h* being dropped after being cerebralized before -*dhi*: \**barbr̥dhi* (58, 1 b, a; 62, 4 e).

<sup>5</sup> This form occurs once in the AV. as a 1. person: cp. WHITNEY 1011 a.

<sup>6</sup> With anomalous connecting -*a*- for \**caṅkran-ta*.

<sup>7</sup> The participles *rārah-āna*, *rārah-āna*, and *jākr̥ṣ-āna* (beside *jārhr̥ṣ-āna*) are probably perfect participles, although no other perfect forms with *ā* in the reduplicative syllable occur from these roots (*rah*, *rahṣ*, *hr̥ṣ*); cp. WHITNEY 1013.

<sup>8</sup> I regard it as 3. sing. perf. inj. = \**cākan-t* (488). Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 7, 111, GRASSMANN, under the root *kā*; WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1013 b; Roots 17.

Middle. Sing. 3. *ādediṣṭa*, *ānannata*<sup>1</sup>. — Pl. 3. *marmijata*<sup>2</sup>.

550. a. Perfect. A few perfect forms with intensive reduplication and present sense are met with:

Active. Sing. 1. *jāgara*. — 3. *jāgāra*, *dauidhāra* (*dhū*- 'shake'), *nūnāva*<sup>3</sup> (*nu*- 'praise').

The only perfect participle occurring is *jāgyvāṇis*.

b. Aorist. The only trace of an aorist being formed from the intensive is *cārky-s-e* 'thinks of', 3. sing. mid., formed like *hi-s-e* and *stu-s-e*. It occurs three times in the RV., always with a present sense.

c. Causative. A causative formed from the intensive is once found in the participle *varivarj-āyant-ṛ* (AV.) 'twisting about' (*√vij-*).

### b. Secondary Form.

551. The rare secondary form of the intensive is identical in meaning with the primary. In form it is indistinguishable from a passive, the suffix *-yā* being added to the primary stem and the inflexion being the same as that of the passive. Altogether about a dozen forms have been met with from nine roots. The only persons represented are the 2. and 3. sing. and 3. pl. indicative; and there is also a present participle. The forms actually occurring are the following:

Present indicative. Sing. 2. *coṣkūyāse*. — 3. *dediṣyāte* (AV. VS.), *nenīyāte* (VS.), *marmijyāte*, *rerikyāte*, *vevijyāte*, *vevīyate*. — Pl. 3. *tartūryānte* (*√tṛ-*), *marmijyānte*.

Participle. *carcūryāmāna-* (*√car-*), *nenīyāmāna-*, *marmijyāmāna-*.

### 3. The Causative.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 209—216. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 262—268. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 379—386; Roots 235 f. — v. NEGELEIN 44—48.

552. The causative verb expresses that its object is caused to perform the action or to undergo the state denoted by the root; e. g. *pārām evā parāvātāṃ sapātūṇāṃ gamayāmasi* (x. 145<sup>4</sup>) 'we cause our rival to go to the far distance'. It is by far the commonest of the secondary conjugations, being formed from over 200 roots in the Samhitās; but of about 150 causative stems appearing in the RV. at least one-third lack the causative meaning. The stem is formed by adding the suffix *-āya* to the root, which as a rule is strengthened. Those verbs in which the root, though capable of being strengthened, remains unchanged, have not a causative<sup>4</sup>, but an iterative sense, being akin in formation to denominatives<sup>5</sup> (which sometimes even have the causative accent). The whole group may originally have had this meaning, from which the causative sense was developed till it became the prevalent one<sup>6</sup>. This may perhaps account for an iterative formation, the reduplicated aorist, having specially attached itself to the causative. Both the iterative and the causative form are occasionally made from the same root; e. g. *patāya-ti* 'flies about' and *pātāya-ti* 'causes to fly' beside the simple verb *pāta-ti* 'flies'.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 391, note 9.

<sup>2</sup> *āvāśanta* (*√vā-*) is probably a plu-perfect (p. 365, top).

<sup>3</sup> WHITNEY 1018 quotes also *drāva* (*√ru-* 'run') from the TS., and *yoyāva* (*yū-* 'separate'), and *lelāya* (*√-* 'be unsteady') from the

MS. (i. 86); the latter form is irregular in accent. Cp. BÖHTLINGK's Lexicon, s. v. 3. *lī*.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 1042 b.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. v. NEGELEIN 44.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 698.

553. The root is strengthened in different ways according to the nature and position of its vowel.

Initial or medial *i u r*! (if not long by position) take Guṇa; thus a. *cit*- 'perceive': *cet-āya*- 'teach'; *mih*- 'mingere': *moh-āya*- 'cause to rain'; *riṣ*- 'be hurt': *reṣ-āya*- 'injure'; *vid*- 'know': *ved-āya*- 'cause to know'; *vip*- 'tremble': *vep-āya*- 'shake'; *viś*- 'enter': *veś-āya*- 'cause to enter'; *viṣṭ*- 'wrap': *veṣṭ-āya*- (AV.) 'involve'; *snih*- 'be moist': *sneh-āya*- 'destroy';

b. *kup*- 'be agitated': *kop-āya*- 'shake'; *krudh*- 'be angry': *krodh-āya*- 'enrage'; *kṣud*- 'be agitated': *kṣod-āya*- 'shake'; *ghuṣ*- 'sound': *ghoṣ-āya*- 'proclaim'; *cud*- 'impel': *cod-āya*-, id.; *juṣ*- 'enjoy': *joṣ-āya*- 'caress'; *jyut*- 'shine': *jyot-āya*- (AV.) 'enlighten'; *tus*- 'drip': *toṣ-āya*- 'bestow abundantly'; *dyut*- 'shine': *dyot-āya*- 'illumine'; *pus*- 'thrive': *poṣ-āya*- 'nourish'; *budh*- 'be awake': *bodh-āya*- 'waken'; *muh*- 'be dazed': *moh-āya*- 'bewilder'; *yudh*- 'fight': *yodh-āya*- 'cause to fight'; *yup*- 'efface': *yop-āya*-, id.; *ruc*- 'shine': *roc-āya*- 'illumine'; *rud*- 'weep': *rod-āya*- 'cause to wail'; *ruh*- 'rise': *roh-āya*- 'raise'; *luh*- 'desire eagerly': *lobh-āya*- 'allure'; *suc*- 'flame': *soc-āya*- 'set on fire'; *subh*- 'shine': *sobh-āya*- (AV.) 'adorn'; *sus*- 'grow dry': *soṣ-āya*- (AV.) 'make dry';

c. *rd*- 'dissolve' (intr.): *ard-āya*- 'destroy'; *krś*- 'be lean': *karś-āya*- 'emaciate'; *trp*- 'be pleased': *tarp-āya*- 'delight'; *drś*- 'see': *darś-āya*- (AV.) 'show'; *nrt*- 'dance': *nart-āya*- 'cause to dance'; *brh*- or *vrh*- 'tear': *barh-āya*- 'thrust'; *mṛc*- 'injure': *marc-āya*-, id.; *mṛj*- 'wipe': *marj-āya*-, id.; *vṛj*- 'turn': *varj-āya*- (AV.) 'cause to turn'; *vṛt*- 'roll': *vart-āya*- 'cause to revolve'; *vardh*- 'grow': *varādh-āya*- 'augment'; *vrś*- 'rain': *varṣ-āya*- 'cause to rain'; *śṛdh*- 'be bold': *śarādh-āya*- 'cause to be bold'; *hrś*- 'be excited': *harṣ-āya*- 'excite';

d. *kṛp*- 'be adapted': *kalp-āya*- 'arrange'.

554. The following verbs, mostly lacking the causative meaning, leave the root unchanged: *il*- 'be quiet': *il-āya*- (AV.) 'cease'; *cit*- 'observe': *cit-āya*- 'stimulate' (also *cet-āya*-); *riṣ*- 'be injured': *riṣ-āya*- id. (beside *reṣ-āya*-); *vip*- 'quiver': *vip-āya*- 'agitate' (also *vep-āya*-);

*tuj*- 'be eager': *tuj-āya*- id.; *tur*- 'overwhelm': *tur-āya*- id.; *tus*- 'be content': *tus-āya*- id.; *dyut*- 'shine': *dyut-āya*- id. (beside *dyot-āya*- 'illumine'); *ruc*- 'shine': *ruc-āya*- id. (beside *roc-āya*- 'illumine'); *suc*- 'shine': *suc-āya*- id. (beside *soc-āya*- 'illumine'); *subh*- 'shine': *subh-āya*- id. (also *sobh-āya*- 'adorn' AV.). The vowel is lengthened in *duṣ*- 'spoil': *dūs-āya*- id.

*kṛp*- 'lament': *kṛp-āya*- id.; *mṛd*- 'be gracious': *mṛt-āya*-<sup>1</sup> id.; *sprh*- 'be eager': *sprh-āya*- id. In the case of *grabh*- 'grasp', the root is even weakened: *grbh-āya*- id.

a. Vowels long by nature or position remain unchanged, but the stem, in this case, usually has the causative sense: *iṅ*- 'move': *iṅ-āya*- 'set in motion'; *ikṣ*- 'see': *ikṣ-āya*- 'cause to see'; *nikh*- 'swing': *nikh-āya*- 'shake'; *ir*- 'set in motion': *ir-āya*- id.; *jīu*- 'live': *jīu-āya*- 'animate'; *dīp*- 'shine': *dīp-āya*- 'kindle'; *pīd*- 'press': *pīd-āya*- (AV.) 'distress'; *vīd*- 'be strong' (in *vīl-ū*- 'strong'): *vīl-āya*- 'make strong'<sup>2</sup>;

*ukṣ*- 'grow up': *ukṣ-āya*- 'strengthen'; *kūḍ*- (does not occur in the simple form) *kūḍ-āya*- 'scorch'; *śundh*- 'purify': *śundh-āya*- id.; *sūd*- 'make pleasant': *sūd-āya*- id.; *sphūrj*- 'rumble': *sphūrj-āya*- id.;

*ḍṛmḥ*- 'make firm': *ḍṛmḥ-āya*- (AV.) 'hold fast';

α. Two roots with medial *ī* take Guṇa: *srīu*- 'fail': *srev-āya*- beside *srīu-āya*-<sup>3</sup> (AV.) 'lead astray'; *hīd*- 'be hostile': *heḷaya*- in the participle *d-heḷayant*- 'not angry'; while

<sup>1</sup> Cp. v. NEGELEIN 46, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> DELBRÜCK 189, 4 regards *vīl-āya*- as a denominative.

<sup>3</sup> In AV. vi. 73<sup>2</sup> all the Mss. but one have *srīu*-.

two others already have it in the root: *rej-* 'tremble': *rej-āya-* 'shake'; *med-* 'be fat': *med-āya-* 'fatten'.

**555.** An initial or a medial *a* (if not long by position) is lengthened in some thirty roots: *am-* 'be injurious': *ām-āya-* 'be injured'; *kaṃ-* 'desire': *kām-āya-* 'love'; *cat-* 'hide oneself': *cāt-āya-* 'drive away'; *chad-* 'cover': *chād-āya-* id.; *tan-* 'stretch': *tān-āya-* (AV.) 'make taut'; *tap-* 'burn': *tāp-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to burn'; *tras-* 'be terrified': *trās-āya-* (AV.) 'terrify'; *nas-* 'be lost': *nās-āya-* 'destroy'; *pād-* 'go', 'fall': *pād-āya-* 'cause to fall'; *phaṇ-* 'bound': *phān-āya-* 'cause to bound'; *bhāj-* 'divide': *bhāj-āya-* 'cause to share'; *bhras-* 'fall': *bhrās-āya-* 'cause to fall'; *man-* 'think': *mān-āya-*<sup>2</sup> (AV.) 'esteem'; *yāt-* 'stretch': *yāt-āya-* 'unite'; *yam-* 'guide': *yām-āya-* (Pp. *yām-*) 'present'; *lap-* 'prate': *lāp-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to cry'; *vāt-* 'apprehend': *vāt-āya-* 'inspire'; *van-* 'win': *vān-āya-* (AV.) 'conciliate' (Pp. *vān-*); *vas-* 'dwell': *vās-āya-* 'cause to stay'; *vas-* 'wear': *vās-āya-* 'clothe'; *vas-* 'shine': *vās-āya-* 'illumine'; *śat-*<sup>3</sup> 'cut in pieces': *śāt-āya-* (AV.) id.<sup>4</sup>; *śvas-* 'snort': *śvās-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to resound'; *spas-* 'see': *spās-āya-* 'show'; *śvap-* 'sleep': *śvāp-āya-* 'send to sleep'.

**a.** Five or six other causatives optionally retain the *a*: *gam-* 'go': *gam-āya-* and *gām-āya-* (RV<sup>1</sup>) 'bring'; *das-* 'waste away': *das-āya-* and *dās-āya-* (AV.) 'exhaust'; *dhvan-* 'disappear': *dhvan-āya-* (RV.) and *dhvān-āya-* (RV.) 'cause to disappear'; *pāt-* 'fall': *pāt-āya-* 'fly about' (in RV. only once, I. 1697, 'cause to fall') and *pāt-āya-* 'cause to fall'; *mad-* 'be exhilarated': *mad-āya-* (AV.) and *mād-āya-* 'rejoice'; *ram-* 'rest': *ram-āya-* and *rām-āya-* 'cause to rest'.

**556.** Some twenty-five roots with initial or medial *a* (short by position) remain unchanged, as the causative meaning is mostly absent: *an-* 'breathe': *-an-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to breathe'; *chad-* 'seem': *chad-āya-* id.; *jan-* 'beget': *jan-āya-* id.; *tvar-* 'make haste': *tvar-āya-* (AV.) 'quicken'; *dam-* 'control': *dam-āya-* id.; *dhan-* 'set in motion': *dhan-āya-* id.; *dhvas-* 'disperse' (intr.): *dhvas-āya-* 'scatter' (tr.); *nad-* 'roar': *nad-āya-* 'cause to resound'; *nam-* 'bend' (tr. and intr.): *nam-āya-* 'cause to bend', 'strike down'; *pan-* 'admire': *pan-āya-* id.; *prath-* 'spread out': *prath-āya-* id.; *mah-* 'be great': *mah-āya-* 'magnify'; *raj-* 'colour': *raj-āya-* (AV.) id.; *ran-* 'rejoice': *ran-āya-* id. and 'gladden'; *vyath-* 'waver': *vyath-āya-* 'cause to fall'; *śam-* 'be quiet': *śam-āya-* (AV.) 'appease'; *śnath-* 'pierce': *śnath-āya-* id.; *śrath-* 'loosen': *śrath-āya-* id.; *stan-* 'thunder': *stan-āya-* id.; *svad-* 'enjoy', 'sweeten': *svad-āya-* id.; *svan-* 'sound': *svan-āya-* id.; *svar-* 'sound': *svar-āya-* (AV.) id.<sup>5</sup>

**a.** If long by nature or position medial *ā* remains unchanged, the causative sense being more often lacking than present: thus *arc-* 'shine': *arc-āya-* 'cause to shine'; *kās-* 'appear': *kās-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to be viewed'; *krand-* 'roar': *krand-āya-* 'cause to roar'; *cakṣ-* 'see': *cakṣ-āya-* 'cause to appear'; *chand-* 'seem': *chand-āya-* id.; *jambh-* 'chew up', 'crush': *jambh-āya-* id.; *tamṣ-* 'set in motion': *tamṣ-āya-* id.; *dambh-* 'destroy': *dambh-āya-* id.; *bādḥ-* 'oppress': *bādḥ-āya-* (AV.) 'force'; *bhaks-* 'partake of': *bhaks-āya-* id.; *manḥ-* 'bestow': *manḥ-āya-* id.; *mand-* 'gladden': *mand-āya-* 'satisfy'; *yāc-* 'ask': *yāc-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to be asked for'; *ramḥ-* 'hasten': *ramḥ-āya-* (AV.) id.; *randh-* 'make subject': *randh-āya-* id.; *rāj-* 'rule': *rāj-āya-* (AV. TS.) 'be king'; *rādḥ-* 'succeed': *rādḥ-āya-* (AV.) 'make successful'; *vakṣ-* 'grow': *vakṣ-āya-* 'cause to grow';

<sup>1</sup> Finite forms of the simple root *chad-* do not occur; the part. *channa-* is found in B.

<sup>2</sup> In AV. xv. 102 the reading should be *mānayet*; see WHITNEY's note.

<sup>3</sup> In AV. iv. 184 *śāpaya*, which would be the causative of *śap-*, is probably a wrong reading; cp. WHITNEY's note.

<sup>4</sup> No form or derivative of the simple root *śat-* occurs in V.; see WHITNEY, *Roots*, s. v. *śat*.

<sup>5</sup> Occurring only in the participle *svarāyant-am* (AV. xiii. 22), which WHITNEY translates 'shining'.

*śaṃs-* 'proclaim': *śaṃs-āya-* 'cause to proclaim'; *śvañc-* 'spread': *śvañc-āya-* 'cause to spread out'; *śyand-* 'flow': *śyand-āya-* id.; *sraṃs-* 'fall': *sraṃs-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to fall'.

557. Final *i*, *ū*, *r* take Guṇa or Vṛddhi, the latter being commoner.

a. The only example of a causative stem from a root ending in an *i*-vowel is that of *kṣi-* 'possess', which takes Guṇa: *kṣay-āya-* 'cause to dwell securely'.

b. Final *ā* takes Guṇa or Vṛddhi: *cru-* 'waver': *cru-āya-* 'shake'; *dru-* 'run': *drav-āya-* 'flow' and *drāv-āya-* 'cause to flow'; *bhū-* 'become': *bhū-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to become'; *yu-* 'separate': *yau-āya-* and *yāv-āya-* id.; *śru-* 'hear': *śrav-āya-* and *śrāv-āya-* 'cause to hear'; *sru-* 'dissolve': *śrav-āya-* and *śrāv-āya-* (Pp. *śrav-*) 'cause to move'; *sru-* 'flow': *srāvaya-* (AV.) 'cause to flow'.

c. Final *r* usually takes Vṛddhi; thus *ghṛ-* 'drip': *ghār-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to drip'; *dhṛ-* 'hold': *dhār-āya-* id.; *pṛ-* 'pass': *pār-āya-* id.; *ṛ-* 'fill': *pūr-āya-* (AV.) 'fulfil'; *mṛ-* 'die': *mār-āya-* (AV.) 'kill'; *vṛ-* 'confine': *vār-āya-* id. Two causatives have the Guṇa as well as the Vṛddhi form: *jṛ-* 'waste away': *jar-āya-* and *jār-āya-* (Pp. *jar-*) 'wear out', 'cause to grow old'; *śṛ-* 'flow': *sar-āya-* id. and *sār-āya-* 'cause to flow'. One root in *-r* takes Guṇa only: *dr-* 'pierce': *dar-āya-* 'shatter'.

558. Roots ending in *-ā* form their causative stem by adding *-pāya*; thus *kṣā-* 'burn': *kṣā-paya-* (AV.) id.; *glā-* 'be weary': *glā-paya-* (Pp. *glāp-*) 'exhaust'; *dā-* 'give': *dā-paya-* (AV.) 'cause to give'; *dhā-* 'put': *dhā-pāya-* 'cause to put'; *dhū-* 'suck': *dhā-pāya-* 'suckle'; *mā-* 'relax' (intr.): *mā-pāya-* (AV.) 'relax' (tr.); *vā-* 'blow': *vā-pāya-* 'fan'; *sthā-* 'stand': *sthā-paya-* 'set up'; *snā-* 'wash' (intr.): *snā-pāya-* 'bathe' (tr.)<sup>2</sup>. In three roots the *ā* is shortened: *jñā-* 'know': *jñā-paya-* (AV.) 'cause to know'; *śrā-* 'boil': *śra-pāya-* (AV. TS.) 'cook'; *snā-* 'wash': *sna-pāya-* (AV.) beside *snā-pāya-* 'bathe' (tr.).

a. A few roots ending in other vowels take *-paya*. Two stems are formed by adding the suffix to the gunated root: *kṣi-* 'possess': *kṣe-paya-* 'cause to dwell' beside *kṣay-āya-*; *ṛ-* 'go': *arpaya-* 'cause to go'. In the VS. two roots in *i* substitute *ā* for that vowel before *-paya*: *jī-* 'conquer': *jā-paya-* 'cause to win'; *śrī-* 'resort': (*ud-*) *śrā-paya-* (VS<sup>1</sup>) 'raise'.

a. Two roots with initial *p* and ending in *-ā* do not form their causative stem with *-paya*, but add the ordinary suffix *-aya* with interposed *y*: *pā-* 'drink': *pāy-āya-* 'cause to drink'; *pī-* 'overflow': (*ā-*) *pīy-āya-* (AV.) 'fill up'. This seeming irregularity is doubtless due to the original form of the root<sup>3</sup>.

### Inflection.

559. The causative is inflected regularly like the verbs of the *a-* conjugation in both voices. It is to be noted, however, that in the 1. pl. pres. the termination *-masi* occurs in the RV. and AV. ten times as often as *-mas*; that in the 2. pl. no forms in *-thana* are met with; and that in the 3. sing. mid. *e* never appears for *-ate*.

a. The forms of the present indicative active and middle, which actually occur, would if made from *kalpāya-* be the following:

**Active.** Sing. 1. *kalpayāmi*. 2. *kalpāyasi*. 3. *kalpāyati*. — Du. 2. *kalp-āyathas*. 3. *kalpayatas*. — Pl. 1. *kalpayāmasi* and *kalpāyāmas*. 2. *kalpāyathā*. 3. *kalpāyanti*.

**Middle.** Sing. 1. *kalpāye*. 2. *kalpāyase*. 3. *kalpāyate*. — Du. 2. *kalp-āyethe*. 3. *kalpāyete*. — Pl. 1. *kalpayāmahe*. 3. *kalpāyante*.

Forms that occur elsewhere in the present system are the following:

<sup>1</sup> This root, of which only three forms occur in the RV., seems to be only a varied spelling for *sru-* 'flow'.

<sup>2</sup> The causative stem *hā-paya-*, from *hā-* 'forsake' is presupposed by the aorist *jihīpas*.

<sup>3</sup> See above 27 a 1 and 4.

**b. Subjunctive. Active. Sing. 1.** *cehlyāni* (TS. III. 2. 10<sup>2</sup>; MS. IV. 5<sup>8</sup>), *randhāyāni*. — **2.** *codīyāsi*, *mṛlīyāsi*, *randhīyāsi* (AV.), *vartayāsi* (TS. VII. 4. 20<sup>4</sup>); *janīyāsi* (AV.), *yāvayāsi* (AV.), *yodhīyāsi*. — **3.** *ardayāti* (AV.), *kalpīyāti*, *tarpayāti* (AV.), *pādīyāti* (AV.), *pārayāti*, *pūrayāti* (AV.), *mārdīyāti* (AV.), *mṛlīyāti*, *rājayāti* (TS. II. 4. 14<sup>2</sup>), *sūdayāti*; *kalpātī* (AV.), *codīyāt*, *pārdīyāt*, *marēdīyāt*, *sādayāt*, *sāyīyāt* (TS. I. 8. 6<sup>2</sup>). — **Du. 1.** *īrdyāva*. — **2.** *dhāpīyāthas* (AV.), *pādīyāthas* (AV.), *vāsīyāthas* (AV.), *sādayāthas* (AV.). — **3.** *kālīyāthas*. — **Pl. 1.** *īrayāma*, *dhārayāma*. — **2.** *chadīyātha*, *vardhīyātha* (AV.). — **3.** *śrapīyān* (TS. IV. 1. 5<sup>4</sup>). — **Middle. Sing. 2.** *kāmīyāse*, *codīyāse*, *joṣīyāse*, *mādīyāse*, *yātīyāse*, *mādayāthas* (AV. IV. 25<sup>6</sup>). — **3.** *codayāte*, *chandayāte*, *dhārayāte*, *mādīyāte*, *vartayāte*; *īkhdīyātai* (AV.), *cehīyātai* (TS. I. 1. 13<sup>2</sup>), *dhārayātai* (AV.), *rājīyātai* (AV.), *vārayātai* (AV.). — **Du. 1.** *īkhdīyāvahai*, *kalpīyāvahai*, *janīyāvahai* (AV.). — **3.** *mādīyāite*. — **Pl. 2.** *kāmīyādhe*, *mādayādhe*; *mādayādhvai*.

**c. Optative.** This mood is very rare, only four forms occurring in the RV. and two in the AV. **Sing. 2.** *janayes* (Kh. II. 10<sup>4</sup>), *dhārayes*. — **3.** *mānayet* (AV.), *vādayet* (AA. III. 2. 5), *vesāyet* (AV.), *sprīhayet*. — **Pl. 1.** *citīyema*, *marījayema*.

**d. Imperative.** Forms of this mood are common, nearly 120 occurring in the RV.; of these, however, quite one half are in the 2. sing. act. No forms of the 3. sing. and du. mid. are met with in the RV. No impv. in -tāt is found in the RV. and only one in the AV.: 2. sing. *dhīrayatāt*<sup>1</sup>. The forms actually occurring, if made from *kalpīya*, would be the following:

**Active. Sing. 2.** *kalpīyā* and *kalpayatāt* (AV.). **3.** *kalpayatu*. — **Du. 2.** *kalpīyatam*. **3.** *kalpayatām*. — **Pl. 2.** *kalpīyatā*. **3.** *kalpīyantū*.

**Middle. Sing. 2.** *kalpīyasva*. — **Du. 2.** *kalpīyethām*. — **Pl. 2.** *kalpīyadhvam*. **3.** *kalpayantām*.

**e. Participles.** The active participle in -ant, with fem. in -ī, is common; e. g. *jan-īyant-*, f. *jan-īyant-ī* 'producing'. The middle participle, which is always formed with -māna, is rare. In the RV. are found only *mahīya-māna* 'glorifying', *yātīya-māna* 'reaching', *vardhīya-māna* 'increasing', and in the AV. only *kāmīya-māna* 'desiring'; in the TS. (IV. 2. 6<sup>2</sup>) *cātīya-māna*.

**f. Imperfect.** Forms of this tense, both augmented and unaugmented, are frequent. In the RV. some 130 occur in the active, about two-thirds of which are in the 2. and 3. sing. Middle forms are rare except in the 3. pl. In the active the 1. and 3. du., and 1. and 2. pl. are wanting; in the middle all the 1. persons and the 3. du. are unrepresented. Some 50 unaugmented forms are used as injunctives in the RV.<sup>2</sup> The forms actually occurring, if made from *janīya*, would be the following:

**Active. Sing. 1.** *ajānayam*; *janayam*. **2.** *ājanayas*; *janīyas*. **3.** *ājanayat*; *janīyat*. — **Du. 2.** *ājanayatam*. — **Pl. 3.** *ājanayan*; *janayan*.

**Middle. Sing. 2.** *ajānayathās*; *janīyathās*. **3.** *ājanayata*; *janayata*. — **Du. 2.** *ājanayethām*. — **Pl. 2.** *ājanayadhvam*. **3.** *ājanayanta*; *janīyanta*.

**560. Outside the present system** very few causative forms occur. These are found in the following formations.

**a. Future.** Only four forms occur in the RV. and AV. **Active. Sing. 1.** *duṣayīsyāmi* (AV.). **3.** *dhārayīsyāti*. — **Middle. Sing. 2.** *vāsīyīsyāse* 'wilt adorn thyself'. **3.** *vārayīsyate* (AV.) 'will shield'.

**b. Perfect.** The only example of a periphrastic perfect occurring in the Samhitās is made from a causative stem: *gamayān cakāra* (AV.).

**c. Aorist.** The reduplicated aorist has attached itself to the causative, probably because the intensive character of the reduplicated form became

<sup>1</sup> In K. the forms *yamayātāt* and *cyāvayātāt* occur; and in pl. 2. the unexampled ending -dhvāt in *vārayadhvāt*: WHITNEY 1043 d.

<sup>2</sup> See AVERY 264.

associated with the originally iterative meaning of the causative. But in form it is unconnected with the causative stem, being derived directly from the root; and more than one-third of the verbs which form it in the RV., and about one-fifth in the AV., have no causative stem in *-aya*. There are, however, eight forms which are actually made from the causative stem: Sing. 1. *arp-īp-am* (AV.) from *ar-paya-*; 2. *jīhip-as* from *hā-paya-*<sup>1</sup> 'cause to depart'; *atiṣṭhip-as* and 3. *atiṣṭhip-at* from *sthā-paya-* 'fasten'; *ajijñip-at* (TS.) from *jñā-paya-* 'cause to know'; Pl. 2. *ājijap-ata* (VS.) from *jāpaya-* 'cause to conquer' (Vjī-); Sing. 2. act. *bībhī-as* (TS.) and mid. *bībhī-athās* from *bhī-saya-* 'frighten', anomalous causative of *bhī-* 'fear'.

a. There are besides three *iṣ*-aorists formed from the causative stem: *vyathay-is* (AV.) from *vyathaya-* 'disturb'; *ailay-it* (AV.) from *ilaya-* 'has quieted down'; *dhvanay-it*<sup>2</sup> from *dhvanaya-* 'envelope'.

561. Nominal derivatives. a. The only present passive participle appears in the form *bhāj-yā-māna-* (AV. XII. 5<sup>28</sup>). There are also a few past participles: *ghṛ-ī-ta-* (AV.) 'smeared'; *cod-ī-tā-* 'impelled'; *-veś-ī-ta-* (AV.) 'caused to enter'.

b. A few gerundives in *-āyya* are formed from causative stems: *trayay-āyya-* 'to be guarded'; *panay-āyya-* 'admirable'; *spṛhay-āyya-* 'desirable'<sup>3</sup>.

c. Ten infinitives formed with *-dhyai* from the causative stem are met with in the RV.: *iṣṭyadhyai*, *īrāyadhyai*, *tanīsayādhyai*, *nāsayādhyai*, *mandayādhyai*, *mādayādhyai*, *riṣayādhyai*, *vartayādhyai*, *vājayādhyai*, *syandayādhyai*<sup>4</sup>.

d. Four gerunds formed with *-tvā* from causative stems are met with in the AV.: *arpay-i-tvā*, *kalpay-i-tvā*, *sāday-i-tvā*, *sraṁsay-i-tvā*.

e. Finally several ordinary nouns are derived from the causative stem with various suffixes; a few verbal nouns in *-ana*: *ārp-ana-* (AV.) 'thrusting'; *-bhī-s-ana-* 'frightening'; one or two agent nouns in *-tṛ*, f. *-tr-ī*: *coday-i-tr-ī* 'stimulator'; *bodhay-i-tṛ-* 'awakener'; a few adjectives in *-ā* as second members of compounds: *ati-pārayā-* 'putting across'; *ni-dhārayā-* 'putting down'; *vācam-īṅkhayā-* 'voice-impelling'; *viśvam-ējaya-* 'all-stimulating'; an adjective in *-ālu*: *patay-ālū-* (AV.) 'flying'; five adjectives in *-iṣṇū*: *tāpay-iṣṇū-* 'tormenting'; *namay-iṣṇū-* 'bending'; *patay-iṣṇū-* 'flying'; *pāray-iṣṇū-* 'rescuing'; *māday-iṣṇū-* 'intoxicating'; seven adjectives in *-itnū*: *āmay-itnū-* 'making ill'; *tanay-itnū-* 'thundering'; *dāvay-itnū-* 'speeding'; *poṣay-itnū-* 'nourishing'; *māday-itnū-* 'intoxicating'; *sūday-itnū-* 'streaming sweetness'; *stanay-itnū-* m. 'thunder'; and three adjectives in *-u*: *dhāray-ū-* 'streaming'<sup>5</sup>; *bhāvay-ū-* 'animating'; *manday-ū-* 'rejoicing'.

#### 4. The Denominative.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 201—209, 216—218. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 272—274. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1053—1068. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 40—44. — Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 693—696.

562. The denominative is nearly always formed from a nominal stem with the suffix *-ya*. The latter is normally accented; but a certain number of unmistakable denominatives, such as *mantrā-ya-te* 'takes counsel', have the causative accent and thus form a connecting link between the regular denominatives and the causatives<sup>6</sup>. The formation is a frequent one, more than a hundred denominative stems occurring in the RV., and in the AV. about

<sup>1</sup> The stem *hā-paya-* does not itself otherwise occur in V.; cp. p. 396 note 2.

<sup>2</sup> The TS. IV. 6. 9<sup>2</sup> has instead *dhvanayit*.

<sup>3</sup> See below 579.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 211; and below 585, 7.

<sup>5</sup> WHITNEY, Roots, s. v. *dhṛ*; according to

BR. and GRASSMANN to be analyzed as *dhāra-yū-*.

<sup>6</sup> There can be little doubt that the denominative suffix *-ya* is identical with that of the causative as well as that of the verbs of the fourth class; cp. WHITNEY 1055 a; v. NEGELEIN 44; BRUGMANN, KG. 690, 694.



thirty (or about fifty if those which form present participles or derivative nouns only are included). The general meaning of the denominative is that the subject expressed by the inflexion stands in some relation to the noun from which the stem is formed. It may usually be rendered by 'be or act like'; 'regard or treat as'; 'turn into or use as'; 'wish for'.

Denominatives formed with *-ya* are best classified according to the final of the nominal stem to which the suffix is added.

**563. Stems in *-a*,** which usually remains unchanged; thus *amitra-yá-* 'act like an enemy', 'be hostile'; *indra-ya-* 'behave like Indra'; *kṣema-yá-* 'take a rest'; *jāra-ya-* 'treat like a lover', 'caress'; *deva-yá-* 'serve the gods'; *yusma-yá-* 'seek you'; *vasna-yá-* 'deal with the price', 'bargain'.

With the causative accent: (*pary-*)*añkhá-ya-*<sup>1</sup> 'clasp (round)'; *arthá-ya-* 'have as a desire'; *rtá-ya-* 'act according to sacred order'; *kuláyá-ya-* 'build a nest'; *nīlá-ya-* 'bring together'; *pālá-ya-* (AV.) 'act as guardian', 'protect'; *mantrá-ya-* 'take counsel'; *mṛgá-ya-* 'treat as a wild animal', 'hunt'; *vavrá-ya-* 'put in hiding', 'shrink from'; *vājá-ya-* 'act like a steed', 'race' (beside *vāja-yá-*); *vīrá-ya-* 'play the man'; *sa-bhāgá-ya-* (AV.) 'apportion'<sup>2</sup>.

*a.* One or two denominatives are from nominal stems extended with *-a*: *iśá-ya-* 'have strength' (*iś-*)<sup>3</sup>; *ūrjá-ya-* 'have strength' (*ūrj-*)<sup>4</sup>.

*a.* The *-a* is, however, often lengthened: *aghā-yá-* 'plan mischief'; *ajirā-ya-* 'be swift'; *amitrā-yá-* (AV.) 'be hostile' (Pp. *-āyá-*); *asvā-yá-* 'desire horses'; *rtā-yá-* 'observe sacred order' (beside *rtá-ya-*); *tilvīlā-yá-* 'be fertile'; *tudā-yá-* (AV.) 'thrust'; *dhāpā-yá-*<sup>5</sup> (MS. AV.) 'be like smoke', 'fume'; *priyā-yá-* 'become friends'; *mathī-yá-* (AV.) 'shake'; *muṣā-ya-*<sup>6</sup> (AV.) 'steal'; *yajñā-yá-* 'sacrifice'; *rathirā-yá-* 'be conveyed in a car'; *randhanā-ya-*<sup>7</sup> 'make subject'; *vṛṣā-yá-* 'act like a bull'<sup>8</sup>; *samā-yá-* 'be active' (*sāma-*); *subhā-yá-* 'be beautiful'<sup>9</sup>; *śrathā-ya-* 'make loose' (Pp. *-āya-*)<sup>10</sup>; *satvanā-yá-* (AV.) 'act like a warrior'; *sumnā-yá-* 'show benevolence'; *skabhā-yá-* 'make firm'. In most of these examples the Pada text has a short *a*.

*a.* The denominative *ojā-yá-* 'employ force' is formed from *oja-*, shortened for *ōjas* 'strength'.

*b.* The *-a* of the nominal stem is sometimes changed to *-ī*: *adhvarī-yá-* 'perform the sacrifice' (*adhvará-*); *caranī-yá-* 'follow a course' (*cāraṇa-*), 'pursue'; *taviṣī-yá-* 'be strong' (*taviśá-*); *putrī-yá-* 'desire a son' (*putrá-*); *rathī-yá-* 'drive in a car' (*ráttha-*); *śapathī-yá-* (AV.) 'utter a curse' (*śapátha-*). In nearly every instance here the Pada text has *ī*. Even in the Samhitā text the AV. has *putrī-yá-* 'desire a son', and the RV. the denominative participle (with shifted accent) *ānni-yant-* 'desiring food' (*ānna-*).

*a.* For the *-a* of the nominal stem *e* is substituted in *vare-yá-* 'play the wooer' (*vāra-*), 'woo'.

*c.* The final *-a* of the nominal stem is sometimes dropped<sup>11</sup>: *adhvar-yá-* 'perform sacrifice' (beside *adhvarī-yá-*); *kṛpā-yá-* 'be eager'; *taviṣ-yá-* 'be

<sup>1</sup> Regarded as a causative by GRASSMANN, s. v. *añkh*.

<sup>2</sup> DELBRÜCK 189, 1 regards the form *hástayatas* as a denominative; but the accent would be unique: its explanation by BK. and GRASSMANN as a compound, *hás-ta-yatas* 'wielded by the hand', is doubtless the correct one.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK 189, 2.

<sup>4</sup> GRASSMANN regards this verb as a causati ve: see Wörterbuch, s. v. *ūrjáy*.

<sup>5</sup> See WHITNEY's note on AV. IV. 196.

<sup>6</sup> See WHITNEY on AV. IV. 212.

<sup>7</sup> Based on *randhana*, an assumed derivative of the root *randh-*.

<sup>8</sup> Beside *vṛṣā-yá-*, from *vṛṣa-*, the form which *vṛṣan-* assumes before terminations or before second members of compounds beginning with consonants.

<sup>9</sup> From *subha-*, an assumed derivative of *subh-* 'shine'.

<sup>10</sup> There is also a causative form *śrathāya-*, from *śrath-* 'loosen'.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. v. NEGELEIN 40.

mighty' (beside *taviṣṭ-yá-*); *turaṇ-yá-* 'be speedy'; *daman-ya-*<sup>1</sup> 'overpower'; *bhuraṇ-yá-* 'be active'; *vithur-yá-* 'stagger'; *saraṇ-yá-* 'hasten'. There are several other denominatives which presuppose nouns in *-ana*: thus *dhiṣaṇ-yá-* 'pay attention'; *riṣaṇ-yá-* 'commit faults'; *ruvaṇ-ya-* 'roar'; *huvaṇ-ya-* 'call'. The derivation of *iṣaṇ-yá-* beside *iṣaṇa-ya-* 'impel' is perhaps similar; but the nominal stem on which this denominative is based may be *iṣṇi-* 'impulse'<sup>2</sup>.

564. Stems in *-ā*, which usually remains unchanged: *gopā-yá-* 'act as herdsman'; 'protect'; *jmā-yá-* 'speed to earth'; *ducchunā-yá-* 'desire mischief'<sup>3</sup>; *pṛtanā-yá-* 'fight'; *bhandanā-yá-* 'strive for glory'; *manā-yá-* 'feel attachment'; *raśanā-yá-* (AV.)<sup>4</sup> 'put on a girdle'. Similar stems are to be assumed in *ṛghā-yá-* 'tremble', and *hṛṇā-yá-* 'be wrathful'; and *dhiyā-yá-* 'pay attention' is based on *dhiyā-*<sup>5</sup> = *dhi-* 'thought'.

α. The *-ā* of the nominal stem is once shortened, if *kṛpa-yá-* (RV.)<sup>6</sup> 'mourn'<sup>6</sup> is a denominative and different from the causative *kṛpāya-* (554). The *ā* is dropped in *pṛtan-yá-* 'fight' beside *pṛtanā-yá-*.

α. There are more than a dozen denominatives with *ā* preceding *-ya-*, without any corresponding noun in *ā*; thus *aśā-yá-* 'attain'<sup>7</sup>; *tudā-yá-* (AV.) 'thrust'; *damā-yá-* 'tame'<sup>7</sup>; *naśā-ya-*<sup>8</sup> (x. 40<sup>6</sup>) 'reach'; *panā-ya-* 'boast of'; *vasā-yá-* 'invest oneself with'; *vṛṣā-ya-* 'cause to rain'<sup>9</sup>. Seven such denominatives, however, appear beside present bases according to the ninth class in *-nā*: *gṛbhā-yá-* 'seize' (*gṛbh-nā-*); *mathā-yá-* 'shake' (*math-nā-*); *pruṣā-yá-* 'drip' (*pruṣ-nānt-*, VS.); *muṣā-yá-* 'steal' (*muṣ-nā-*); *śrathā-ya-* 'loosen' (*śrath-nā-*); *skabhā-yá-* 'fasten' (*skabh-nā-*); *stabhā-yá-* 'support' (*stabh-n-*).

565. Stems in *-i*, which is nearly always lengthened (though usually short in the Pada text): *arātī-yá-* (RV. VS.) 'be malevolent', but *arāti-yá-* (AV. and RV. Pp.); *kavī-yá-* 'be wise'; *janī-yá-* 'seek a wife', but *jani-yá-* (AV.); *dur-grbhī-ya-* 'be hard to grasp'; *mahī-yá-* 'be delighted'; *rayī-yá-* 'desire wealth'; *sakhī-yá-*<sup>10</sup> 'seek friendship'.

α. In a few instances the *i* is either treated as *a* or takes Guṇa of which the final element is dropped (*-a-ya* = *-ay-ya*): thus *iṣaṇa-ya-* 'set in motion' (*iṣṇi-* 'impulse'); *kṛtā-ya-* (AV.) 'make mention of' (*kṛti-*); *akṛnā-yá-* 'resound' (*dhiṇi-* 'sounding'); *suṣvā-yá-* and *suṣvā-ya-* 'flow' (*suṣv-i-*<sup>11</sup> 'pressing'). Perhaps formed in the same way are *śrudhī-yá-* 'obey' and *hṛnī-yá-* 'be angry'<sup>12</sup>.

β. *pātya-* 'be a lord', 'rule', probably in origin a denominative of *pāti-* 'lord', is treated like a verb of the fourth class as if from a root *pat-*.

566. Stems in *-u*, which (except *gātu-yá-* twice) is always long (though always short in Pp.): *asū-yá-* 'grumble'; *ṛjū-yá-* 'be straight'; *kratū-yá-* 'exert the intellect'; *gātū-yá-* and *gātu-yá-* 'set in motion'; *pītū-yá-* 'desire nourishment'; *valgū-yá-* 'treat kindly'; *vasū-yá-* 'desire wealth'; *śatru-yá-* 'play the enemy', 'be hostile'; *sukratū-ya-* 'show oneself wise'. Moreover, *iṣū-ya-* 'strive', may be derived from *iṣu-* 'arrow'; and nouns in *-u* are presupposed by *anḱū-yá-* 'move tortuously', and *stabhū-yá-* 'stand firm'.

α. In *go-*, the only stem in *-o*, the diphthong becomes *-av* before the denominative suffix: *gav-yá-* 'desire cows'.

<sup>1</sup> From an assumed adjective derivative *damana-*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK 189, 4.

<sup>3</sup> The Pada text wrongly *ducchunayá-*.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. XIV. 27<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Which perhaps became an independent noun through the influence of the instrumental form in such compounds as *dhiyā-jñ-* 'growing old in devotion'.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *kṛpay*.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK 199 (p. 217, middle).

<sup>8</sup> DELBRÜCK, l. c., regards *naśāya-* (x. 40<sup>6</sup>) as a denominative, BR. as causative of *naś-*.

<sup>9</sup> To be distinguished from *vṛṣāyá-* 'act like a bull'.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. v. NEGELEIN 41 (middle).

<sup>11</sup> From the reduplicated root *su-* 'press'.  
<sup>12</sup> According to DELBRÜCK 205, p. 57, also *duhīya-* in the forms *duhīyāt* and *duhīyān* (optatives GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch, and WHITNEY, Roots, s. v. *duh*). Cp. 450, a 5.

**567. Consonant stems** usually remain unchanged before the suffix.

a. The only stem ending in *-j* is *bhiśáj-* 'physician': *bhiśaj-yá-* 'play the physician', 'heal'.

b. There is one denominative, *īśudh-yá-* 'implore', which seems to presuppose a stem in *-dh*, viz. *īśudh-*<sup>1</sup>, but is probably a denominative from *īśu-dhi-* (like *pátīya-* 'from *pátī-*') 'put in the arrow', 'aim'<sup>2</sup>.

c. Denominatives formed from stems in *-n* are *ukṣaṇ-yá-* 'act like a bull'; *udan-yá-* 'irrigate'; *brahmaṇ-yá-* 'be devout' ('act like a *brahmán*'); *vṛṣaṇ-yá-*<sup>3</sup> 'act like a bull', 'be lustful'.

d. A denominative formed from a stem in *-ar* is *vadhar-yá-* 'hurl a bolt' (*vádhar-*). Stems in *-ar* are further presupposed in *rathar-yá-* 'ride in a car'; *śrathar-yá-* 'become loose'; *sapar-yá-* 'worship'.

e. The consonant stems most frequently used to form denominatives are those in *-as*: *apas-yá-* 'be active'; *avas-yá-* 'seek help'; *canas-yá-* 'be satisfied'; *divas-yá-* 'adore'; *namas-yá-* 'pay homage'; *nṛ-maṇas-yá-* 'be kindly disposed to men'; *manas-yá-* 'bear in mind'; *vacas-yá-* 'be audible'; *varivas-yá-* 'grant space'; *śravas-yá-*<sup>4</sup> 'hasten'; *sa-canas-yá-* 'cherish'; *su-manas-yá-* 'be gracious'; *sv-apas-yá-* 'act well'. Stems in *-as* are further presupposed by *iras-yá-* 'be angry'; *daśas-yá-* 'render service to'; *panas-yá-* 'excite admiration'; *sacas-yá-* 'receive care'. A few denominatives have further been formed from stems in *-a* following the analogy of those in *-as*; thus *makhas-yá-* 'be cheerful' (*makhá-*) and *su-makhas-yá-* (TS.) 'be merry'; *mānavas-yá-* 'act like men' (*mānavá-*). The stem *aviś-yá-*, appearing in the participle *aviśyánt-* 'helping willingly', apparently a denominative (beside *aviśyā-* 'desire', *aviśyī-* 'desirous'), seems to be formed from *\*av-is-* = *áv-as-* 'favour'<sup>5</sup>.

f. A few denominatives are formed from stems in *-us*: *taruś-yá-* 'engage in fight' (*tár-us-*); *vanuś-yá-* 'plot against' (*van-ús-* 'eager'); *vapuś-ya-* 'wonder' (*váp-us-* 'marvellous'). This analogy is followed by *uruś-yá-* 'seek wide space' from a stem in *-u* (*urú-* 'wide').

**568.** There are a few denominative forms made without a suffix direct from nominal stems, but they nearly always have beside them denominative stems in *-ya*; thus *bhiśák-ti* (VIII. 79<sup>2</sup>) 'heals' 3. sing. from *bhiśáj-* 'act as physician' (also m. 'physician'); *a-bhiśnak* (X. 131<sup>5</sup>), 3. sing. impf. of *bhiśnaj-* 'heal'. Similarly there appear the forms sing. 2. *īṣaṇa-s*, 3. *īṣaṇa-t*, pl. 3. *īṣaṇa-nta* beside *īṣaṇ-yá-*; pl. 3. *kṛpāna-nta* beside *kṛpān-yá-*; pl. 1. *taruśe-ma*, 3. *táruśa-nte*, *taruśa-nta* beside *taruś-yá-*; pl. 3. *vanuśa-nta* beside *vanuś-yá-*. Possibly the form *vānanvati* is a denominative meaning 'is at hand', from a noun *\*van-anu-*, beside the simple verb *van-* 'win'<sup>6</sup>.

### Inflection.

**569.** The denominative is regularly inflected throughout the present system according to the *a-* conjugation in both voices. The commonest form is the 3. sing. active and middle.

The forms of the **present indicative** active and middle that actually occur would, if made from *manas-yá-* 'bear in mind', be the following:

**Active.** Sing. 1. *manasyāmi* (AV.). 2. *manasyási*. 3. *manasyāti*. — Du. 2. *manasyáthas*. 3. *manasyátas*. — Pl. 1. *manasyāmasi* and *manasyāmas*. 2. *manasyatha*. 3. *manasyānti*.

**Middle.** Sing. 1. *manasyé*. 2. *manasyése*. 3. *manasyáte*. — Du. 2. *manasyethe*. 3. *manasyéte* (AV.). — Pl. 1. *manasyāmahe*. 3. *manasyānte*.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK 194.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *īśudh*.

<sup>3</sup> Beside *vṛṣāyá-*; cp. p. 399, note 8.

<sup>4</sup> According to BR. derived from *śravas*.

Indo-arische Philologie. I. 4.

from *śru-* = *sru-* 'flow', but GRASSMANN from *śru-* 'hear'.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *aviśy*.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK p. 218.

Forms that actually occur elsewhere in the present system are the following:

a. Subjunctive. Active. Sing. 1. *namasyā*. — 2. *urusyās*, *kirtāyās* (AV.), *śravasyās*. — 3. *apasyāt*, *arātīyāt* (TS. IV. 1. 10<sup>3</sup>; VS. XI. 80), *arātīyāt* (AV.), *urusyāt*, *caranyāt* (AV.), *durasyāt* (AV.), *duvasyāt*, *prīanyāt*, *vanusyāt*, *vareyāt*, *vasūyāt*, *śravasyāt*, *saparyāt*. — Du. 3. *varīvasyātas*. — Pl. 3. *prīanyān* (AV.), *saparyān*, *saranyān*. — Middle. Sing. 2. *arthāyāse*, *nīlāyāse*. — 3. *anīkhāyāte*.

b. Injunctive. Active. Sing. 2. *irasyas*, *riṣanyas*, *ruvanyas*. — Pl. 3. *turanyan*, *duvasyan*, *namasyan*, *saparyan*. — Middle. Sing. 3. *panāyata*. — Pl. 3. *rgbhāyānta*, *rtayanta*, *kṛpānanta*, *tarusanta*, *dhunayanta*<sup>1</sup>, *rucayanta*, *vanusanta*, *susūdyanta*.

c. Optative. Active. Sing. 2. *daśasyes*. — 3. *urusyet*, *caranyet* (TS. I. 8. 22<sup>1</sup>), *daśasyet*, *duvasyēt*. — Pl. 1. *iṣayema*, *taruṣema*, *saparyēma*. — Middle. Sing. 3. *manasyēta* (AV.).

d. Imperative. Active. Sing. 2. *iṣanya*, *urusyā*, *gātuyā*, *gūrdhaya*, *gopāyā* (AV. TS.), *grbhāya*, *daśasyā*, *duvasya*, *namasyā*, *varīvasyā*, *vājaya* (TS. I. 7. 8<sup>1</sup>), *śrathāya*, *saparya*. — 3. *urusyatu*, *gopāyatu*<sup>2</sup> (AV.), *bhīṣajyatu* (TS. V. 2. 12<sup>2</sup>). — Du. 2. *urusyātām*, *gopāyātām*, *canasyātām*, *daśasyātām*. — 3. *urusyātām*. — Pl. 2. *iṣanyata*, *urusyata*, *grbhāyāta* (AV.), *gopāyata* (AV.), *daśasyata*, *duvasyāta*, *namasyāta*, *riṣanyata*, *saparyata*. — 3. *urusyantu*, *gopāyantu* (AV.), *varīvasyantu*. — Middle. Sing. 2. *arthayasva*, *vīrāyasva* (AV. TS.), *vṛṣāyasva* (AV.). — Pl. 2. *tilvīlāyādhvam*, *vīrāyādhvam*. — 3. *dhunayantām*.

e. Participle. The present participle active in *-ant* (with fem. *-ant-ī*) is very common, while the middle form in *-māna*, occurs fairly often.

α. Examples of the active are *aghāyānt*, *anīkhāyānt*, *adhvarīyānt*, *amītrayānt*, *arātīyānt*, *aśvāyānt*, *iṣanyānt*, *iṣyānt* and *iṣyānt*, *iṣyānt*, *udānyānt*, *urjāyānt*, *rgbhāyānt*, *rtāyānt*, *rtāyānt*, *gavyānt*, *gopāyānt* (AV.), *taviṣyānt*, *daśasyānt*, *duvasyānt*, *devayānt*, *namasyānt*, *pālāyānt* (AV.), *putrīyānt*, *prītanāyānt*, *prīanyānt*, *bhandanāyānt*, *bhuranyānt*, *mathāyānt*, *muṣyānt*, *yajñāyānt*, *yusmayānt*, *rathirāyānt*, *rathīyānt*, *vasūyānt*, *vasnāyānt*, *vājāyānt* and *vājāyānt*, *vṛṣanyānt*, *śatrūyānt*, *śikāyānt* (VS.) 'dripping', *sakhīyānt*, *satvanāyānt* (AV.), *saparyānt*, *sumnāyānt*, *susūdyānt*, *hrñyānt* 'angry'.

β. Examples of the middle are *rgbhāyāmāna*, *ṛjūyāmāna*, *oajāyāmāna*, *kaṇḍūyāmāna* (TS.), *kavīyāmāna*, *caranīyāmāna*, *taviṣyāmāna*, *prīyāyāmāna* (AV.), *(ā-prati-)manyūyamāna* (AV.), *raśanāyāmāna*, *vṛṣāyāmāna*, *samanāyāmāna*, *sumakhasyāmāna* (TS.), *sumanasyāmāna*, *stabhūyāmāna*, *svapasyāmāna*, *hrñyāmāna* 'angry'.

f. Imperfect. Active. Sing. 2. *arandhanāyas*. — 3. *apṛtanyat*, *āskabhāyat* (AV.); *urusyat*, *damanyat*, *dhūpāyat* (AV.); *abhiṣṇak*. — Du. 3. *urusyātām*. — Pl. 3. *anamasyan*, *asaparyan*; *turanyan*, *vapūṣyan*, *saparyan* (TS. II. 2. 12<sup>4</sup>). — Middle. Sing. 3. *āpriyāyata*. — Du. 2. *avīrayethām*. — Pl. 3. *iṣanayanta*.

570. Outside the present system no denominative form occurs in the RV. except *ūnayīs* (+AV.), 2. sing. *iṣ-* aorist (used injunctively with *mā*)

<sup>1</sup> The form *bhurāyanta* (IV. 43<sup>5</sup>) is according to pw. = *bhrājanta* for *bhrājjanta* (*bhrājj-* 'be roasted'). Cp. note in OLDENBERG's Rgveda.

<sup>2</sup> This denominative is derived from the very frequent *go-pā-* 'cowherd', of which two transition forms according to the a-

declension (*go-pā-*) occur in the RV. To the denominative must be due the secondary root *gup-* 'protect' (*jugupur* once, *gupitā* twice in the RV.). Cp. p. 358, note 13. How *gup-* should be a denominative of *go-* 'cow' (v. NEGELEIN 43, note 5) is not clear.

from *unaya-* 'leave unfulfilled' (*und-*). A few other forms occur in the later *Samhitās*. Thus the AV. has the peculiar form *asaparyait* (AV. xiv. 2<sup>20</sup>)<sup>1</sup>, probably 3. sing. aorist, with *-ait* for *-it*<sup>2</sup>. The VS. (II. 31) has the 3. pl. aorist *ā-a-vṛṣāy-iṣ-ata* 'they have accepted'. The TS. has the 2. pl. aor. *pāpay-iṣ-ita* 'lead into evil' (used injunctively with *mā*). The TS. (III. 2. 8<sup>3</sup>) has also the future participles *kaṇḍūyisyānt-* 'about to scratch', *meghāyisyānt-* 'about to be cloudy', *śikāyisyānt-* 'about to drip', with the corresponding perfect participles passive *kaṇḍūyitā-*, *meghitā-*, *śikitā-*.

## B. Nominal Verb Forms.

571. A large number of nominal formations partake of the verbal character inasmuch as they express time (present, past, or future); or the relations between subject and object, implying transitive or intransitive action, and active, middle, or passive sense. Such formations are participles (including verbal adjectives), infinitives, and gerunds. The participles formed from tense-stems having already been treated<sup>3</sup>, only those that are formed directly from the root remain to be dealt with. These are the verbal adjectives which have the value either of past passive participles or of future passive participles (otherwise called gerundives).

### a. Past Passive Participles.

572. The past passive participle is formed by adding, in the great majority of instances, the suffix *-tā*<sup>4</sup> (with or without connecting *-i-*), or far less commonly the suffix *-nā* (directly) to the root. When formed from a transitive verb, it has a passive as well as a past sense; e. g. *as-* 'throw': *as-tā-* 'thrown'; *dā-* 'give': *dat-tā-* 'given'. But when formed from an intransitive verb, it has a neuter past sense; e. g. *gam-* 'go': *ga-tā-* 'gone'; *pat-* 'fall': *pat-i-tā-* (AV.) 'fallen'.

573. When *-tā* is added direct, the root tends to appear in its weak form. Very frequently, however, the form in which the root is generally stated, if ending in vowels, remains unchanged, while those ending in consonants are usually modified only in so far as is required by the rules of internal Sandhi; thus *√mlā-*: *mlā-tā-* 'softened'; *√yā-*: *yā-tā-* 'gone'; *√rā-*: *rā-tā-* 'given'; *√ji-*: *ji-tā-* 'conquered'; *√śri-*: *śri-tā-* 'leaning on'; *√prī-*: *prī-tā-* 'rejoiced'; *√bhī-*: *bhī-tā-* 'frightened'; *√yu-* 1. 'yoke' and 2. 'ward off': *yu-tā-*; *√śru-*: *śru-tā-* 'heard'; *√stu-*: *stu-tā-* 'praised'; *√bhū-*: *bhū-tā-* 'become'; *√hū-*: *hū-tā-* 'called'; *√kr-*: *kr-tā-* 'made'; *√bhr-*: *bhr-tā-* 'borne'; *√vr-*: *vr-tā-* 'covered' and 'chosen'; *√mṛc-*: *mṛk-tā-*<sup>5</sup> (RV.) 'injured'; *√sic-*: *sik-tā-* 'poured out'; *√tij-*: *tik-tā-* 'sharp'; *√yuj-*: *yuk-tā-* 'yoked'; *√mṛj-*: *mṛs-tā-* 'rubbed'; *√sṛj-*: *sṛṣ-tā-* 'discharged'; *√cit-*: *cit-tā-* 'perceived'; *√vṛt-*: *vṛt-tā-* 'turned'; *√mad-* 'be exhilarated': *mat-tā-* (AV.); *√idh-*: *id-dhā-* 'kindled'; *√krudh-*: *krud-dhā-* 'angry'; *√tap-*: *tap-tā-* 'hot'; *√rip-*: *rip-tā-* (RV.) 'besmeared'; *√dīṣ-*: *dīṣ-tā-* 'shown'; *√naṣ-*: *naṣ-tā-* 'lost'; *√juṣ-*: *juṣ-tā-* (RV.) 'gladdened' and *jīṣ-tā-* 'welcome'; *√piṣ-*: *piṣ-tā-* 'crushed'; *√kas-*: *vt-kas-tā-* 'split'; *√guh-*: *gū-dhā-*<sup>6</sup> 'hidden'; *√trh-*: *tr-dhā-* 'crushed'; *√dah-*: *dag-dhā-*<sup>7</sup> 'burnt'; *√dih-*: *dig-dhā-* (AV.) 'besmeared'; *√duh-*: *duḡ-dhā-* 'milked'; *√dyh-*

<sup>1</sup> Cp. v. NEGELEIN 41; BÖHTLINGK, ZDMG. 52, 510 ff.

<sup>2</sup> As in the AB. form *agrabhaiṣam* beside *agrabhūt*; cp. v. NEGELEIN 41, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> See under declension 311—313, and in the account of the various tenses (present, perfect, aorist, future).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. REICHEL, BB. 27, 95—97.

<sup>5</sup> Only in the compounds *ā-mṛk-tā-* and *mṛk-tā-vāhas-*.

<sup>6</sup> In roots in *-h* which cerebralize the suffix, the vowel is lengthened as compensation for the loss of the cerebral *ṣ*: cp. p. 51, note 2.

<sup>7</sup> In the RV. only in *agni-dagdhā-* 'burnt with fire'.

: *ḍr-ḍhā-* 'firm'; *√druh-: drug-dhā-* 'hurtful'; *√nah-: nad-dhā-* 'bound'; *√muh-: mug-dhā-* and *mū-dhā-* (AV.) 'bewildered'; *√rih-: ri-dhā-* (RV.) 'licked'; *√ruh-: rū-dhā-* (AV.) 'ascended'; *√sah-: sā-dhā-* 'overcome'.

a. Occasional irregularities in the form of the root are not due to the ordinary rules of internal Sandhi. Thus some roots show an interchange of vowel and semi-vowel: *ḍrō-* 'play': *dyū-tā-* (AV.); *siv-* 'sew': *syū-tā-*; *miv-* 'push': *-mūta-* (VS. AV.) instead of *\*myū-tā-*; *hṛ-* 'make crooked' has *hru-tā-* 'crooked', beside the regular *-hṛ-tā-* (RV.); sometimes a long vowel appears in the root: *svad-* 'sweeten': *svāt-tā-*; *gur-* 'greet': *gūr-tā-*; *ṣ-* 'mix': *-ṣir-tā-*, beside *ṣrī-tā-* from *ṣrī-* 'mix', the usual form of the root; *dā-* 'give', beside the regular form *-dā-tā-* in *ivā-dāta-* (RV.) 'given by thee', otherwise always has *dat-tā-*, formed from *dad-*, the weak form of the present base.

574. Roots which contain the syllables *ya*, *ra*, *va* (initial or medial) are generally weakened by Samprasāraṇa; those which contain a nasal (medial or final), by dropping it; those which end in *ā* or *yā*, by shortening the former to *ī* or *i*, the latter to *ī*. Thus:

i. *yaj-* 'sacrifice': *iṣ-tā-*; *vyadh-* 'pierce': *viḍ-dhā-*; *prach-* 'ask': *pr̥ṣ-tā-*; *bhras-* 'fall': *bhr̥ṣ-tā-* beside *bhras-tā-* (AV.); *vac-* 'speak': *uk-tā-*; *vap-* 'strew': *up-tā-*; *vas-* 'shine': *uṣ-tā-*; *vah-* 'carry': *ū-dhā-*; *svap-* 'sleep': *sup-tā-* (AV. VS.).

a. A shortening akin to Samprasāraṇa appears in *av-* 'favour': *-ū-tā-*; *vā-* 'weave': *u-tā-*; *ṣrā-* 'boil': *ṣr-tā-* beside *ṣrā-tā-*.

2. A medial nasal is dropped in *añj-* 'anoint': *ak-tā-*; *umbh-* 'confine': *ub-dhā-*; *damś-* 'bite': *daṣ-tā-* (AV.); *baṃh-* 'make firm': *-bā-dha-*; *ṣundh-* 'purify': *ṣud-dhā-*. Final *n* and *m* are dropped (the radical *a* representing the sonant nasal) in *kṣan-* 'wound': *-kṣa-tā-*; *tan-* 'stretch': *ta-tā-*; *man-* 'think': *ma-tā-*; *han-* 'smite': *ha-tā-*; *gam-* 'go': *ga-tā-*; *nam-* 'bend': *na-tā-*; *yam-* 'reach': *ya-tā-*.

a. A few roots in *-an* have *ā* instead of *-an*: *khan-* 'dig': *kḥā-tā-*; *jan-* 'be born': *jā-tā-*; *van-* 'win': *-vā-tā-*; *san-* 'gain': *sā-tā-*; while some roots in *-am* and one in *-an*, retaining the nasal, have *ān*: *dḥvan-* 'sound': *dḥvāntā-* (VS. xxxix. 7); *kram-* 'stride': *krān-tā-* (AV.); *śam-* 'be quiet': *sān-tā-* (AV.); *śram-* 'be weary': *śrān-tā-*; *dham-* 'blow' has the irregular *dhmā-tā-* and *dham-i-tā-*.

3. Final *ā* is shortened to *ī* in *gā-* 'sing': *gī-tā-*; *dhā-* 'suck': *dhi-tā-*; *pā-* 'drink': *pī-tā-*<sup>3</sup>; to *i* in *dā-* 'bind': *-dī-tā-*; *dhā-* 'put': *-dhi-tā-* and *hi-tā-*; *mā-* 'measure': *mi-tā-*; *śā-* 'sharpen': *śi-tā-*; *sā-* 'bind': *si-tā-*; *sthā-* 'stand': *sthi-tā-*.

Final *yā* is shortened to *ī* in *jyā-* 'overpower': *jī-tā-* (AV.); *vyā-* 'envelope': *vī-tā-*; *śyā-* 'coagulate': *śī-tā-*.

a. Internal shortening of *ā* to *i* appears in *sās-* 'order': *śiṣ-tā-*; and medial *a* entirely disappears in *ghas-* 'eat': *-gḥa-* (TS.) and in the compounded form of *dat-tā-* 'given', which becomes *-t-tā-*: *deva-tā-* 'given by the gods'; *vy-ā-tta-* (AV. VS.), n. 'the opened mouth'; *pāri-tta-* (VS. ix. 9) 'deposited'; *-prati-tta-* (AV.) 'given back'. The same syncopated form appears in the compound participle of *dā-* 'divide': *āva-tta-* (VS.) 'cut off'.

575. When *-tā* is added, as it is in many verbs, with connecting *-i-*, the root is not weakened (excepting four instances of Samprasāraṇa)<sup>4</sup>. It is thus added to a number of roots ending in consonants and to all second-ary verbs.

a. The roots to which it is thus regularly added are those that end:

i. in two consonants: thus *ukṣ-* 'sprinkle': *ukṣ-i-tā-*; *ubj-* 'force': *ubj-i-tā-* (AV.); *nind-* 'revile': *nind-i-tā-*; *rakṣ-* 'protect': *rakṣ-i-tā-*; *śumbh-* 'beautify': *-śumbh-i-tā-* (AV.); *hims-* 'injure': *hims-i-tā-* (AV.); but *takṣ-* 'fashion' has *taṣ-tā-*;

<sup>1</sup> See above 50 b.

<sup>2</sup> Representing the long sonant nasal.

<sup>3</sup> The more correct way of stating these roots would be *gai-*, *dhai-*, *pai-*; cp. 27 a.

<sup>4</sup> In *grbh-i-tā-* from *grabh-* 'seize' and *grh-i-tā-* (AV.) from *grah-* id.; *ukṣ-i-tā-* from *vakṣ-* 'increase'; *ud-i-tā-* from *vad-* 'speak'; *śrth-i-tā-* from *śrath-* 'slacken'.

2. in voiceless aspirates: *likh* 'scratch': *likh-i-tā* (AV.); *grath* 'tie': *grath-i-tā*; *nāth* 'seek aid': *nāth-i-tā*; *math* 'stir': *math-i-tā*;

3. in cerebral *d*: *ūd* 'praise': *ūṭ-i-tā*; *hūd* 'be hostile': *hūṭ-i-tā*;

4. in semivowels: *car* 'move': *car-i-tā*<sup>1</sup>; *jīv* 'live': *jīv-i-tā*.

b. The suffix is also added with *-i-* to a number of roots ending in simple consonants, especially sibilants, about which no rule can be stated. Such are the following participles arranged according to the final of the root: *yāc* 'ask': *yāc-i-tā* (AV.); *pat* 'fall': *pat-i-tā* (AV.); *rad* 'dig': *rad-i-tā* (AV.); *vad* 'speak': *ud-i-tā*; *vid* 'know': *vid-i-tā* (AV.)<sup>2</sup>; *dudh* 'stir up': *dūdḥ-i-tā* (RV.); *nādh* 'seek aid': *nādh-i-tā*; *bādh* 'oppress': *bādh-i-tā*; *pan* 'admire': *pan-i-tā*; *kup* 'be agitated': *-kup-i-tā*; *gup*<sup>3</sup> 'protect': *gup-i-tā* beside *gup-tā* (AV.); *yup* 'obstruct': *yup-i-tā* (AV.); *rup* 'break': *-rup-i-tā*; *drp* 'rave': *-drp-i-tā* and *drp-tā*; *lap* 'prate': *lap-i-tā* (AV.); *grabh* 'seize': *grbh-i-tā* and *grah* 'seize': *grh-i-tā* (AV.); *skabh* 'prop': *skabh-i-tā*; *stabh* 'prop': *stabh-i-tā*; *dham* 'blow': *dham-i-tā* (beside *dhmā-tā*);

*aś* 'eat': *aś-i-tā*; *piś* 'adorn': *piś-i-tā* (AV.) beside *piś-tā*; *iś* 'send': *iś-i-tā*; *iś* 'move': *-iś-i-tā*; *viś* 'be stirred': *viś-i-tā*; *dhr̥ṣ* 'dare': *dhr̥ṣ-i-tā* beside *dhr̥ṣ-tā*; *pruś* 'sprinkle': *pruś-i-tā*; *muś* 'steal': *muś-i-tā*; *hr̥ṣ* 'be excited': *hr̥ṣ-i-tā*; *gras* 'devour': *gras-i-tā*.

a. The verb *hā* 'leave' forms its past participle anomalously (like *dā* 'give') from the reduplicated present base: *jāh-i-tā* (cp. the pres. part. *jāh-at*).

β. In the AV. is once (IX. 638) found a past passive participle extended with the possessive suffix *-vant*, which gives it the sense of a perfect participle active: *aś-i-tā-vant* (Pp. *aśūtā-vant*) 'having eaten'.

c. Secondary verbs, almost exclusively causatives<sup>4</sup>, add *-ita* after dropping *-aya-*; thus *arp-aya* 'cause to go': *arp-itā* and *arp-ita*; *nikh-āya* 'cause to quake': *nikh-itā*; *cod-āya* 'set in motion': *cod-itā*; *vīl-āya* 'make strong': *vīl-itā*; *snath-āya* 'pierce': *snath-itā*; *svan-āya* 'resound': *svan-itā*.

The only past passive participle formed from a denominative is *bhām-itā* 'enraged', from *bhāma* 'wrath'.

576. The suffix *-nā* is always attached directly to the root, which as a rule remains unweakened. Among roots ending in consonants, it is taken by those in *d*, besides two or three in the palatals *c* and *j*; among roots in vowels, it is taken by those ending in the long vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ṛ*, besides one in *ū*.

a. The final of roots in *-d* is assimilated to the *n* of the suffix; thus *chid* 'cut off': *chin-nā*; *tud* 'push': *tun-nā*; *trd* 'pierce': *-trṇ-nā* (VS. xxxvi. 2); *nud* 'push': *-nun-na* (SV.) beside *nut-tā*; *pad* 'go': *pan-nā* (AV.); *bhid* 'split': *bhin-nā*; *vid* 'find': *vin-nā* (AV.) beside *vit-tā*; *sad* 'sit': *san-nā* (VS. AV.) beside *sat-tā*; *skand* 'leap': *skan-nā*; *syand* 'move on': *syan-nā*; *svid* 'sweat': *svin-nā*. The original participle of *ad* 'eat' survives only (with change of accent) in the neuter noun *ān-na* 'food'.

b. The roots in palatals which take *-na* are: *prc* 'mix': *-prg-na* (RV<sup>1</sup>.) beside *prk-tā*; *vraśc* 'cut up': *vrk-nā*; *ruj* 'break': *rug-nā*.

c. Roots in *-ā* remain unchanged or weaken the final to *ī*: *drā* 'sleep': *-drā-na* (AV.); *dā* 'divide': *dī-nā*; *hā* 'leave': *hī-nā*; final *-yā* is shortened to *-ī*: *śyā* 'coagulate': *śī-nā* (VS.) beside *śī-tā*.

d. Roots in *-ī* and *-ū* remain unchanged: *kṣī* 'destroy': *-kṣī-na* (AV.);

<sup>1</sup> Also *ār-i-tā* if derived from a somewhat doubtful root *ār* 'praise'; cp. WHITNEY, Roots, s. v. *ār*.

<sup>2</sup> *mad-i-tā* is probably from the causative of *mad* 'be exhilarated'.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 402, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> No examples of past participles from desideratives (except *mīmāṃsītā*, AV.) and intensives seem to occur in the Saphitās.

*pī-* 'swell': *pī-ná-* (AV.); *blī-* 'crush': *-blī-na-* (AV.); *lī-* 'cling': *-lī-na-* (AV.); *dū-* 'burn': *dū-ná-* (AV.).

e. Roots in *-ī-* change that vowel to *-ir* or (generally when a labial precedes) *-ūr* before *-na-*: *gī-* 'swallow': *gīr-ná-*; *jī-* 'waste away': *jīr-ná-* (AV.) and *jūr-ná-*; *tī-* 'pass': *tīr-ná-*; *pī-* 'fill': *pūr-ná-* beside *pūr-tá-*; *mī-* 'crush': *mūr-ná-* (AV.); *śī-* 'crush': *śīr-ná-* (AV.) beside *śūr-tá-* (RV. I. 174<sup>6</sup>); *stī-* 'strew': *stīr-ná-* beside *-stī-ta-*.

## b. Future Passive Participles (Gerundives).

577. Verbal adjectives formed with certain suffixes have acquired the value of future participles passive, expressing that the action of the verb is or ought to be suffered. There are four forms of such gerundives in use in the RV.: that derived with the primary suffix *-ya*, which is common, and those derived with the secondary suffixes *-āy-ya*, *-ēn-ya*, and *-tv-a*, about a dozen examples of each of which are met with. In the AV. are also found two instances each of gerundives in *-tavyā* and *-anīya*.

578. By far the most frequent form of gerundive is that in *-ya*, about 40 examples occurring in the RV. and about 60 in the AV. This suffix is nearly always to be read as *-ia*, which accounts for the treatment of final radical vowels before it. The root, being accented, appears in a strong form, excepting a few instances in which there is the short radical vowel *i* *u* or *r*.

1. In the following examples a final short vowel remains unchanged, a *-t-*<sup>2</sup> being interposed: *-t-t-ya-* 'to be gone'; *apa-mi-t-ya-* (AV. VI. 117<sup>1</sup>) 'to be thrown away' (? *mi-* 'fix')<sup>3</sup>; *śrī-t-ya-* 'to be heard'; *-kr-t-ya-* 'to be made'; *car-kī-t-ya-* 'to be praised' (*kī-* 'commemorate').

2. Otherwise final *ī*, *ū*, *r* regularly take Guṇa or Vrddhi, the final element of which always appears as *y*, *v*, *r* as before a vowel; thus from *lī-* 'cling': *a-līy-ya-*<sup>4</sup>, an epithet of Indra; *nu-* 'praise': *nāv-ya-* 'to be praised'; *bhū-* 'be': *bhāv-ya-* and *bhāv-yá-* 'future'; *hū-* 'call': *hāv-ya-* 'to be invoked'; *vr-* 'choose': *vār-ya-* 'to be chosen'.

3. Final *-ā* coalesces with the initial of *-ia* to *e*, between which and *-a* a phonetic *y* is interposed; thus *dā-* 'give': *dē-ya-* (= *dā-i-y-a-*) 'to be given'; *khyā-* 'see': *-khye-ya-* (AV.); *mā-* 'measure': *mē-ya-* (AV.). In the RV., however, the form *jñā-ya-* once occurs in the compound *bala-vi-jñā-yá-* (X. 103<sup>5</sup>) 'to be recognized by his might'.

4. A medial vowel either remains unchanged or, if short, may take Guṇa, and *a* is sometimes lengthened; thus *īd-ya-* 'to be praised'; *gūh-ya-* 'to be hidden'; *-dhīṣ-ya-* 'to be assailed'; *duṣ-ya-* (AV.) 'to be hated' (√*duṣ-*); *yódh-ya-* 'to be fought' (√*yudh-*); *ardh-ya-* 'to be completed' (√*ṛdh-*); *mārj-ya-* 'to be purified' (√*mṛj-*); *cákṣ-ya-* 'to be seen'; *dābh-ya-* 'to be deceived'; *rāṃh-ya-* 'to be hastened'; *rādh-ya-* 'to be won'; *vānd-ya-* 'praiseworthy'; *sāms-ya-* 'to be lauded'; *-sād-ya-* from *sad-* 'sit'; *-mād-ya-* from *mad-* 'be exhilarated'; *vāc-ya-* 'to be said' (√*vac-*).

579. Hardly a dozen gerundives, almost restricted to the RV., are formed with *-āy-ya*<sup>5</sup> (which with one exception is always to be read *-āyia*): *daṣ-āy-ya-* 'to be conciliated'; *pan-āy-ya-* 'to be admired'; *viḍ-āy-ya-* 'to be

<sup>1</sup> The form *-śīr-ta-* is also found in the MS.: WHITNEY, Roots, s. v. √*śī-* 'crush'.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the *-t* added to roots ending in *-i*, *-u*, *-r* to form nominal stems (308).

<sup>3</sup> The meaning is uncertain: WHITNEY translates the word by 'borrowed'. See his notes in his Translation.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. LINDNER, Nominalbildung 22; DELBRÜCK, Verbum 233; WHITNEY 966 c; Bartholomae, BB. 15, 179 n. 1; BB. 20, 85.



found'; *śrav-āyya* 'glorious'; *-hnav-āyya* 'to be denied'. A few are formed from secondary verbs; from causatives: *trayay-āyya* 'to be guarded' (*√trā*); *panay-āyya* 'admirable' (*√pan*); *sprhay-āyya* 'desirable' (*√sprh*); from a desiderative: *di-dhi-ś-āyya* 'to be conciliated' (*√dhā*); from an intensive: *vi-tan-tas-āyya* 'to be hastened' (*√tāms*). Akin to these gerundives is the anomalous form *stuṣṭ-āyya* 'to be praised', derived direct from the infinitive *stuṣṭ* 'to praise'.

580. More than a dozen gerundives are formed with *-en-ya* (generally to be read *-enia*): *īkṣ-ēnya* 'worthy to be seen', *īḥ-ēnya* 'praiseworthy', *-car-ēnya* 'to be acted', *dṛś-ēnya* 'worthy to be seen', *-dviś-ēnya* 'malignant', *ā-bhūś-ēnya* 'to be glorified', *yudh-ēnya* 'to be combatted', *vār-ēnya* 'desirable'. From the aorist stem is formed *-yamś-ēnya* 'to be guided' (*√yam*); and perhaps *pāpṛkś-ēnya* 'desirable' (*√pṛach*). A few are also derived from secondary verbs; from desideratives: *didṛkś-ēnya* 'worthy to be seen' (*√dṛś*), *śuśrūś-ēnya* (TS.) 'deserving to be heard'; from intensives: *mar-mrj-ēnya* 'to be adorned', *vāṇṛdh-ēnya* 'to be glorified'; from a denominative: *sapary-ēnya* 'to be adored'.

581. About a dozen gerundives, almost restricted to the RV., end in *-tv-a* (generally to be read as *-tu-a*), which seems to be the infinitive stem in *-tu* turned into an adjective by means of the suffix *-a*: *kār-tva* 'to be made', *jān-i-tva* and *jān-tva* 'to be born', *jē-tva* 'to be won', *nān-tva* 'to be bent', *bhāv-i-tva* 'future', *vāk-tva* 'to be said', *sān-i-tva* 'to be won', *sō-tva* 'to be pressed', *snā-tva* 'suitable for bathing', *hān-tva* 'to be slain', *hē-tva* 'to be driven on' (*√hi*).

a. In the AV. there begins to appear a gerundive in *-tav-yā*. It probably started from the stem of the predicative infinitive in *-lav-e*, which was turned into an adjective by means of the suffix *-ia*. The only examples of this formation are *jan-i-tav-yā* 'to be born' (AV. iv. 237) and *hims-i-tav-yā* 'to be injured' (AV. v. 189).

b. There are also two examples in the AV. of a new gerundive in *-an-īya*, which is derived from a verbal noun in *-ana* with the adjective suffix *-īya*. These are *upa-jiv-anīya* 'serving for subsistence' = 'to be subsisted on' (AV. viii. 10<sup>22</sup>); *ā-mantr-anīya* 'fit for address' (*ā-māntrana*) = 'worthy to be addressed' (AV. viii. 10<sup>7</sup>).

### c. Infinitive.

A. LUDWIG, *Der Infinitiv im Veda*, Prag 1871. — J. JOLLY, *Geschichte des Infinitivs im Indogermanischen* (München 1873), especially p. 111—137. — DELBRÜCK, *Das altindische Verbum* (1874), p. 221—228; *Altindische Syntax* p. 410—425. — AVERY, *Verb-Inflection in Sanskrit*, JAOS. 10, 275—276 (1876). — BRUNNHOFER, *Über die durch einfache flectirung der wurzel gebildeten infinitive des Veda*, KZ. 30 (1890), 504—513. — BARTHOLOMAE, *Zur bildung des dat. sing. der a-stämme*, BB. 15, 221—247. — v. NEGLEIN, *Zur Sprachgeschichte des Veda* (1898), 91. — FRITZ WOLFF, *Die infinitive des Indischen und Iranischen. Erster teil: Die ablativisch-genetivischen und die accusativischen infinitive*, Gütersloh 1905.

582. The infinitive, all the forms of which are old cases of nouns of action, is very frequently used, occurring in the RV. alone about 700 times. The case-forms which it exhibits are those of the accusative, dative, ablative-genitive, and locative. Only the first two are common, but the dative is by far the commonest, outnumbering the accusative in the proportion of 12 to 1 in the RV. (609 to 49)<sup>7</sup>, and of 3 to 1 in the AV.<sup>8</sup> Infinitives are

<sup>1</sup> Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v., and WHITNEY 1051 f.

<sup>2</sup> See BRUGMANN, KG. 809.

<sup>3</sup> See BENFEY, *Vollständige Grammatik* 904 and 860.

<sup>4</sup> A few of these are also found in B., also an additional one, *hō-tva* 'to be sacrificed', in the MS. (I. 93).

<sup>5</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 809.

<sup>6</sup> The gerundive meaning in these two verbal adjectives is probably only incipient. The second is expressly connected with the verbal noun *ā-māntrana*.

<sup>7</sup> AVERY 231.

<sup>8</sup> WHITNEY 986.

formed chiefly from radical stems or stems in *-tu*, only a few dative and locative forms being made from other stems. It is somewhat remarkable that the acc. form in *-tum* which is the only infinitive in the later language, hardly occurs in the RV., being found there only five times<sup>1</sup>, while the dative infinitive, which is more than seven times as frequent as all the rest in the RV., has almost disappeared even in the Brāhmaṇas. The formations which are restricted to the infinitive meaning are the datives in *-tavai*, *-dhyai*, and (the very few) in *-ṣe*, besides a small number of locatives in *-sāni*. In other forms it is often difficult to draw a strict line of demarcation between the infinitive<sup>2</sup> and ordinary case uses<sup>3</sup>.

### 1. Dative Infinitive.

583. This infinitive ends in *-e*, which when added to the *ā* of a root or stem combines with it to *-ai*. It has the final meaning of '(in order) to', 'for (the purpose of)'<sup>3</sup>. This dative is commonly used without an object; hence a dative often appears beside it by attraction instead of an accusative; e. g. *asmābhyam dṛśāye sūryāya pūnar dātām dsum* (x. 14<sup>12</sup>) 'may they two grant us life again, for the sun, that we may see (it)', i. e. 'that we may see the sun' (= *dṛśāye sūryam*). When used with *kṛ-* 'make' or verbs of wishing, and when predicative, this infinitive acquires a passive meaning; e. g. *agniṁ sam-idhe cakārtha* (i. 113<sup>9</sup>) 'thou hast made (= caused) the fire to be kindled'; *yād im uśmāsi kārtave* (x. 74<sup>6</sup>) 'what we wish to be done'; *brahmaḍviṣaḥ . . . hantavā u* (x. 182<sup>3</sup>) 'Brahma-haters (are) to be slain'<sup>4</sup>.

584. From roots are formed some 60 dative infinitives.

a. About a dozen are made from roots ending in long vowels, chiefly *-ā*, and one in *-i*. All of these are found only compounded with prefixes, excepting *bhū-*, which appears once in the simple form. Two of them drop *ā* before the *-e*<sup>5</sup>. These infinitives are: *vi-khyāi* 'to look abroad'; *parā-dāi* 'to give up'; *prati-māi* 'to imitate' (III. 60<sup>4</sup>); *yāi* 'to go'; *ava-sāi* (III. 53<sup>20</sup>) 'to rest'; *śrad-dhé* (I. 102<sup>2</sup>) 'to trust' (with the dat. particle *kām*); *pra-mé* (IX. 70<sup>4</sup>) 'to form'; *pra-hyē* (x. 109<sup>3</sup>) 'to send' (*√hi-*); *-mīy-e* 'to diminish' (*√mt-*); *bhuv-é* and *-bhv-é* 'to be' (*√bhū-*); *-tir-e* 'to cross' (*√tṛ-*); *-stīr-e* (*√stṛ-* 'spread').

b. The rest are formed from roots ending in consonants. The uncompounded forms are: *tvīṣ-é* 'to arouse', *dṛś-é* 'to see', *bhuj-é* 'to enjoy', *mah-é* 'to be glad', *mīh-é* 'to make water', *mud-é* 'to rejoice', *mus-é* 'to rob', *muh-é* 'to be bewildered', *yuj-é* 'to yoke', *yudh-é* 'to fight', *ruc-é* 'to shine', *vṛdh-é* 'to thrive', *śubh-é* 'to shine'.

The compounded forms are much more frequent. They are: *-āj-e* 'to drive', *-idh-e* 'to kindle', *-krām-e* 'to stride', *-grābh-e* 'to seize', *-caks-e* 'to see', *-tir-e* 'to cross', *-tiḡ-e*<sup>6</sup> 'to procure', *-adbh-e* 'to injure', *-dīś-e* 'to point', *-dīś-e* 'to see', *-dhīś-e* 'to be bold' (+ AV. TS.), *-nām-e* 'to bend', *-nāś-e* (+ VS.) 'to attain', *-niks-e* 'to pierce', *-nīd-e* 'to thrust', *-pīc-e* 'to fill', *-pīcch-e* 'to ask'; *-bādḥ-e* 'to bind' (AV.), *-būdḥ-e* (TS. I. 2. 3<sup>1</sup>) 'to awake', *-mīṣ-e* 'to forget', *-yaks-e* 'to speed', *-yūj-e* 'to yoke', *-rābh-e* 'to seize', *-riḡ-e* 'to break', *-vāc-e* 'to speak' (*√vac-*), *-vid-e* 'to find', *-vidh-e* 'to pierce' (*√vyadh-*), *-viś-e* 'to seize', *-vij-e* 'to put round', *-vij-e* 'to turn', *-śās-e* 'to proclaim', *-sād-e* 'to sit', *-sūd-e* 'to enjoy', *-skād-e* 'to leap', *-skābh-e* 'to prop', *-spīś-e* 'to touch', *-syād-e* 'to flow', *-svāj-e* 'to embrace'<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> AVERY 230.

<sup>2</sup> WHITNEY 970 I; WOLFF p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 982. On the uses of the infinitive, cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 805—811.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 982, a—d.

<sup>5</sup> That is, *śrad-dhé* and *pra-mé*, which might, however, be explained as locatives.

<sup>6</sup> In VIII. 475 the dative, accented *tiḡ-e*, occurring independently, appears to be a substantive.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. the list in LUDWIG p. 56—58.

a. One infinitive is also formed from a reduplicated root: *śiśnáth-e* (III. 31<sup>13</sup>) 'to attack'; but according to GRASSMANN<sup>1</sup> it is the locative of a substantive meaning 'attack'.

585. The remaining dative infinitives are formed from verbal nouns derived with nine different suffixes.

1. Some 25 of these are datives of stems in *-as*<sup>2</sup>. They are the following: *áyas-e* (I. 57<sup>3</sup>) 'to go', *arhás-e* 'to be worthy of', *rcás-e* 'to praise', *rñjás-e* 'to strive after', *kṣadas-e*<sup>3</sup> 'to partake of', *cákṣas-e* 'to see', *carás-e* 'to fare', *javás-e*<sup>4</sup> (III. 50<sup>2</sup>) 'to speed', *jivás-e* 'to live', *tujás-e* 'to hurl', *dohás-e* 'to milk', *dhāyas-e* 'to cherish', *dhruvás-e* 'to sit firmly', *puṣyás-e* 'to thrive', *bhādras-e*<sup>3</sup> 'to bear', *bhiyás-e* 'to fear', *bhojás-e* 'to enjoy', *rājás-e* 'to shine', *vrñjás-e* 'to turn aside', *vrđhás-e* 'to further', *śobhás-e* 'to shine', *śriyás-e* 'to be resplendent', *sāhyas-e*<sup>5</sup> 'to conquer', *spāras-e* 'to help to', *spūrdhás-e* 'to strive after', *hardás-e* 'to seize'.

a. Three roots form an infinitive stem with *-s* only instead of *-as*: *jī-s-é* 'to conquer', *upa-prak-s-é*<sup>6</sup> (V. 47<sup>6</sup>) 'to unite', *stu-s-é* 'to praise'?

2. Some half dozen are formed from stems in *-i*: *iṣ-áy-e*<sup>8</sup> (VI. 52<sup>15</sup>) 'to refresh', *tuj-áy-e* (V. 46<sup>7</sup>) 'to breed', *drś-áy-e* 'to see', *mah-áy-e* 'to rejoice', *yudh-áy-e* 'to fight', *san-áy-e* 'to win'; *cit-áy-e*<sup>9</sup> (VS.) 'to understand'.

3. Four or five are formed from stems in *-ti*: *iṣ-táy-e* 'to refresh', *pī-táy-e* 'to drink', *vī-táy-e* 'to enjoy', *sā-táy-e* 'to win'; perhaps also *ū-táy-e* (*nñ*) 'to help (his men)'.

4. Over 30 dative infinitives are formed from stems in *-tu* (added to the gunated root, in some instances with connecting vowel), from which acc. and abl. gen. infinitives are also formed:

a. *āt-tav-e* 'to eat', *ās-tav-e* 'to attain', *ās-tav-e* (VS.; TS. IV. 5. 1<sup>2</sup>) 'to shoot', *é-tav-e* 'to go', *é-tav-e* 'to weave' (√*vā*-), *kār-tav-e* 'to make', *gán-tav-e* and *gā-tav-e* 'to go', *dā-tav-e* 'to give', *prāti-dhā-tav-e* 'to place upon', *dhāt-tav-e* 'to suck', *pāk-tav-e* (AV.) 'to cook', *pāt-tav-e* 'to fall', *pā-tav-e* 'to drink', *bhār-tav-e* 'to bear away', *mān-tav-e* 'to think', *yán-tav-e* 'to present', *yās-tav-e* 'to sacrifice', *yā-tav-e* 'to go', *yó-tav-e* 'to ward off', *vāk-tav-e* 'to speak', *prá-van-tav-e* 'to win' (√*van*-), *vār-tav-e* 'to restrain', *vās-tav-e* 'to shine', *vā-tav-e* (AV.) 'to weave', *vēt-tav-e* (AV.) 'to find', *vó-lhav-e* 'to convey', *pāri-śak-tav-e* 'to overcome', *sār-tav-e* 'to flow', *sū-tav-e* 'to bring forth', *sé-tav-e* (AV.) 'to bind', *só-tav-e* 'to press', *stó-tav-e* 'to praise', *hán-tav-e* 'to slay'.

β. *āv-i-tav-e* 'to refresh', *cār-i-tav-e* 'to fare', *jīv-ā-tav-e* (TS. IV. 2. 6<sup>5</sup>; VS. XVIII. 67) 'to live', *sāvi-tav-e* 'to bring forth', *stār-t-tav-e* (AV.) 'to lay low', *srāv-i-tav-e* 'to flow', *hāv-i-tav-e* 'to call'.

5. Over a dozen infinitives are formed from stems in *-tavá* (added like *-tu* to the gunated root), which are doubly accented.

a. *é-tavái* 'to go' (also *áty*-, *ánv*-, *etavái*), *é-tavái* 'to weave', *gán-tavái* 'to go' (also *úpa-gantavái*), *dā-tavái* 'to give', *pāri-dhā-tavái* (AV.) 'to envelope', *pā-tavái* 'to drink', *āpa-bhar-tavái* 'to be taken away', *mān-tavái* 'to think', *mā-tavái* 'to low', *sār-tavái* 'to flow', *sū-tavái* (AV.) 'to bring forth', *hán-tavái* 'to slay'<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> s. v. *śiśnátha*.

<sup>2</sup> As a rule the suffix, but in half a dozen instances the root, is accented.

<sup>3</sup> According to GRASSMANN, 2. sing. middle.

<sup>4</sup> According to GRASSMANN, dat. of the substantive *jāvas* meaning 'swiftness'.

<sup>5</sup> According to GRASSMANN, dat. of the comparative *sāhyas*.

<sup>6</sup> DELBRÜCK, Verbum, and AVERY accent

*-prākṣe*. Cp. OLDENBERG. Rgveda, note on V. 47<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> See DELBRÜCK p. 181 (I, 5); cp. above, p. 378, note 1.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. however, DELBRÜCK 207.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps more probably a substantive, according to BR.: 'for understanding'.

<sup>10</sup> The MS. has *kārtavái*, cp. WHITNEY 982 d and WOLFF 7 (p. 9).

β. *jñ-i-tavāi* (AV.) 'to live' (Pp. -*ta vāi*), *yām-i-tavāi* 'to guide', *śrāv-i-tavāi* 'to flow'.

6. There seems to be only one certain example of a dative infinitive formed from a stem in *-tyā*: *i-tyāi* 'to go'<sup>1</sup>.

7. Some 35 dative infinitives almost limited to the RV.<sup>2</sup> are formed from stems in *-dhyā* added to verbal bases ending in *a* (generally accented), and seem to have the termination *-dhyai*: *iyā-dhyai* 'to go' (1<sup>st</sup> i-), *irā-dhyai* 'to seek to win', *iśā-dhyai* and *iśāya-dhyai* 'to refresh', *irayā-dhyai* 'to set in motion', *kṣāra-dhyai* 'to pour out', *gūma-dhyai* 'to go', *grṇā-dhyai* (A. v. 2. 1<sup>10</sup>) 'to praise', *carā-dhyai* 'to fare', *jarā-dhyai* 'to sing', *tamsayā-dhyai* 'to attract', *tarā-dhyai* 'to overcome', *duhā-dhyai* 'to milk', *dhiyā-dhyai* 'to deposit' (√*dhā*-), *nāśayā-dhyai* 'to cause to disappear', *pība-dhyai* 'to drink', *prṇā-dhyai* 'to fill', *bhāra-dhyai* 'to bear', *mandā-dhyai* 'to delight in', *mandayā-dhyai* 'to rejoice', *mādayā-dhyai* 'to delight in', *yāja-dhyai*<sup>4</sup> 'to worship', *riśayā-dhyai* 'to injure oneself', *vandā-dhyai* 'to praise', *varṭayā-dhyai* 'to cause to turn', *vāha-dhyai* 'to guide', *vājayā-dhyai* 'to hasten', *vāyādhā-dhyai* (from the perfect) 'to strengthen', *vrjā-dhyai* 'to turn to', *śayā-dhyai* 'to lie', *śucā-dhyai* 'to shine', *sacā-dhyai* 'to partake', *sāha-dhyai* 'to overcome', *stavā-dhyai* 'to praise', *syandayā-dhyai* 'to flow', *huvā-dhyai* 'to call'. The TS. has also one of these infinitives ending in *-e*: *gamā-dhye* (1. 3. 6<sup>3</sup>).

8. Five dative infinitives are formed from stems in *-man*: *trā-man-e* 'to protect', *dā-man-e* 'to give', *dhār-man-e* (x. 88<sup>1</sup>) 'to support', *bhār-man-e* 'to preserve', *vid-mān-e*<sup>5</sup> 'to know'.

9. Three dative infinitives are formed from stems in *-van*: *tur-vān-e* 'to overcome' (√*tī*-), *dā-vān-e* 'to give', *dhūr-vān-e* 'to injure' (√*dhv*-).

## 2. Accusative Infinitive.

586. This infinitive is an accusative in sense as well as in form, being used only as the object of a verb. It is primarily employed as a supine with verbs of motion<sup>6</sup> to express purpose. It is formed in two ways.

a. More than a dozen radical stems in the RV. and several others in the AV. form an accusative infinitive with the ending *-am*<sup>7</sup>.

The root nearly always ends in a consonant and appears in its weak form. It is not always easy to distinguish these infinitives from substantives, but the following include all the more certain forms: *sam-idham* 'to kindle', *vi-cīṭ-am* 'to unfasten', *pra-tīr-am* (√*tī*-) 'to prolong', *prati-dhām* 'to place upon' (AV.), (*vi-*, *sam-*) *pīcch-am* 'to ask', *pra-mīy-am* 'to neglect' (√*mī*-), *yām-am*<sup>8</sup> 'to guide', *yudh-am* (AV.) 'to fight', *ā-rābh-am* 'to reach', *ā-rūh-am* 'to mount', *ā-vīś-am* 'to enter', *śībham* 'to shine', *ā-sād-am* 'to sit down'<sup>9</sup>.

b. Five accusative infinitives from stems in *-tu* (of which the dative

<sup>1</sup> In x. 106<sup>4</sup> *bhuṣjyāi*, occurring beside *puṣjyāi*, is doubtless a substantive; other cases of the word are also met with: see GRASSMANN, s. v. *bhuṣj*. The MS. I. 6<sup>3</sup> has also *sādhayai* (from *sah+ti*); *rōhisiyai*, which occurs in the TS. I. 3. 10<sup>2</sup> is doubtless a substantive; see DELBRÜCK 201 and WHITNEY 977.

<sup>2</sup> This infinitive form occurs once only in the AV. in a Rigvedic passage.

<sup>3</sup> An intensive formation from √*rād*h- (64, 1).

<sup>4</sup> *yajādhayai* TS. IV. 6. 3<sup>3</sup>; VS. XVII. 57.

<sup>5</sup> WHITNEY 974 also quotes *dār-man-e*.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. WOLFF 32, 40.

<sup>7</sup> The only roots in vowels taking it are *dhā-*, *mī-*, *tī-*.

<sup>8</sup> Occurs three times in the RV., always dependent on *śakēma*.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps also *sam-ōh-am* (strong radical vowel) and *upa-spij-am*. Cp. the list in WOLFF, p. 87—90. There are several quite doubtful examples from the AV., as *nīh-khid-am* (conjecture), *pra-tānk-am*, *saṃ-rūdh-am*. See WHITNEY's notes in his Translation on AV. IV. 16<sup>2</sup>; v. 18<sup>7</sup>; VII. 50<sup>5</sup>.

form is much commoner)<sup>1</sup> occur in the RV. and about the same number of others in the AV.: *āt-tum* (AV.) 'to eat', *ś-tum* 'to weave', *kār-tum* (AV.) 'to make', *nī-kartum* (Kh. IV. 5<sup>25</sup>) 'to overcome', *khān-i-tum* (VS. XI. 10) 'to dig', *dā-tum* 'to give', *dr̥ṣ-tum* (AV.) 'to see', *pr̥ś-tum* 'to ask', *pr̥ā-bhar-tum* 'to present', *yāc-i-tum* (AV.) 'to ask for', *anu pr̥ā-voḥum* 'to advance', *sp̥ārdh-i-tum* (AV.) 'to contend with'<sup>2</sup>.

### 3. Ablative-Genitive Infinitive.

587. This infinitive is formed in two ways, like the accusative infinitive, either from a radical stem or from a verbal noun in *-tu* (from which a dative and an acc. infinitive are also formed)<sup>3</sup>. The former, therefore, ends in *-as*, the latter in *-tos*. As these endings are both ablative and genitive in form, the cases can only be distinguished syntactically. The ablative use is by this criterion shown to preponderate considerably.

a. The *-as* form has the ablative sense almost exclusively, as is indicated by its being employed with words governing the ablative, viz. the adnominal prepositions *rté* 'without', *purā* 'before', and the verbs *pā-* 'protect' *trā-* 'rescue', *bhī-* 'fear'. It occurs with the same kind of attraction as appears with the dative infinitive: thus *trādhvaṃ kartāḍ ava-pād-as* (II. 29<sup>6</sup>)<sup>4</sup> 'save us from the pit, from falling down (into it)'. There are six such ablatives in the RV.: *ā-tīd-as* 'being pierced', *ava-pād-as* 'falling down', *saṃ-pīc-as* 'coming in contact', *abhi-śrīś-as* 'binding', *abhi-śvās-as* 'blowing', *ati-skād-as* 'leaping across'.

a. There seems also to be at least one example (II. 28<sup>6</sup>) of the genitive use, viz. *nī-mīś-as* . . . *īśe* 'I am able to wink', the construction of *√īś-* being the same as with the genitive infinitive in *-tos* (b α). Another instance is perhaps *ā-pīc-as* 'to fill' (VIII. 40<sup>9</sup>).

b. Of the infinitives in *-tos* occurring in the RV. some six are shown by the construction to be ablatives. They are: *ē-tos* 'going', *gān-tos* 'going', *jāni-tos* 'being born', *nī-dhā-tos* 'putting down', *śār-ī-tos* 'being shattered', *sō-tos* 'pressing', *hān-tos* 'being struck'; perhaps also *vās-tos* (I. 174<sup>3</sup>)<sup>5</sup>.

a. Three infinitives in *-tos* have the genitive sense, viz. *kār-tos* 'doing' (with *madhyā*)<sup>6</sup>, *dā-tos* 'giving', and *yō-tos* 'warding off' (both with *īś-* 'have power'). In two passages in which *īśe* governs the infinitive attraction of the object appears as with the dative infinitive: *īśe rāyāḥ suvīryasya dātos* (VII. 4<sup>6</sup>) 'he has power over wealth (and) brave sons, over giving (them)', i. e. 'he has power to give wealth and brave sons'; also *yāsya* . . . *īśe* . . . *yōtos* (VI. 18<sup>11</sup>) 'whom he can ward off'<sup>7</sup>.

### 4. Locative Infinitive.

588. This form of the infinitive is rare, since thirteen or fourteen examples at the most occur. Several of these are, however, indistinguishable in meaning from ordinary locatives of verbal nouns<sup>8</sup>.

a. Five or six of these locatives are formed from radical stems: *vy-īś-i* 'at the dawning', *saṃ-cākṣ-i* 'on beholding', *dr̥ś-i* and *saṃ-dr̥ś-i* 'on seeing', *budh-i* 'at the waking'. As these nearly always govern a genitive, they are preferably to be explained as simple locatives of verbal nouns.

<sup>1</sup> See above 585, 4.

<sup>2</sup> See the list in WOLFF p. 68—71.

<sup>3</sup> Above 585, 4 and 586.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. also VIII. 112: *purā jatrībhyā ā-tīd-as* before the cartilages being pierced'.

<sup>5</sup> See WOLFF II.

<sup>6</sup> On this word see WOLFF 14, who thinks

it governs the ablative rather than the genitive.

<sup>7</sup> See DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax p. 418, and cp. WOLFF 58.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK 212 (p. 227) and WHITNEY 985.

b. One locative infinitive is formed from a stem in *-tar*: *dhar-tár-i* 'to support' and *vi-dhar-tár-i* 'to bestow'.

c. Eight locatives with a genuine infinitive meaning are formed from stems in *-san* in the RV. They are: *gr-ñt-sán-i*<sup>1</sup> 'to sing', *tar-ñ-sán-i* 'to cross', *ne-sán-i* 'to lead', *par-sán-i* 'to pass', *abhi-bhū-sán-i* 'to aid', *śū-sán-i* 'to swell', *sak-sán-i* 'to abide' (*√sac-*)<sup>2</sup>, *upa-stñ-ñt-sán-i*<sup>3</sup> 'to spread'.

a. The form *isán-i* (II. 2<sup>0</sup>), seems to be derived from *iṣ-* 'emit' for *iṣ-sán-i*<sup>4</sup>.

### d. Gerund.

589. A considerable number (upwards of 120) of forms ending in *-tvā*, *-tvāya*, *-tvā*, *-yā* occur in the RV. and AV. in the sense of gerunds expressing an action which accompanies or more often precedes that of the finite verb. They are doubtless old cases<sup>5</sup> (the first most probably a locative, the rest instrumentals) of verbal nouns formed with *-tu*, *-ti*, *-i*, all of which are also employed in the formation of infinitives<sup>6</sup>. The first three are formed from the simple root, the last two from the compounded root.

590. A. a. Of the gerunds formed from the simple root, those in *-tvā* are the commonest in the RV., there being fifteen altogether in the RV. They hardly ever occur in any of the other Samhitās. They appear to be old locatives<sup>7</sup> of stems in *-tu*, which as a rule is added directly to the root, but in two instances with connecting *-i-*. They are *kr-tvā* 'having made', *khā-tvā* (TS. IV. 1. 14) 'having dug', *ga-tvā* 'having gone', *gū-dhvā* 'having concealed', *jani-tvā* 'having produced', *juṣ-tvā* 'liking', *pī-tvā* 'having drunk', *pū-tvā* 'having cleansed', *bhū-tvā* 'having become', *vr-tvā* 'enclosing', *vrk-tvā* 'having overthrown' (*√vrj-*), *viṣ-tvā* 'working' (*√viṣ-*), *vrṣ-tvā* 'showering', *skabhi-tvā* 'having propped', *ha-tvā* 'having smitten', *hi-tvā* 'having abandoned' (*√hā-*).

b. The gerund in *-tvā*, an old instrumental of a verbal noun in *-tu*, is formed by nine roots in the RV. and about thirty more in the AV. Those found in the RV. are: *pī-tvā* 'having drunk', *bhit-tvā* 'having shattered', *bhū-tvā* 'having become', *mi-tvā* 'having formed' (*√mā-*), *yuk-tvā* 'having yoked', *vr-tvā* 'having covered', *sru-tvā* 'having heard', *ha-tvā* 'having slain', *hi-tvā* 'having abandoned' (*√hā-*). The forms occurring in the AV. include two formed from secondary verbal stems and three others formed with the connecting vowel *-i-*. They are: *iṣ-tvā* 'having sacrificed' (*√yaj-*), *kalpay-i-tvā* 'having shaped', *kr-tvā* 'having made', *krī-tvā* 'trading', *ga-tvā* 'having gone', *grh-ñ-tvā* 'having seized', *jag-dhvā* 'having devoured' (*√jaks-*), *ci-tvā* 'having gathered', *cāy-i-tvā* 'noting', *tīr-tvā* 'having crossed' (*√tī-*), *tr-dhvā* 'having shattered'<sup>8</sup> (*√trh-*), *dat-tvā* 'having given', *dṛṣ-tvā* 'having seen', *pak-tvā* 'having cooked', *pū-tvā* 'having purified', *bad-dhvā* 'having bound', *bhāk-tvā* 'sharing', *mṛṣ-tvā* 'having wiped off', *rū-dhvā* 'having ascended', *lab-dhvā* 'taking', *vit-tvā* 'having found', *vrṣ-tvā* 'cutting off' (*√vraśc-*)<sup>9</sup>, *sup-tvā* 'having slept', *stab-dhvā* 'having established', *stu-tvā* 'having praised', *snā-tvā* 'having bathed', *sramsai-i-tvā* 'letting fall', *hims-i-tvā* 'having injured'. One gerund in *-tvā* also occurs though compounded with a prefix: *praty-arpay-i-tvā* (AV.) 'having sent

<sup>1</sup> Formed from the present base.

<sup>2</sup> From *√sac-*, BR., DELBRÜCK, Verbum 213; from *√sah-*, WHITNEY 978.

<sup>3</sup> See BÖHLING, PW. s. v. *isāni*, and cp. WHITNEY 978, OLDENBERG, note on II. 2<sup>0</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 91.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 227, 239; BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 1090.

<sup>6</sup> BARTHOLOMAE, loc. cit.

<sup>7</sup> *trṣ-tvā* in AV. XIX. 34<sup>6</sup> is probably to be read *triṣ tvā* 'thrice thee'; see WHITNEY's Translation.

<sup>8</sup> See note on AV. VIII. 32 in WHITNEY's Translation (RV. has *vrk-tvā*).

in opposition'. From the Khilas: *janay-i-tvā* (I.4<sup>8</sup>); from the VS. *i-tvā* (xxxii. 12), *vid-i tvā* (xxxii. 18) 'having known', *spr-tvā* (xxxii. 1) 'pervading'.

c. The rarest gerund in the RV. is that in *-tvāya*, being formed from only seven roots. It appears to be a late formation, occurring only in the tenth Maṇḍala, excepting one example in the eighth (viii. 100<sup>8</sup>) in a hymn which is marked by ARNOLD<sup>2</sup> as belonging to the latest period of the RV. Two of these gerunds (*gatvāya* and *hatvāya*) recur in the AV., which, however, has no additional examples of this type. These forms have the appearance of being datives of stems in *-tva*, but the use of the dative in this sense is in itself unlikely, as that case is otherwise employed to express the final meaning of the infinitive. Hence BARTHOLOMAE<sup>3</sup> explains the forms as a metrical substitute for a fem. inst. in *-tvāyā* (from the stem *-tvā*), or for a loc. of *-tva* with enclitic *ā* added. There seems to be another possible explanation. Three of the seven forms occurring appear instead of the corresponding forms in *-tvā* of the older Maṇḍalas. Owing to this close connexion and the lateness as well as the rarity of these forms, we may here have a tentative double formation, under the influence of compound gerunds formed with *-ya* which end in *-āya*, such as *ā-dāya* 'taking'.

The forms occurring are *kr-tvāya* (VS. xi. 59; TS. iv. 1. 5<sup>4</sup>) 'having made', *ga-tvāya* 'having gone', *jag-dhvāya* 'having devoured', *ta-tvāya* (VS. xi. 1) 'having stretched', *dat-tvāya* 'having given', *dr̥s-tvāya* 'having seen', *bhak-tvāya* 'having attained', *yuk-tvāya* 'having yoked', *vṛ-tvāya* (TS. iv. 1. 2<sup>3</sup>; VS. xi. 19) 'having covered', *ha-tvāya* 'having slain', *hi-tvāya* 'having abandoned'.

591. B. When the verb is compounded, the suffix is regularly either *-yā* or *-tyā*. In at least two-thirds of these forms the vowel is long in the RV.<sup>4</sup>

a. Nearly 40 roots in the RV. and about 30 more in the AV., when compounded with verbal prefixes, take the suffix *-yā*<sup>5</sup>. Four roots take it also when compounded with nouns or adverbs. The forms occurring in the RV. are in the alphabetical order of the radical initial: *ā-āc-yā* 'bending', *pra-ārp-yā* 'setting in motion', *prati-īś-yā* 'having sought for', *abhi-īp-yā* 'having enveloped' (*īvap-*), *vi-kṛt-yā* 'having cut in pieces', *abhi-kram-yā* 'approaching', *abhi-khyā-yā* 'having descried', *abhi-gūr-yā* 'graciously accepting', *saṃ-gṛbh-yā* 'gathering', *prati-gṛh-yā* 'accepting', *anu-ghṛh-yā* 'proclaiming aloud', *abhi-cāks-yā* 'regarding', *prati-cāks-yā* 'observing' and *vi-cāks-yā* 'seeing clearly', *ni-cāy-yā* 'fearing', *pari-tāp-yā* 'stirring up' (heat), *vi-tūr-yā* 'driving forth', *ā-dā-yā* 'taking' and *pari-dā-yā* 'handing over', *ati-dtv-yā* 'playing higher', *anu-dṛś-yā* 'looking along', *abhi-pād-yā* 'acquiring', *pra-prīth-yā* 'puffing out', *vi-bhīd-yā* 'shattering', *abhi-bhū-yā* 'overcoming', *vi-mā-yā* 'disposing' and *saṃ-mā-yā* 'measuring out', *saṃ-mīl-yā* 'closing the eyes', *vi-mūc-yā* 'unyoking', *ā-mūs-yā* 'appropriating', *anu-mṛś-yā* 'grasping', *ā-yū-yā*<sup>6</sup> 'taking to oneself', *ā-rābh-yā* 'grasping' and *saṃ-rābh-yā* 'surrounding oneself with', *ni-rūdh-yā* 'having restrained', *abhi-vṛt-yā* 'having overcome' and *ā-vṛt-yā* 'causing to roll towards', *abhi-vlāg-yā* 'pursuing', *ni-śād-yā* 'having sat down', *vi-śāh-yā* 'having conquered', *ava-sā-yā* 'having unyoked', *saṃ-hā-yā* 'preparing oneself' (*hā-* 'go'). Compounds formed with adverbs are: *punar-dā-yā* 'giving back', *mitha-sṛjdh-yā* 'vying together'; and with nouns, *karna-gṛh-yā* 'seizing by the ear', *pāda-gṛh-yā* 'grasping by the foot', *hasta-gṛh-yā* 'grasping by the hand'.

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has also the form *saṃ-īray-i-tvā*: WHITNEY 990 a.

<sup>2</sup> Vedic Metre p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> BB. 15, p. 239, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 993 a.

<sup>5</sup> On the gerund in *-ya* cp. NEISSER, BB. 30, 308—311.

<sup>6</sup> *-yū-yā* is also compounded with *ni-* and *vi-*.

The additional roots thus compounded in the AV. are: *ud-lh-ya* 'having carried up', *ā-krām-ya* 'stepping into' and *pari-krām-ya* 'striding about', *saṃ-gīr-ya* 'swallowing up', *saṃ-gīh-ya*<sup>1</sup> 'having grasped'<sup>2</sup>, *vi-cchid-ya* 'having cut asunder', *upa-dād-ya* 'putting in' (*dā-* 'give')<sup>3</sup>, *abhi-dhāt-ya* 'encircling', *vi-dhāt-ya* 'shaking off', *parā-ñt-ya* 'leading away', *ā-pād-ya* 'arriving at' and *pra-pād-ya* 'going forward', *saṃ-pā-ya* 'drinking up', *vi-bhāj-ya* 'having apportioned', (caus. of *√bhaj-*), *saṃ-bhāt-ya* 'combining', *ni-māj-ya* 'having immersed' (*√maj-*), *apa-mā-ya* 'having measured off'<sup>4</sup>, *apa-mij-ya* 'having wiped off', *saṃ-rābh-ya* 'taking hold together', *ā-rīh-ya* 'ascending', *saṃ-līp-ya* 'having torn up'<sup>5</sup>, *upa-vīs-ya* 'sitting down', *pari-vīs-ya* 'attending upon', *saṃ-śī-ya* 'sharpening', *ā-sād-ya* 'sitting upon' and *ni-sād-ya* 'sitting down', *saṃ-sic-ya* 'having poured together', *apa-sidh-ya* 'driving away', *saṃ-siv-ya* 'having sewed', *nih-sīp-ya* 'having crept out', *ati-śthā-ya* 'excelling', *prati-śthā-ya* 'standing firm', *ut-thā-ya* 'arising'. From the VS.: *ni-śīr-ya* (xvi. 13) 'having broken off', *saṃ-sīj-ya* (xi. 53) 'having mingled', *ati-hā-ya* (xxv. 43) 'having missed'.

b. Roots which end in a short vowel, either originally or after losing a nasal, add *-tyā* (nearly always in RV.) or *-tya* instead of *-yā*, when compounded. The following gerunds are thus formed in the RV.: *-l-tyā* 'having gone' with *api-*, *abhi-* and *ā-*, *-l-tya* with *abhi-* and *prati-*; *ā-gā-tyā* 'having come' (*√gam-*), *ā-dī-tyā* 'regarding', *ā-bhī-tyā* 'bringing', *vi-hā-tyā* 'having driven away' (*√han-*); and with adverbial prefixes *aram-kī-tyā* 'having made ready', *akhhālī-kī-tya* 'shouting'. From the Khilas: *aty-ā-hī-tya* (iv. 5<sup>29</sup>).

The AV. has the following gerunds from nine additional roots *nir-ī-tya* 'separating' (?)<sup>6</sup>, *abhi-jī-tya* 'having conquered', and *saṃ-jī-tya* 'having wholly conquered', *ā-tā-tya*<sup>7</sup> 'having expanded', *apa-mī-tya* 'having borrowed' (*√mā-*), *ud-yā-tya* 'lifting up', *pra-ā-vr-tya* 'having enveloped', *upa-srī-tya* 'having overheard', *ud-dhī-tya* 'having taken up' (*√hr-*); also in composition with a substantive: *namas-kī-tya*. The VS. has *upa-sthī-tya* (xxi. 46) 'having invoked' and *pra-stū-tya* (xxi. 46) 'having lauded'.

## VIII. INDECLINABLES.

### 1. Prepositions.

GAEDICKE, *Der Akkusativ im Veda* (Breslau 1880), p. 193—210. — WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* 1077—1089, 1123—1130. — DELBRÜCK, *Altindische Syntax* p. 440—471. — Cp. BENFEY, *Vollständige Grammatik* 241 and 784. — BRUGMANN, *KG.* p. 457—480. — J. S. SPEIJER, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax, Grundriss* I. 6, 87.

592. Two classes of prepositions are to be distinguished. The first class embraces the genuine or **adverbial** prepositions. These are words with a local sense which, being primarily used to modify the meaning of verbs, came to be connected independently with the cases governed by the verbs thus modified. They show no signs of derivation from inflexional forms or (except *tīrds* and *purds*) forms made with adverbial suffixes. The second class embraces what may be called **adnominal** prepositions. These are words which are not compounded with verbs, but govern cases only. As regards form, they almost invariably end in case terminations or adverbial suffixes.

<sup>1</sup> *-gīh-ya* also appears compounded with *ni-*, *vi-* and *prati-*.

<sup>2</sup> The gerund *ā-ghrā-ya* (AV. xix. 8<sup>5</sup>), the reading of the text, is not found in the Mss. and is doubtless wrong; cp. WHITNEY's *Index Verborum*.

<sup>3</sup> From the present base of *√dā-*, cp. WHITNEY 992 a.

<sup>4</sup> *apa-mā-ya* is a conjectural reading.

<sup>5</sup> v. NEGELEIN 92 gives *-vidh-ya* (*√vyadh-*) and *-śus-ya* as occurring in the AV., but they are not to be found in WHITNEY's *Index verborum*.

<sup>6</sup> See note on AV. x. 2<sup>2</sup> in WHITNEY's *Translation*.

<sup>7</sup> Conjectural reading in AV. xx. 136<sup>3</sup>; see WHITNEY's *Index Verborum*.



## A. Adverbial Prepositions.

593. Of the twenty-two included in this class<sup>1</sup>, eight are never used adnominally, viz. *āpa*<sup>2</sup> 'away'; *ūd* 'up', 'out'; *nī* 'down', 'into'; *nīs* 'out'; *pārā* 'away'; *prā* 'forth'; *vī* 'asunder' (often = 'dis-', 'away'); *sām*<sup>3</sup> 'together'<sup>4</sup>. Three others, for the most part employed adnominally, are restricted in their adverbial use to combination with particular verbs, viz. *āccha* 'towards', *tirās* 'across', *purās* 'before'. The remaining eleven, being employed both adverbially and adnominally, are: *āti* 'beyond'; *ādhi* 'upon'; *ānu* 'after'; *antīr* 'within'; *āpi* 'on'; *aṅhi* 'against'; *āva* 'down'; *ā* 'near'; *ūpa* 'up to'; *pāri* 'around'; *prāti* 'towards'.

a. When combined with verbs<sup>5</sup> these prepositions are not compounded in the principal sentence<sup>6</sup>. Generally speaking, they immediately precede the verb; but they are also often separated from it, e. g. *ā tvā viśantu* (I. 5<sup>7</sup>) 'may they enter thee'. Occasionally the preposition follows the verb, e. g. *Indro gā avṛṇod āpa* (VIII. 63<sup>3</sup>) 'Indra disclosed the cows'. Two prepositions are not infrequently combined with the verb<sup>7</sup>; no certain instances of three being thus used can be quoted from the RV., though a few such instances occur in the AV.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, a preposition sometimes appears quite alone<sup>9</sup>; the verb 'to be', or some other verb commonly connected with it, can then be supplied without difficulty; e. g. *ā tū na indra* (I. 10<sup>11</sup>) 'hither, pray, (come) to us, Indra'. Or the preposition appears without the verb in one part of the sentence, but with it in another; e. g. *pāri mām, pāri me prajām, pāri naḥ pāhi yād dhānam* (AV. II. 7<sup>4</sup>) 'protect me, protect my progeny, protect what wealth (is) ours'. As the verb normally stands at the end of the sentence, the preposition would naturally come after the object. Hence as a rule it follows the noun governed by the verb (though it is also often found preceding the noun). Primarily used to define the local direction expressed by the verb which governs a case, prepositions gradually became connected with particular cases. In the RV. it is still often uncertain whether the adverbial or the adnominal sense is intended. Thus *dāśvāṃsam ūpa gacchatam* (I. 47<sup>3</sup>) may mean either 'do ye two go-to the pious man' or 'do ye two go to-the pious man'. When used adnominally the preposition only

<sup>1</sup> On the relative frequency of these prepositions in the RV. and AV. see WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1077 a.

<sup>2</sup> On the relation of *āpa*, *āpi*, *ūpa*, *nī*, *pāri* to corresponding Greek prepositions see J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 26, 21 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *sām* seems in a few passages to have attained an independent prepositional use with the instrumental: *sām uśābhiḥ* (I. 6<sup>3</sup>), *sām pātṛbhiḥ* (II. 16<sup>8</sup>), *sām śkvābhiḥ* (VIII. 97<sup>12</sup>), *sām jyōtiṣā jyōtiḥ* (VS. II. 9), *sām āyuṣā* (TS. I. 1. 102<sup>3</sup>); but in all these examples the case perhaps depends on the compound sense of the verb. BR. do not recognize the prepositional use, cp. DELBRÜCK p. 459; on the other hand, see GRASSMANN s. v. *sām* and WHITNEY 1127. *sām* is used with the inst. in Kh. I. 47.

<sup>4</sup> The adverbs *āvis* and *prādūr* 'in view' are used with *√as-*, *√bhū-* and *√kṛ-* only.

<sup>5</sup> Though a certain number of verbs are never actually met with in the RV. and AV. in combination with prepositions (cp. DELBRÜCK p. 433), there can be little doubt

that practically all verbs except denominatives were capable of combining with prepositions. On the other hand, some verbs occur only in combination with prepositions (DELBRÜCK, loc. cit.).

<sup>6</sup> *āccha*, *tirās*, *purās* seem never to be compounded with the verb even in dependent clauses; see DELBRÜCK p. 469 (mid.).

<sup>7</sup> When there are two, *pārā* always immediately precedes the verb; *ā* and *āva* nearly always; *ūd*, *nī*, *prā* usually. On the other hand, *abhi* is all but invariably the first of the two; *ādhi* and *ānu* are nearly always so, *ūpa* and *prāti* usually; cp. DELBRÜCK 234.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK 235. Three prepositions combined with a verb are common in B.; the last is then almost invariably *ā* or *āva*.

<sup>9</sup> On the elliptical imperative use of prepositions cp. FISCHER, VS. I. 13, 19f.; BRUGMANN, IF. 18. 128; DELBRÜCK, Vergleichende Syntax 3, 122 f.

defines the local meaning of the case. It cannot be said to 'govern' the case, except perhaps when *ā* 'up to' or *purās* 'before' are connected with the ablative.

594. The fourteen genuine prepositions which are used adnominally are almost entirely restricted to employment with the accusative, locative, and ablative. Six are used with the accusative only, viz. *āccha*, *āti*, *ānu*, *abhi*, *prāti* and *tirās*; one (*āpi*) with the locative only; one (*āva*) with the ablative only (and that very rarely).

The remaining six take the accusative and one or both of the other two cases: *pāri* takes the ablative also; *ūpa* the locative also; *ādhi*, *antār*, *ā*, *purās* take both the locative and the ablative also. The first two<sup>1</sup> of these six belong primarily to the sphere of the accusative, the last four to that of the locative. Thus it appears that the genuine prepositions were at the outset practically associated with these two cases only. The ablative came to be used secondarily with *pāri* in the sense of 'from (around)'; and similarly with locative prepositions, *ādhi* = 'from (upon)', *antār* = 'from (within)', *ā* = 'from (on)'. In all these, the sense of the ablative case combined with the original meaning of the preposition to form a new double notion. But in *purās* 'before' and in *ā*, when it means 'up to', which are both used before the case, the ablative sense has completely disappeared.

The following is a detailed account of the genuine prepositions in their alphabetical order.

#### *āccha* 'towards'.

595. In combination with verbs of motion and of speaking<sup>2</sup>, *āccha*<sup>3</sup> expresses direction in the sense of '(all the way) to'. Used adnominally with the same meaning, it takes the accusative, which either precedes or follows. It is rare except in the RV.<sup>5</sup> Examples of its use are: *prā yātana sakhīm ācchā* (I. 165<sup>13</sup>) 'proceed hither to your friends'; *ūpa prāgāt .. ācchā pitṛam mātaram ca* (I. 163<sup>13</sup>) 'he has come forward hither to his father and mother'; *kām ācchā yuñjāthe rātham* (V. 74<sup>3</sup>) 'to (go to) whom do ye two yoke your car?'; *ācchā ca tvā enā nāmasā vādāmasi* (VIII. 21<sup>6</sup>) 'and to thee we speak with this devotion'; *préyām agād dhiṣṇānā barhīr āccha* (TS. I. 1. 2<sup>1</sup> = MS. I. 1. 2<sup>2</sup> = K. I. 2) 'this bowl has come forward hither to the litter'.

#### *āti* 'beyond'.

596. Adverbially *āti* is frequently used in the sense of 'beyond', 'over', 'through', with verbs of motion. Whether it is used adnominally with these and cognate verbs is somewhat uncertain. There are, however, a few distinct instances of such use<sup>6</sup> of *āti* in other connexions with the accusative; e. g. *śatām dāsām āti srājāḥ* (VIII. 56<sup>3</sup>) 'a hundred slaves (beyond =) in addition to garlands'; *purvīr āti kṣāpaḥ* (X. 77<sup>2</sup>) 'through many nights'; *kād asya āti vratām cakṛmā* (X. 12<sup>5</sup>) 'what have we done (beyond =) contrary

<sup>1</sup> In regard to *ūpa* the sense of 'motion to' seems to be the primary one; for it is used twice as often with the acc., and its position before the loc. is less primitive.

<sup>2</sup> It is once (VIII. 33<sup>13</sup>) also used with *śru-* 'hear' in the sense of 'listen to'.

<sup>3</sup> The final *a* is short only at the end of a Pada and in I. 31<sup>17</sup> and IX. 106<sup>1</sup>; otherwise always *ācchā*.

<sup>4</sup> In the SV. it is once used with the

locative in the v. r. *sādaneṣu āccha* for *sādanāni āccha* (RV. IX. 91<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> It is used with over twenty roots in the RV. and with only two in the AV. (WHITNEY 1078). In the TS. it occurs with *i-* 'go' (IV. 1. 8<sup>1</sup>; II. 2. 12<sup>3</sup>) and with *vad-* 'speak' (IV. 5. 12<sup>2</sup> = VS. XVI. 4).

<sup>6</sup> The adnominal use survives through the Brāhmaṇas into the Mahābhārata.

to his ordinance?'; *yó devó mártiyām̐ āti* (AV. XX. 127<sup>7</sup>) 'the god who (is) beyond mortals'.

### *ādhi* 'upon'.

597. The general meaning of *ādhi* in its adverbial use is 'upon', e. g. *ādhi gam* 'come upon', then 'find out', 'learn'.

In **adnominal** use the proper sphere of *ādhi* is the **locative**, with which it is almost always connected. Here, however, there is sometimes an uncertainty whether the preposition belongs to the verb or the noun; e. g. *nākasya pr̥sthē ādhi tiṣṭhati* (I. 125<sup>5</sup>) 'he stands upon the ridge of the firmament'. When referring to a person *ādhi* means 'beside', 'with' (from the notion of wielding sway over); e. g. *yām, nāsatyā, parāvṛtī yād vā sthō ādhi turvāse* (I. 47<sup>7</sup>) 'when, O Nāsatyas, ye are at a distance or with Turvaśa'.

a. From the locative the use of *ādhi* extended to the **ablative**, with which it is less frequently connected. It then primarily has the compound sense 'from upon'; e. g. *ātaḥ ... ā gahi divō vā rocanād ādhi* (I. 69) 'thence come, or from the bright realm of heaven'. Often, however, the simple ablative meaning alone remains; e. g. *hṛdayād ādhi* (X. 163<sup>3</sup>) 'from the heart'; *pīruṣād ādhi* (VS. XXXII. 2) 'from Puruṣa'. A somewhat extended sense is occasionally found; e. g. *yām ... kaṇva idhā r̥tād ādhi* (I. 36<sup>11</sup>) 'whom Kaṇva kindled (proceeding from =) in accordance with sacred order'; *mā pañir bhūr asmād ādhi* (I. 33<sup>3</sup>) 'be not niggardly with regard to us'.

b. From the locative the use of *ādhi* further spread to the **accusative**, though in a very limited way, to express the sphere on or over which an action extends; e. g. *pr̥thivī prātīkam ādhy idhe agnīḥ* (VII. 36<sup>1</sup>) 'Agni has been kindled over the broad surface'. Otherwise, when taking the accusative in the sense of 'upon' with verbs of motion, *ādhi* nearly always belongs to the verb.

a. In the RV. only, *ādhi* is used seven times with the (following) **instrumental** singular or plural of *snū-* 'height', to express motion along and over = 'across'; e. g. *cakrām ... ādhi śuinā bṛhatā vārtamānam* (IV. 28<sup>2</sup>) 'the wheel rolling across the mighty height'. This is probably to be explained as the instrumental of the space (by =) through which motion takes place (e. g. *vāto antārikṣeṇa yāti* 'the wind goes through the air', I. 161<sup>14</sup>), the preposition that regularly means 'upon' being added to define the action as taking place 'over' as well as 'along'. The VS. has the regular locative of *snū-* with *ādhi*: *pr̥thivyā ādhi snūṣu* (XVII. 14) 'on the heights of the earth'.

### *ānu* 'after'.

598. In its adverbial use *ānu* primarily means 'after', e. g. *ānu i-* 'go after', 'follow'; from this fundamental sense are developed various modifications such as 'along', 'through'.

In its **adnominal** use *ānu* takes the **accusative only**. When the influence of the verb is still felt, it means 'after', 'along', 'throughout'; e. g. *pārā me yanti dhītāyo gāvo nā gāvyyūtir ānu* (I. 25<sup>16</sup>) 'my prayers go abroad like kine (seeking) after pastures'; *āpa prā yanti dhītāyaḥ r̥tāsyā pathyā ānu* (III. 12<sup>7</sup>) 'forth go my prayers along the paths of sacred order'; *yāt pāñca mānuṣān ānu nṛmān* (VIII. 9<sup>2</sup>) 'the might which (exists) throughout the five peoples'; similarly *pr̥thivīm ānu* (VS. XIII. 6) 'throughout the earth', *vānaspātīm ānu* (VS. XIII. 7) 'in all trees', *pradīśō 'nu* (VS. XXXII. 4) 'throughout the regions'.

When used in closer connexion with nouns *ānu* expresses:

a. **sequence in time**: 'after' or (with plurals) 'throughout'; e. g. *pūrvām ānu prāyatim* (I. 126<sup>5</sup>) 'after the first presentment'; *ānu dyām* 'throughout the days' = 'day after day'.

b. **conformity**: 'after' = 'in accordance with'; e. g. *svām ānu vratām* (I. 128<sup>1</sup>) 'according to his own ordinance'; *am̐tān ānu* (VS. IV. 28) 'after the

manner of immortals'; *ānu jīṣam* (TS. I. I. 13<sup>2</sup> = VS. II. 17) 'for (= to suit) thy enjoyment'. This is the commoner independent use.

### *antār* 'between'.

599. In its adverbial use, which is not frequent, *antār* means 'between', 'within', 'into'; e. g. *antās car-* 'move between or within'; *antāḥ pās-* 'look into'; *antār gā-* 'go between', 'separate'; *antar-vidvān* 'knowing (the difference) between', 'distinguishing'.

The fundamental and by far the most frequent adnominal use of *antār* is connected with the locative in the sense of 'within', 'among'; e. g. *antāḥ samudrē* 'within the ocean'; *apsī antār* 'within the waters'; *antār devēsu* 'among the gods'; *gūrbhe antāḥ* (VŚ. XXXII. 4) 'within the womb'; *mātṛtamāsu antāḥ* (TS. I. 8. 12<sup>2</sup> = VS. x. 7) 'in the best of mothers'.

a. From the locative its use extends in a few instances to the ablative in the sense of 'from within'; e. g. *antār āsmanah* 'from within the rock'; *eṣā yayau paramād antāḥ ādreh* (IX. 87<sup>8</sup>) 'it has come from the highest stone'.

b. From the locative its use further extends, in several instances, to the accusative, in the sense of 'between' (expressing both motion and rest), generally in connexion with duals or two classes of objects; e. g. *mahān sadhāsthe dhruvā ā niṣatto 'ntār dyāvā* (III. 6<sup>4</sup>) 'the great one who has sat down in the firm seat between the two worlds'; *indra it somapā ēkaḥ .. antār devān mārtyāṃs ca* (VIII. 2<sup>4</sup>) 'Indra is the one Soma-drinker (between =) among gods and mortals'<sup>1</sup>.

### *āpi* 'upon'.

600. In its adverbial use with verbs of motion *āpi* generally means 'into', e. g. *āpi gam-* 'go into', 'enter'; but this sense assumes various modifications which may be expressed by 'on', 'over', 'up'; e. g. *āpi dhā-* 'put upon', 'close up'; *āpi nah-* 'tie up'; *āpi-ripta-* 'smeared over' = 'blind'.

In its adnominal use, which is rare, *āpi* is connected with the locative only. It then has the sense of 'on'; e. g. *ayām, agne, tvē āpi yān yajñān cakṛmā vayām* (II. 5<sup>8</sup>) 'this (is), O Agni, the sacrifice which we have offered on thee'<sup>2</sup>.

### *abhi* 'towards'.

601. In its adverbial use *abhi* means 'towards' with verbs of motion, e. g. *abhi dru-* 'run towards'; it further commonly makes verbs of action transitive, e. g. *krand-* 'roar': *abhi krand-* 'roar at'; it also sometimes, especially with *bhū-* 'be', comes to have the sense of superiority: *abhi bhū-* 'overcome'.

The adnominal use of *abhi* is fairly frequent, though in many individual instances difficult to distinguish from its adverbial use. It is connected with the accusative only, in the sense of 'to'; e. g. *ūd īrṣva nārī abhi jīvalokām* (x. 18<sup>8</sup>) 'Arise, O woman, to the world of the living'. The sense of 'over' (implying dominion), abstracted from one of its secondary adverbial uses, is occasionally found; e. g. *vīśvā yās carṣaṇīr abhi* (I. 86<sup>5</sup>) 'who (is) over all men'.

<sup>1</sup> In the later language *antār* is not infrequently used with the genitive (as well as the locative). An example of this occurs as early as VŚ. XL. 5 (= Īśa Upaniṣad 5): *tād antār asya sārvasya, tād u sārvasya asya bāhyatāḥ* 'it is within this all and it is without this all'.

<sup>2</sup> The adverb *āpi* begins to be employed secondarily in the RV. (though rarely) as a conjunctive particle meaning 'also'; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 588, 5.

*āva* 'down'.

602. In its adverbial use, *āva* generally means 'down'. e. g. *āva gam-* 'come down'; but it has also the extended sense of 'away', 'off', e. g. *āva sij-* 'discharge'.

In its adnominal use, which is very rare and doubtful, it is connected with the ablative in the sense of 'down from'. In the following two examples, especially the second, the case seems to be directly dependent on the preposition: *vr̥ṣīm āva divā invatam* (VII. 64<sup>2</sup>) 'send rain down from heaven'; *yé te pānthāno āva divāḥ* (AV. VII. 55<sup>1</sup>) 'which (are) thy paths down from the sky'.

*a* 'near'.

603. The adverbial use of *ā* with verbs expressing either physical or mental motion is very common in the sense of 'near', 'hither', 'towards', 'to', 'upon'; e. g. *ā aj-* 'drive hither'; *ā krand-* 'cry to'; *ā dhī-* 'think upon', 'attend to'. Less commonly, when used with verbs expressing rest or occurrence, it means 'in' or 'at'; e. g. *ā kṣi-* 'dwell in', *ā jan-* 'be born at' a place.

When used adnominally, *ā* regularly follows the case, excepting only one sense of the ablative. It is primarily and most commonly connected with the locative, when it has the sense of 'on', 'in', 'at', 'to'; e. g. *upāstha ā* 'on the lap'; *dadhiḥ tvā bhṛgavo mānuṣeṣu ā* (I. 58<sup>6</sup>) 'the Bhrgus brought thee to men'.

a. From the locative its use extended to the ablative, with which it is used fairly often. It is generally used after this case, when it primarily has the compound sense of 'from on' (cp. *ādhi*); e. g. *parvatād ā* 'from (on) the mountain'. It also means, secondarily, 'away from'; e. g. *yás cid dhi tvā bahubhya ā sutvām avlvāsati* (I. 84<sup>9</sup>) 'who entices thee away from many (others) with his Soma draught'. This secondary meaning is sometimes further extended to express preference; e. g. *yás te sakhībhya ā vāram* (I. 4<sup>4</sup>) 'who is a boon to thee (in distinction) from friends', i. e. 'who is better to thee than friends'.

a. In about a dozen instances in the RV., *ā* is used before the ablative to express 'up to'<sup>2</sup>; e. g. *yati girībhya ā samudrāt* (VII. 95<sup>2</sup>) 'going from the mountains up to the sea'; *ā nimrūcaḥ* (I. 161<sup>10</sup>) 'till sunset'<sup>3</sup>. This reversal of meaning is probably due to the reversal of the natural order of the words: *samudrād ā* 'from the sea' thus becoming *ā samudrāt* 'to the sea'.

b. The use of *ā* is further extended to the accusative, with which it is least frequently connected, generally meaning 'to', 'upon', to express the goal with verbs of motion; e. g. *antār iyase . . yuṣmāṁś ca devān viśā ā ca mātān* (IV. 2<sup>3</sup>) 'thou goest mediating to you, the gods, and to the people, the mortals'; *mātārā sidatām barhīr ā* (I. 142<sup>7</sup>) 'may the two mothers seat themselves upon the litter'; *ēhy ā naḥ* (AV. II. 5<sup>4</sup>) 'come hither to us'; *devānām vakṣi priyām ā sadhāstham* (TS. V. I. 11<sup>1</sup> = VS. XXXIX. 1) 'bring (it) to the dear abode of the gods'. In closer connexion with nouns, *ā* is used to express purpose in the phrases *jōsam ā* 'for enjoyment', and *vāram ā* 'for pleasure'.

*ūpa* 'up to'.

604. In its adverbial use *ūpa* is in sense akin to *abhi* and *ā*, expressing 'near to'; e. g. *ūpa gam-* 'go near to'. The fundamental meaning of close

<sup>1</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK p. 451.

<sup>2</sup> With very few exceptions this is the only use of *ā* to be found in B.; in C. also *ā* is found only before the ablative, but

with the old sense of 'from' as well as 'up to'.

<sup>3</sup> It is occasionally found after the ablative in this sense; see GRASSMANN s. v. *ā*.

cóntiguity is often coupled with the idea of subordination or inferiority; e. g. *úpa sad-* 'sit down close to', 'approach reverentially'; *úpa ās-* 'sit under', 'adore'.

In its adnominal use *úpa* is most frequently connected with the accusative (which it more often precedes than follows) in the sense of 'to'; e. g. *ā yāhi . . úpa bráhmāni vāghātāḥ* (I. 3<sup>5</sup>) 'come to the prayers of the worshipper'.

a. It is also used (about half as frequently in the RV.) before the locative in the sense of 'beside', 'upon', 'at': *yā úpa śhrye* (I. 23<sup>17</sup>) 'who (are) beside the sun'; *úpa dyāvī* '(upon =) up to the sky' (from below); *úpa jmánū úpa vetasē áva tara* (VS. XVII. 6 = MS. II. 10<sup>1</sup>) 'descend upon the earth, upon the reed'.

a. Quite exceptionally (only three times) *úpa* occurs in the RV. with the (following) instrumental. In two passages it expresses sequence of time in the phrase *úpa dyúbhis* (V. 53<sup>3</sup>; VIII. 40<sup>8</sup>) 'day by day'. Once it expresses conformity: *yásmai viṣṇus trīṇi padā vicakramā úpa mitráya dhárṇabhiḥ* (Vā. IV<sup>3</sup>) 'for whom Viṣṇu strode forth his three steps in accordance with the ordinances of Mitra'. These abnormal senses of *úpa* are parallel to those of *anu* (598 a, b), and the construction to that of *adhi* (597 a).

#### *tirás* 'across'.

605. Adverbially *tirás* is used in the sense of 'aside', but only with the two verbs *dhū-* 'put' and *bhū-* 'be', in the Samhitās<sup>1</sup>; thus *tiró dhū-* 'put aside', 'conceal'; *tiró bhū-* 'disappear'; e. g. *ajakāvaṇm tiró dadhe* (VII. 50<sup>1</sup>) 'I put away the scorpion'; *mā tiró 'bhūt* (AV. VIII. 17<sup>1</sup>) 'may it not disappear'.

Adnominally *tirás* is used fairly often in the RV., and a few times in the AV., in the sense of 'across', 'over', 'through', 'past', with (nearly always before) the accusative<sup>2</sup>; e. g. *ā yé tarvānti raśmībhis tirāḥ samudrām* (I. 19<sup>8</sup>) 'who spread with their rays across the ocean'; *náyanti duritā tirāḥ* (I. 41<sup>3</sup>) 'they lead him through (so as to escape) dangers'; *tiró víśvām árcato yāhy arvān* (x. 89<sup>16</sup>) 'come hither past (leaving behind) all singers'.

a. Figuratively *tirás* occasionally means 'contrary to'; e. g. *devānām cit tiró vāsam* (x. 171<sup>4</sup>) 'even against the will of the gods'; *yó no . . tirás cittāni jighāṃsati* (VII. 59<sup>8</sup>) 'who desires to slay us contrary to expectations' (= 'un-awares'), *yó no . . tirāḥ satyāni . . jighāṃsāt* (TS. IV. 3. 13<sup>3</sup>) 'who may desire to slay us contrary to oaths'.

#### *pári* 'around'.

606. In its adverbial use *pári* generally means 'around', e. g. *pári i-* 'go around'; figuratively it also means 'completely', e. g. *pári vid-* 'know fully' (cp. πέρι οἶδς).

Its adnominal use starts from the accusative, with which case it is, however, not very commonly connected. Here, too, it is not always certain that the preposition does not belong to the verb. It nearly always immediately precedes the accusative in the sense of 'around', 'about'; e. g. *pári dyām anyād iyate* (I. 30<sup>19</sup>) 'the other (wheel) goes around the sky'. The following is one of the two instances in which *pári* comes after the accusative<sup>3</sup>: *havāmahe śraddhām madhyāmdinam pári* (x. 151<sup>5</sup>) 'we invoke Śraddhā (about =) at noon'<sup>4</sup>.

a. Its use then extends to the ablative, with which it is much more frequently connected. Here it has primarily the compound sense of 'from around'; e. g. *divás pári* (I. 47<sup>6</sup>) 'from the sky (which is) around'; *támasas pári* (I. 50<sup>10</sup>) 'from the surrounding darkness'. The original meaning (as in

<sup>1</sup> In the ŚB. and later *tirás* is used with *kr-* 'do' also.

<sup>2</sup> It is found at least once in the AV. (XII. 239) and occasionally in the ŚB. in the

sense of 'away from' = 'without the knowledge of'.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *pári*, 784 (bottom).

<sup>4</sup> Like the German preposition 'um'.

*ādhi*) then disappears, leaving only the ablative sense 'from'; e. g. *tvām adbhyaś tvām āśmanas pāri . . jāyase* (II. 1<sup>1</sup>) 'thou art born from the waters, from the rock'.

### *purās* 'before'.

607. Adverbially *purās* is combined with *kṛ-* 'do', and *dhā-* 'put' only, in the sense of 'in front'; e. g. *Indraḥ kṛnotu prasavē rathām purāḥ* (I. 102<sup>2</sup>) 'may Indra place (our) car in front in the enterprise'; *Indraṃ viśve devāso dadhire purāḥ* (I. 131<sup>1</sup>) 'the all-gods placed Indra in the forefront'.

Adnominally *purās* occurs about nine times in the RV., in the sense of 'before' and connected with the accusative, the ablative, and the locative; e. g. *āsadan mātaram purāḥ* (x. 189<sup>1</sup>) 'he has sat down before his mother'; *nā gardabhām purō āśvān nayanti* (III. 53<sup>23</sup>) 'they do not place the ass before the horse' (*āśvāt*); *yāḥ sṛñjaye purō . . samidhyāte* (IV. 15<sup>4</sup>) 'who is kindled before Sṛñjaya'.

### *prāti* 'against'.

608. Used adverbially *prāti* means 'towards', 'against', e. g. *prāti i-* 'go towards or against'; *prāti mā-* 'counterfeit', 'imitate'. From this sense the notion of equality was developed, as in *prāti as-* 'be a match for'; e. g. *Indra, nākiś tvā prāty asty eṣām, viśvā jātāny abhy āsi tāni* (VI. 25<sup>5</sup>) 'O Indra, none of them is equal to thee; thou art superior to all these beings'. The verb *as-* often being omitted, *prāti* appears to be used like an adjective; e. g. *Indraṃ nā mahnā pṛthivī canā prāti* (I. 55<sup>1</sup>) 'not even the earth (is) equal to Indra in greatness'. The preposition further comes to express adverbially the sense of 'back'; e. g. *prāti ūh-* 'thrust back'; *prāti brū-* 'reply'.

Adnominally *prāti* is used with the accusative only, altogether about a dozen times in the RV. With verbs of motion<sup>2</sup> or of calling it means 'towards', 'to' (though here there is sometimes a doubt whether it does not rather belong to the verb); e. g. *prāti tvām cārum adhvarāṃ goṣṭhāya prā hūyase* (I. 19<sup>1</sup>) 'thou art summoned to the beloved sacrifice to drink the milk'. With verbs of protecting it means 'against' = 'from'; e. g. *āgne rākṣā no āmhasaḥ, prāti sma, deva, rīṣataḥ* (VII. 15<sup>13</sup>) 'O Agni, protect us from distress, against injurers, O god'. Sometimes it means 'over against', 'opposite'; e. g. *dbodhy agniḥ . . prāti . . āyatīm uśāsam* (V. 1<sup>1</sup>) 'Agni has awakened in face of the coming Dawn'. It expresses conformity in the phrase *prāti vāram* 'according to desire' (cp. *ānu b, ūpa a, α*).

a. In the phrase *prāti vāstoh* 'at dawn', occurring three times in the RV., the preposition seems to take the ablative, but *vāstoh* may here be meant for an adverbial form<sup>3</sup>.

## B. Adnominal Prepositions.

609. This class of words which is never compounded with verbs, but only governs oblique cases (with the exception of the dative), cannot be clearly distinguished from adverbs such as *urāhvām* (which from B. onwards is also used as a preposition with the ablative in the sense of 'above' and 'after'). It is to be noted that several of them govern the genitive and the instrumental, cases practically never connected with the genuine prepositions in the Saṃhitās. The following is an account of these words arranged in their alphabetical order<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Both *abhi* and *prāti* primarily express direction 'towards', but the former tends to imply superiority or attack ('at'), the latter comparison and equality or repulsion ('back').

<sup>2</sup> In B. *prāti* is regularly used after the accusative, though apparently never connected

with verbs of motion: here it expresses approximate position = 'about', 'at', 'on'; it also means 'in regard to', 'in equality with'.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. BR., and DELBRÜCK p. 463.

<sup>4</sup> Though several of these (*avās, āri, pārās, sācā, sanitūr, sanutār, samūyā, sumād,*

*adhās* 'below'.

610. With the accusative *adhās* occurs only once in the RV., in the sense of 'below': *tisráh prthivīr adhō astu* (VII. 104<sup>11</sup>) 'may he be below the three earths'. It is also found once with the ablative (or genitive) in the same sense: *adhāh . . padāh* (X. 166<sup>2</sup>) 'below (my) feet'. The latter use also occurs once in the SV. and once in the AV.: *yé te pīnthā adhō divāh* (SV. 1. 2. 2. 3<sup>8</sup>) 'thy paths which are below the sky'; *adhās te dśmano manyam ipāsvāmasi yó gurīh* (AV. VI. 42<sup>3</sup>) 'we cast thy fury under a stone that (is) heavy'.

*antarā* 'between'.

611. This word occurs five times in the RV. with a following accusative in the sense of 'between', e. g. *antarā dāmpatī* 'between husband and wife'. It also occurs a few times in the AV. and VS. before duals; e. g. *antarā dyāvāprthivī* 'between heaven and earth'.

*abhītas* 'around'.

612. This adverb is employed in a few passages of the RV. and AV. in the sense of 'around' with the accusative; e. g. *sāro nā pūrṇām abhīto vādantaḥ* (VII. 103<sup>7</sup>) 'talking as round a brimful lake'; *yé devā rāṣṭrabhīto bhīto yānti sūryam* (AV. XIII. 1<sup>35</sup>) 'the kingdom-bearing gods who go around the sun'.

*avās* 'down from'.

613. In the RV. *avās* occurs four times with the ablative (cp. *āva*) in the sense of 'down from'; e. g. *avāh sūryasya bṛhatāh phrīṣāt* (X. 27<sup>21</sup>) 'down from the vast misty region of the sun'. It is further employed four or five times with the instrumental; e. g. *avō divā patīyantam patangām* (I. 163<sup>5</sup>) 'a bird flying down from heaven'. The latter use seems to be analogous to that of *ādhi* with the instrumental (597 α).

*upāri* 'above'.

614. This adverb occurs three times in the RV. after the accusative in the sense of 'above', 'beyond'; e. g. *tisráh prthivīr upāri* (I. 34<sup>8</sup>) 'above the three earths'. It is also found once with the instrumental in the combination *bhūmyopāri*, i. e. *bhūmyā upāri* (X. 75<sup>3</sup>) 'beyond the earth'. It is, however, more likely that here we have an irregular euphonic combination for *bhūmyā[ḥ] upāri*<sup>1</sup> and that the case governed by the preposition is the genitive. This would account for the frequent use of *upāri* with the genitive in the later language, while the instrumental would be unique.

*rté* 'without'.

615. This word<sup>2</sup> is used fairly often in the RV., and occasionally in the later Samhitās, before or after the ablative (sometimes separated from it) in the sense of 'without'; e. g. *nā rté tvāt kriyate kīṃ canā* (X. 112<sup>9</sup>) 'without thee nothing is done'; *yébhyo nā 'rté pávate dhāma kīṃ canā* (TS. IV. 6. 1<sup>4</sup> = VS. XVII. 14) 'without whom no dwelling is purified'.

*smād*) disappear in C., there is nevertheless in the later language a large increase in their numbers, greatly supplemented by the periphrastic use of nouns and by the prepositional gerunds. Cp. SPEIJER, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax* 89—93.

<sup>1</sup> See GRASSMANN, s. v. *upāri*; cp. above p. 65 (top).

<sup>2</sup> In origin an old locative. On some other words representing old case-forms, used prepositionally (*arvāk* etc.), cp. WHITNEY 1128.



*parás* 'beyond'.

616. In the RV. *parás* is used with the accusative, instrumental, ablative, and locative; but in the later Samhitās it seems to be found with the ablative only.

a. It takes the accusative six or seven times in the sense of 'beyond', not only locally, but also to express superiority or excess; e. g. *dti sūryam parāḥ śakunā iva pāptima* (IX. 107<sup>20</sup>) 'we have flown away like birds beyond the sun'; *nahī dedō nā mārtyo mahās tva krātum parāḥ* (I. 19<sup>2</sup>) 'for neither god nor mortal (goes) beyond the might of thee, the great'.

b. It is employed nearly three times as frequently with the instrumental, for the most part in the sense of 'beyond'; e. g. *parī mātrayā* (VII. 99<sup>1</sup>) 'beyond measure'. In some passages this sense is somewhat modified. Thus the word twice means 'over' (as opposed to *avās*); e. g. *yās te amśūr avās ca yāḥ parāḥ srucā* (X. 17<sup>13</sup>) 'thy juice which (fell) down from and over the ladle'. Twice, moreover, it expresses 'without'; e. g. *parō māyābhis* (V. 44<sup>2</sup>) 'without wiles'.

c. With the locative it occurs only once in the sense of 'beyond': *yē triṃśāti trāyas parō devāso bāhūr āśadan* (VIII. 28<sup>1</sup>) 'the gods who, three in excess of thirty, have seated themselves upon the litter'.

d. It is found in three passages of the RV., as well as a few times in the AV. and the VS., with the ablative in the senses of 'beyond', far 'from', and 'away from'; e. g. *parō divāḥ* (AV. IX. 4<sup>21</sup>) 'beyond the sky'; *asmāt . . parāḥ* (VIII. 27<sup>18</sup>) 'far from him'; *tvāt parāḥ* (AV. XII. 3<sup>39</sup>) 'apart from thee'; *parō mūjavatō 'tihi* (VS. III. 61) 'go away beyond (Mount) Mūjavat'. The last example may probably be an instance of the accusative with *parás* = 'beyond (the tribe of) the Mūjavants'.

*purāstād* 'in front of'.

617. This adverb is used two or three times in the Samhitās with the genitive in the sense of 'before', 'in front of'; e. g. *sūmidhasya purāstāt* (III. 8<sup>2</sup>) 'in front of the kindled one'; *vājah purāstād utō madhyatō nahī* (TS. IV. 7. 12<sup>2</sup> = VS. XVIII. 34) 'strength be before us and in the midst of us'.

*purā* 'before' (time).

In the RV. *purā* is used some twenty times, and in the later Samhitās occasionally, before or after the ablative. It has primarily the sense of 'before' (of time); e. g. *purā nī jarāsaḥ* (VIII. 67<sup>20</sup>) 'before old age'; *purā krūrāsya viśfpaḥ* (TS. I. 1. 9<sup>3</sup> = VS. I. 28) 'before the departure of the cruel (foe)'. This sense is, however, often modified to express exclusion, sometimes equivalent to 'without', 'except', 'in preference to', e. g. *purā sambādhdā abhy ā vavṛtsva* (II. 16<sup>8</sup>) 'turn to us before (= so as to save us from) distress'; *purā māt* (AV. XII. 3<sup>46</sup>) 'except me'.

*bahirdhā* 'outside'.

618. This adverb<sup>2</sup> is once used in the VS. with the ablative in the sense of 'outside', 'from': *iddm ahām taptām vār bahirdhā yajñān nissrjāmi* (VS. V. 11) 'this heated water I eject from the sacrifice'.

*sacā* 'with'.

619. The use of *sacā* is almost restricted to the RV., where it is common before and after the locative, meaning 'in association with', 'beside', 'at',

<sup>1</sup> The word *mūjavant-* occurs in the plural as the name of a tribe in AV. V. 22<sup>5</sup> etc.

<sup>2</sup> It is used fairly often in B. and S. The

simple form *bahis* 'outside' (used also with abl.) is frequent in B. and later.

'in'; e.g. *īndra id dhūryoh sácā* (I. 7<sup>2</sup>) 'Indra with his two bays'; *mādāyasva suté sácā* (I. 81<sup>8</sup>) 'rejoice at the pressed libation'; *nāmucāw āsuré sácā* (VS. xx. 68) 'along with the demoniac Namuci'<sup>1</sup>.

*sanitúr* 'apart from'.

620. This adverb is used two or three times<sup>2</sup> in the RV. after the accusative in the sense of 'beside', 'apart from'; e.g. *pātiṃ sanitúr* (v. 12<sup>3</sup>) 'without a lord'.

*sanutár* 'far from'.

621. Allied to the preceding word, *sanutár* appears once in the RV. with the ablative in the sense of 'far away from': *kṣétrād apaśyaṃ sanutás cārantam* (v. 2<sup>4</sup>) 'far from the field I saw him wandering'.

*sahá* 'with'.

622. This adverb is common in the RV. as well as the later Samhitās, before and after the instrumental in the sense of 'with'; e.g. *sahá śṣibhiḥ* (I. 23<sup>4</sup>) 'together with the seers'; *jarāyuṇā sahá* (VS. viii. 28) 'with the after-birth'; *sahá pátýā* (TS. i. i. 10<sup>2</sup>) 'with (my) husband'; *mánasā sahá* (AV. i. 1<sup>2</sup>) 'together with divine mind'.

*sākām* 'with'.

623. In the same sense as, but less frequently than, *sahá*, the adverb *sākām*<sup>3</sup> is used before and after the instrumental; e.g. *sākām sūryasya raśmibhiḥ* (I. 47<sup>7</sup>) 'together with the rays of the sun'; *sākām gan mánasā yajñām* (VS. xxvii. 31) 'may he come with thought to the sacrifice'; *sākām jarāyuṇā pata* (AV. i. 11<sup>6</sup>) 'fly with the afterbirth'.

*sumád* 'with'.

624. This word occurs four times as an adverb<sup>4</sup> in the RV. with the sense of 'together'. It is found once governing the instrumental in the sense of 'with': *jāyā pātiṃ vahati vagnīnā sumát* (x. 32<sup>3</sup>) 'the wife weds the husband with a shout of joy'.

*smád* 'with'.

625. Besides being used adverbially some half dozen times in the RV. with the sense of 'together', 'at the same time', *smád*<sup>5</sup> also occurs about as often with the instrumental, meaning 'with'; e.g. *smát sūrībhiḥ* (I. 51<sup>15</sup>) 'together with the princes'.

## 2. Adverbs.

GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1737—1740. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1097—1117.

626. Adverbs are most conveniently grouped as those which are formed with adverbial suffixes and those which are formed with case-endings. The former class may be best described according to the suffixes alphabetically arranged, the latter according to the ordinary sequence of the cases.

<sup>1</sup> Though not found in the AV., *sácā* survives in the TB. (I. 2. 1<sup>8</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. BR. and GRASSMANN, s. v.

<sup>3</sup> On other adverbs of similar meaning, with case-endings (*samāyā*, *sarātham*) used prepositionally, see WHITNEY 1127.

<sup>4</sup> *sumád* also appears as the first member of a compound in *sumád-amśu-*, *sumád-gaṇa-*, *sumád-raṭha-*.

<sup>5</sup> *smád* also appears as the first member of six or seven compounds.

## A. Adverbial suffixes.

627. **-as** forms adverbs chiefly of a local or temporal meaning; thus *tir-ás* 'across', *par-ás* 'beyond', *pur-ás* 'before', *sa-div-as* and *sa-dy-ás* 'to-day', 'at once'; *śr-ás* 'to-morrow', *hy-ás* 'yesterday'; also *mith-ás* 'wrongly'.

628. **-tas** expresses the ablative sense of 'from'. It forms adverbs:

a. from pronouns; e. g. *á-tas* 'hence', *amib-tas* 'from there', *kū-tas* 'whence?', *tāt-tas* 'thence', *yá-tas* 'whence', and, with accent on the suffix, *i-tás* 'from hence', *māt-tis* (AV.) 'from me'.

b. from adjectives and substantives; e. g. *anyá-tas* 'from another place', *dakṣiṇa-tis* 'from the right', *sarvā-tas* 'from all sides'; *agra-tás* 'in front', *hṛt-tis* 'from the heart', etc.; the suffix is added to a locative case-form in *patsu-tis* 'at the feet', beside *pat-tis* 'from the feet'.

c. from prepositions: *ánti-tas* 'from near', *abhi-tas* 'around', *pari-tas* (AV.) 'round about'.

a. These adverbs in *-tas* are sometimes used as equivalents of ablatives; e. g. *áto bhūyas* 'more than that'; *tātaḥ saṁghāt* (AV.) 'from that sixth'. On the other hand, the ablative sense is sometimes effaced, the locative meaning taking its place; e. g. *agra-tás* 'in front'.

629. **-tāt** (an old ablative of *ta* 'this')<sup>1</sup> has an ablative or a locative meaning. It is attached to adverbial case-forms and adverbial or adnominal prepositions; thus *údak-tāt* 'from above', *prāk-tāt* 'from the front'; *ārāt-tāt* 'from afar', *uttarāt-tāt* 'from the north', *parākāt-tāt* 'from a distance'; *pañcā-tūt* 'from behind'; *adhīs-tāt* 'below', *avis-tāt* 'below', *parás-tāt* 'beyond', *purīs-tūt* 'in or from the front', and with inserted *s* (probably due to the influence of the preceding forms) *upāri-s-tāt* '(from) above'.

630. **-ti** in *án-ti* 'near', *i-ti* 'thus'; probably also in *á-ti* 'beyond', *prá-ti* 'towards'.

631. **-tra** or **-trá** has a local sense, and is mostly attached to pronominal stems or stems allied to pronouns in sense; thus *á-tra* 'here', *amú-tra* (AV.) 'there', *kū-tra* 'where?', *tā-tra* 'there', *yá-tra* 'where'; *anyá-tra* 'elsewhere', *ubhayá-tra* 'in both places', *viśvā-tra* 'everywhere'; *asma-trá* 'among us', *sa-trá* 'in one place', 'together'; *dakṣiṇa-trá* 'on the right side', *puru-trá* 'in many places', *bahu-trá* 'amongst many'; *deva-trá* 'among the gods', *pāka-trá* 'in simplicity', *puruṣa-trá* 'among men', *mārya-trá* 'among mortals', *śayū-trá* 'on a couch'.

a. These adverbs in *-trá* are sometimes used as equivalents of locatives; e. g. *yātrādhī* 'in which', *hāsta ā dakṣiṇa-trá* 'in the right hand'. This locative sense also sometimes expresses the goal; e. g. *pañcā devatrā...yānān* (X. 737) 'roads that go to the gods'.

632. **-thā** forms adverbs of manner, especially from pronominal stems; thus *á-thā* (more usually with shortened vowel, *áthā*) 'then', *i-t-thā* 'thus', *imá-thā* 'in this manner', *ka-thā* 'how'; *tā-thā* 'thus', *yá-thā* 'in which manner'; *anyá-thā* 'otherwise', *viśvā-thā* 'in every way'; *ardhvā-thā* 'upwards', *pūrvā-thā* 'formerly', *pratnā-thā* 'as of old'; *ṛtū-thā* 'regularly', *nāmā-thā* (AV.) 'by name'; *evā-thā* 'just so'.

a. *-thām* occurs beside *-thā* in *i-t-thām* 'thus', and *ka-thām* 'how?'.

633. **-dā** forms adverbs of time almost exclusively from pronominal roots; thus *i-dā* 'now', *ka-dā* 'when?', *tā-dā* 'then', *yā-dā* 'at what time'; *sā-dā* 'always'; *sarvā-dā* (AV.) 'always'.

a. *-dam* occurs beside *-dā* in *sā-dam* 'always'; and *-dā-nīm*, an extended form of *-dā*, appears in *i-dā-nīm* 'now', *tā-dā-nīm* 'then', *viśvā-dā-nīm* 'always'.

<sup>1</sup> In the RV. *tāt* itself is once used independently in the sense of 'in this way'.

<sup>2</sup> In the RV. nearly always accented *kādā* when followed by *canā* = 'never'.

b. *di-*, which occurs only in *yá-di* 'if'<sup>1</sup>, is perhaps related to *-dā*.

634. *-dhā* forms adverbs from numerals or words of cognate meaning, with the sense of '(so many) times', 'in (so many) ways', '-fold'; thus *eka-dhā* (AV.) 'singly', *dvī-dhā* 'in two ways', *trī-dhā* and *tre-dhā* 'triply', *catu-dhā* 'fourfold', *ṣo-dhā* 'in six ways', *dvādaśa-dhā* (AV.) 'twelfefold'; *kati-dhā* 'how many times?', *tati-dhā* (AV.) 'in so many parts', *puru-dhā*<sup>2</sup> 'variously', *bahu-dhā* 'in many ways', *viśvā-dhā*<sup>2</sup> 'in every way', *śaśva-dhā* 'again and again'; *priya-dhā* (TS.) 'kindly', *pre-dhā* (MS.) 'kindly', *bahir-dhā* (VS.) 'outward', *mītra-dhā* (AV.) 'in a friendly manner'; *á-dhā* and (with shortened final) *á-dha* 'then', *a-d-dhā* ('thus' =) 'truly'; *sāma-dhā*<sup>3</sup> (Kh. I. 114) 'in the same way'.

a. *sa-dha-*, occurring as the first member of several compounds, in the sense of ('in one way' =) 'together', is probably formed with the same suffix, the final vowel being shortened<sup>4</sup>; in independent use it appears as *sahā* 'with'<sup>5</sup>. With the same original suffix appear to be formed other adverbs in *-ha*; thus *i-hā* 'here' (Prākṛit *idha*), *kū-ha* 'where?', *viśvā-ha*<sup>6</sup> and *viśvā-hā*<sup>7</sup> 'always', *sama-ha* 'in some way or other'.

635. *-va*, expressing similarity of manner, forms two adverbs: *i-va* 'like', 'as'<sup>8</sup>; *e-vā*, often with lengthened final, *e-vā* 'thus'. *-vām* appears beside *-va* in *e-vām* 'thus', which occurs once in the RV. (x. 1513) instead of *evā*, and a few times in the AV. with *viā-* 'know'; it is also found in the SV. (I. 3. 1. 10): *nā ki evāṃ yāthā tvām* 'there is nothing such as thou'.

636. *-vāt* forms adverbs meaning 'like' from substantives and adjectives; e. g. *āṅgiras-vāt* 'like Āṅgiras', *manu-vāt* 'as Manu (did)'; *purāṇa-vāt*, *pūrva-vāt*, *pratna-vāt* 'as of old'. In origin it is the accusative neuter (with adverbial shift of accent) of the suffix *-vant*, which is used to form adjectives of a similar meaning (e. g. *tvā-vant* 'like thee').

637. *-śās* is used to form adverbs of measure or manner with a distributive sense, often from numerals or words implying number; thus *sata-śās* (AV.) 'by hundreds', *sahasra-śās* 'by thousands'; *śreṇi-śās* 'in rows'; similarly *ṛtu-śās* 'season by season', *deva-śās* 'to each of the gods', *parva-śās* 'joint by joint', *manma-śās* 'each as he is minded'.

638. *-s* forms two or three multiplicative adverbs: *dvī-s* 'twice', *trī-s* 'thrice', and probably *catūr* for \**catūr-s* (cp. Zend *catruš*) 'four times'. The same suffix forms a few other adverbs: *adhā-s* 'below' (cp. *ādha-ra* 'inferior'), *avā-s* 'downwards' (from *ava* 'down'), *-dyū-s*<sup>9</sup> (from *dyū-* 'day') in *anye-dyū-s* (AV.) 'next day' and *ubhaya-dyū-s* (AV.) 'on both days'; perhaps also in *avī-s* 'openly' and *bahī-s* 'outside'<sup>10</sup>.

639. *-hi* forms a few adverbs of time from pronominal roots; thus *kār-hi* 'when?', *tīr-hi* 'then?'<sup>11</sup>. The first part of these words seems already to contain an adverbial suffix *-r*<sup>12</sup> (thus *kār-r* = Lat. *cūr*)<sup>13</sup>.

640. There are also some miscellaneous adverbs consisting of isolated

<sup>1</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 585.

<sup>2</sup> The final vowel of *puru-dhā* and *viśvā-dhā* appears shortened before a double consonant in the RV.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *sama-ha*.

<sup>4</sup> As in *ādha*, *puru-dhā*, *viśvā-dha*.

<sup>5</sup> See above 58, 2 a (p. 52).

<sup>6</sup> Just as *viśvā-dhā* beside *viśvā-dhā*; but cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 582.

<sup>7</sup> On the other hand *viśvā-hā* 'always' is = *viśvā dhā* 'all days' ('alle Tage') with a single accent, like a compound; see GRASSMANN, s. v.

<sup>8</sup> In the late parts of the RV. and in the AV. *iva* has often to be read as *va*; cp. ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 129, but see OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 61, 830.

<sup>9</sup> See MERINGER, IF. 18, 257; cp. RICHTER, IF. 9, 238; SCHULZE, KZ. 28, 546.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 584.

<sup>11</sup> *amūr-hi*, *etār-hi*, *yār-hi* also occur in B.

<sup>12</sup> Cp. *avā-r*, which occurs once beside the usual *avā-s*.

<sup>13</sup> Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 583.

words or small groups, mostly of obscure origin, formed with other suffixes. The latter in alphabetical order are:

- a* : *kv-à* (always *kū-a*) 'where?' and *a-āy-ā* 'to-day'.
- ar* : *pām-ar* 'again' and *sas-ār* 'secretly'.
- ā* : *antar-ā* 'between', *pur-ā* 'before'; perhaps also in *nānā* 'variously', which may be = *nā-nā* 'so and so' from the pronominal root *na*-<sup>2</sup>.
- it* : *dakṣin-it* 'with the right hand'; and *-vīt* in *cikit-vīt* 'with deliberation'.
- u* : *jāt-u* 'ever', *mīth-u* 'wrongly', *mīh-u* 'suddenly'; *anu-ṣṭh-ū* 'at once' ('standing after', from *√sthā*, cp. *su-ṣṭh-ū* 'in good state').
- ur* : *mīh-ur* 'suddenly'.

-*k* : *jyō-k* 'long'. In several other adverbs *-k* with more or less probability represents the final of a root; thus *nīl-k* 'secretly' (probably from *\*nīni-ac*-adj. 'secret'), *madrik* 'towards me' (contracted from *madriak*, neut. adv. of *madriac*-adj. 'turned to me'); *ānu-sāk* 'in succession' ('following after' : *√sac*-); *āyu-sāk* 'with the cooperation of men' (*sac*- 'follow'); *uśā-dhak* 'with eager consumption' ('eagerly burning' : *√dah*-).

-*tār* : *prā-tār* 'early' and *sanu-tār* 'away' (621).

-*tūr* : *sani-tūr* 'away' (620).

-*nām* : *nū-nām* 'now' and *nānā-nām* 'variously' (642 d).

## B. Adverbial Case-forms.

641. A large number of case-forms of nominal and pronominal stems, often not otherwise in use, are employed as adverbs. They become such when no longer felt to be case-forms<sup>3</sup>. Forms of all the cases appear with adverbial function.

**Nominative.** Examples of this case are *prathamām* 'firstly', *dvitīyam* 'secondly'; e. g. *divds pāri prathamāṃ jajñe agnir, asmād dvitīyam pāri jātavedāḥ* (x. 45<sup>1</sup>) 'Agni was first born from heaven, secondly he, Jātavedas, (was born) from us'. Such adverbs are to be explained as originally used in apposition to the verbal action: 'as the first thing, Agni was born'. A masculine form has become stereotyped in *kī-s* as an interrogative adverb; its negative forms *nā-kis* and *mā-kis* are often used in the sense of 'never' or simply 'not'.

642. **Accusative.** Adverbs of this form are to be explained from various meanings of the accusative. The following are examples of nominal forms representing:

a. the cognate accusative: *rcā kapōtaṃ nudata pranōdam* (x. 165<sup>5</sup>) 'by song expel the pigeon as expulsion'; *citrām bhānty uśasaḥ* (vi. 65<sup>2</sup>) 'the Dawns shine brightly' (= 'a bright scil. shining'); *marmrjma te tanvām bhūri kṛtvah* (iii. 18<sup>4</sup>) 'we adorned thy form many times' (originally 'makings'); similarly *dhr̥ṣṇū* 'boldly', *purū* 'much', 'very', *bhīyas* 'more'; and the comparative in *-tarām* added to verbal prefixes; e. g. *vi-tarāṃ vi kramasva* (iv. 18<sup>11</sup>) 'stride out more widely'; *saṃ-tarāṃ sām śiśādhi* (AV. vii. 16<sup>1</sup>) 'quicken still further'; *prā tām naya pra-tarām* (x. 45<sup>9</sup>) 'lead him forward still further'; *ūd enam ut-tarāṃ naya* (AV. vi. 5<sup>1</sup>) 'lead him up still higher'; so also *ava-tarām*, *paras-tarām*, *parā-tarām* 'further away', and the fem. accusatives *saṃ-tarām* and *paras-tarām* (AV.).

<sup>1</sup> Cp. REICHEL, BB. 25, 244.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. op. cit. 839; PERSSON, IF. 2, 200ff., 'auf diese (oder) jene Weise'; BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 10, 10—12, originally 'separatim'.

<sup>3</sup> On the distinction between case function and adverbial use see BRUGMANN, KG. 571.

b. the appositional accusative; thus *oṣā-m* 'quickly' (lit. 'burningly'), *kāma-m* 'according to desire'; *nāma* 'by name', *rūpā-m* 'in form', *satyā-m* 'truly'.

c. the accusative of direction; e.g. *āgra-m* (*i-*) 'go to the front of', 'before'; *āsta-m* (*gam-*) 'go home'.

d. the accusative of distance and time; e.g. *dūrā-m* 'a long way off', 'far'; *nākta-m* 'by night', *sāyā-m* 'in the evening', *cirā-m* '(for a) long (time)', *nītya-m* 'constantly', *pūrvā-m* 'formerly'.

α. There are also some adverbs derived from obsolete nominal stems, which would seem for the most part to have belonged originally to the sphere of the cognate accusative; thus *dra-m* 'sufficiently' (from \**dra-* 'fitting'), *āla-m* (AV.) id.; *tūṣṇī-m* 'in silence', *nānānā-m* (from *nānī*) 'variously', *nūnā-m* (from *nū*) 'now'; *sākā-m* 'together' (from \**sākā-* 'accompaniment': *sac-* 'follow')<sup>2</sup>.

β. Finally a number of accusative adverbs are formed from pronominal stems; thus *adās* 'there', 'thither'; *id* 'just', 'even'; *idām* 'here', 'now'; *im* 'ever' (e.g. *yā im* 'whoever'); *kā-d*, an interrogative particle; *kā-m*, a particle emphasizing a preceding dative or (unaccented) the particles *nū*, *sū*, *hi*; *kī-m* 'why?'; *kī-m* 'ever' (in *mā-kīm* 'never'); *kuv-id* 'whether?'; *cī-d* 'even'; *tā-d* 'then'; *yā-d* 'if', 'when', 'that'; *sī-m* 'ever' (*yāt sīm* 'whenever'); *sumā-d* and *smā-d* 'together'.

643. Instrumental. With the ending of this case (sometimes plural) are formed adverbs from substantives, adjectives, and pronouns, the latter two groups being at first probably used with the ellipse of a substantive. Various senses of the instrumental case are expressed by these adverbs. Usually they imply manner or accompanying circumstances; e.g. *tāras-ā* 'with speed'; *sāhas-ā* 'forcibly'; *tāviṣṭi-bhis* 'with might'; *nūvyas-ā* 'anew'; *enā* 'in this (way)', 'thus'. Not infrequently they express extension of space or time; e.g. *āgreṇa* 'in front'; *akti-bhis* 'by night'; *div-ā* 'by day' (but *div-ā* 'through the sky'); *doṣā* 'in the evening'.

α. The substantive instrumentals are chiefly formed from feminine stems in *-ā* not otherwise in use, but corresponding mostly to masculines or neuters in *-a*; thus *a-datrayā* 'without (receiving) a gift' (*dātṛa-* 'gift'); *āsaya* 'before the face of', 'openly' (\**āsā-* = *ās-* 'face'); *ṛtayā* 'in the right way' (\**ṛtā-* = *rtā-*); *naktayā* 'by night' (\**nāktā-* = *nākta-*); *sumnayā* 'piously' (\**sumnā-* = *sumnā-*); *svapnayā* (AV.) 'in a dream' (\**svāpnā-* = *svāpnā-*).

α. Several of these feminines are instrumentals from stems in *-tā* and identical in form with the stem; thus *līrāśā-tā* 'through'; *devā-tā* 'among the gods'; *bāhū-tā* 'with the arms'; *sasvār-tā* 'in secret'; *dvi-tā* 'in two ways' may have a similar origin (*dvi-tā* 'two')<sup>3</sup>. We have perhaps also old instrumentals of feminine stems in *-ā* in *tādīnā* 'then' = 'at that time'; and in *vṛthā* 'according to choice', 'at will' (\**vṛ-thā* 'choice', from *vṛ-* 'choose').

β. In a few examples the instrumental seems more probably to be that of a radical stem with adverbial shift of accent rather than from a stem in *-ā*; thus *gūh-ā* 'in secret', rather inst. of *gūh-* 'hiding'<sup>4</sup>, than of a stem \**gūh-ā*<sup>5</sup>; similarly *mṛṣ-ā* 'in vain' (\**mṛṣ-* 'neglect': inst. *mṛṣ-ā*); *sac-ā* 'together' (\**sac-* 'accompaniment': inst. *sac-ā*). In *a-sthā* (RV.), perhaps meaning 'at once', we seem to have an instrumental adverb from a radical *ā*-stem *a-sthā* ('no standing') = 'without delay'.

b. The adjective instrumentals end either in *-ā* (plural *-āis*) or *-yā*. The former are derived from *a-* stems and a few consonant stems in *-c*; the latter are anomalous feminines from *u-* stems and one or two *ī-* stems:

α. *apākā* 'afar' (*āpāka-* 'far'); *īrmā* 'quickly' (*īrmā-*); *uccā* and *uccāis* 'on high' (*uccā-*); *dakṣiṇā* 'to the right' (*dāksīṇa-*); *parācāis* 'for away' (\**parācā-*); *paścā* 'behind' (\**paścā-*); *mādhya* 'in the midst' (*mādhya-*); *sīnais* 'slowly'

<sup>1</sup> Cp. GRAY, IF. II, 307 ff.; FOY, IF. 12, 172.

<sup>2</sup> For some other adverbs of obscure origin, which were originally accusatives, see WHITNEY III f.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. BENFEY, SV. Glossary, and GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch, s. v.

<sup>4</sup> The normal inst. of which would be *gūh-ā*.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. RV. I. 676 *gūhā gūham gās* and in the next stanza *gūhā bhāvāntam*.

(\*śīna-) and śānakais id.; śānā<sup>1</sup> 'from of old' (śāna-); samanā 'in the same way' (sāmāna-); tiraśc-ā 'across'; nīc-ā 'downwards'; prāc-ā 'forwards'.

β. *anu-śthū-y-ā*<sup>2</sup> 'at once' (*anu-śthū* 'following', adv. from *sthā* 'stand'); *āsū-y-ā* 'swiftly' (*āśū*); *dhṛṣṇu-y-ā* 'boldly' (*dhṛṣṇū*); *mithu-y-ā* 'falsely' (*mīthu*, adv. from *mīth-* 'be hostile'); *raghu-y-ā* 'rapidly' (*raghū*); *sādhu-y-ā* 'straight' (*sādhu*); also *urvy-y-ā* (for *urvy-ā*) 'far', from *urvī* f. of *urī-* 'wide'; and *viśvy-ā* 'everywhere', from \**viśv-*, irregular f. of *viśva-* 'all', beside the regular inst. f. *viśvayā*, which itself seems once (VIII. 68<sup>2</sup>) to be used adverbially.

c. **Pronominal instrumentals** are formed from several stems in -a and one in -u. Some appear in the masculine (or neuter) form of -ā or the feminine of -yā; so *anā* 'thus' (*anā* 'that'); *amā* 'at home' (*āma-* 'this'); *a-yā* 'thus' (*a-* 'this'); *enā* 'thus' (*ena-* 'this'); *ka-yā* 'how' (*kā-* 'who?'); *ubhayā* 'in both ways' (*ubhāya-* 'both'). From *amī-* 'that' is formed the adverb *amu-y-ā* 'in that way', with the anomalous interposition of *y*<sup>3</sup>. To the influence of the latter word is probably due the form *kūhayā* 'where?' (RV.<sup>1</sup>) beside the usual *kūha* 'where?'.

644. a. **Dative.** The adverbial use of this case is rare. Examples are: *aparāya* 'for the future' (from *āpara-* 'later'); *vārāya* 'according to wish' (*vāra-* 'choice').

b. **Ablative.** This case is on the whole used adverbially fairly often. It is, however, seldom formed from substantives, as *ārāt* 'from a distance', *āsāt* 'from near'; or from pronouns, as *āt* 'then', *tāt* 'thus', *yāt* 'as far as'. It is most commonly formed from adjectives; thus *dūrāt* 'from afar'; *nīcāt* 'from below'; *pāścāt* 'from behind'; *sākṣāt* 'visibly'; and with shifted accent: *adhārāt* 'below' (*ādharma-*); *apākāt* 'from afar' (*āpāka-*); *amāt* 'from near' (*āma-*); *uttarāt* 'from the north' (*ūttara-*); *sanāt*<sup>4</sup> and *sanakāt* 'from of old' (*sāna-*).

c. **Genitive.** The adverbial use of this case is very rare. Examples are *aktīs* 'by night' and *vāstos* 'in the morning'.

d. **Locative.** Several forms of this case have an adverbial meaning; thus *āgre* 'in front'; *abhi-svarē* 'behind' (lit. 'within call'); *astam-ikē* 'at home'; *ākē* 'near'; *ārēś* 'afar'; *ritē* 'without'; *dūrē* 'afar'; and in the plural *aparīṣu* 'in future'.

### 3. Particles.

WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 122, 132—133. — DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax p. 240—267. — Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 817—855.

645. Other adverbial words, the derivation of which is obscure and the meaning of which is abstract or general, may be classed as particles. They form three groups, the emphatic, the conjunctive, and the negative, the first being the most numerous. The emphatic particles, as throwing stress on a preceding word, are either enclitic or incapable of beginning a sentence; the conjunctive particles, except *utā*, are of a similar nature; but the negatives, having a strongly antithetical meaning, generally occupy an emphatic position in the sentence.

646. The **emphatic particles** may usually be translated by such words as 'just', 'indeed', or rendered merely by stress on the word they follow.

<sup>1</sup> In the last three adverbs the accent does not shift to the final syllable.

<sup>2</sup> These anomalous forms are due perhaps to the influence of the pronominal *amu-y-ā*.

<sup>3</sup> The anomalous interposition of *y* is

perhaps due to the influence of the numerous adverbs in -yā from stems in -a, *amī-* being an isolated pronominal *u-* stem.

<sup>4</sup> *sanāt* occurs also AA. v. 2. 2.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>5</sup> On *ārē*, *ārāt*, *ritē* cp. NEISSER, BB. 19,

140.

They are *aigá*; *áha*<sup>1</sup>, *gha*, *ha* (the last two less emphatic than *áha*); *smā*; *svíd* (generally following an interrogative) = 'pray'; *vái*, nearly always following the first word of a sentence. Three particles which emphasize the preceding word more strongly in the sense of 'certainly', 'in truth', are *kíla* (+ AV.), *khalu* (RV<sup>1</sup>, not in AV.), *bháta* (RV<sup>1</sup>. AV<sup>1</sup>). In the RV. *tí* usually emphasises exhortations = 'pray', but sometimes also statements = 'surely'; once (vi. 29<sup>5</sup>) it seems to mean 'but', which is its sense in its single occurrence in the AV. The particle *ná*, when it means 'as it were', 'like', was in origin probably an emphatic particle = 'truly'<sup>2</sup>.

647. There are several conjunctive particles, some of which are compounded. *á*<sup>3</sup> 'now', 'again', is commonly used deictically and anaphorically after pronouns and verbs. Both *u-kí* and *ca* mean 'and'. *ca* when compounded with the negative particle as *caná* originally meant 'not even', but the negative sense generally disappears and *caná* turns the interrogative pronoun into an indefinite, as *kás caná* 'some one'<sup>4</sup>. *ca* when compounded with *íd*, that is *cíd*, means 'if'. *nū* 'now' generally follows the first word of the sentence. The disjunctive particle is *vā* 'or'. *hi* (generally following the first word of a sentence) expresses the reason for an assertion = 'for', 'because'; it is also used with imperatives, when it means 'then'. It occurs once in the RV. (vi. 48<sup>2</sup>) compounded with the negative *ná*, but without change of meaning: *hiná* 'for'.

648. The negative particle which denies assertions is *ná* 'not'. Its compound *néd* (= *ná íd*) expresses an emphatic 'not'; it is, however, usually employed in the final sense of 'in order that not', 'lest'. Its compound *ná-kis* often means 'never', and *ná-kīm*, in the only two stanzas in which it occurs (viii. 78<sup>1</sup> 5), has the same sense. The negative also occurs twice (x. 54<sup>2</sup>; 84<sup>1</sup>) compounded with *nú* as *nanú*, which expresses a strong negative = 'not at all', 'never'. When it is compounded with *hi* as *nahí*, the latter word retains the meaning of both particles: 'for not'.

*mā* 'not' is the prohibitive particle regularly used with the injunctive<sup>5</sup>. It is compounded with the petrified nom. *-kis* and acc. *-kīm* to *mā-kis* and *mā-kīm*. The former frequently and the latter in its only two occurrences mean 'never'.

#### a. Adverbial words occurring in compounds only.

649. A limited number of words of an adverbial character have either entirely lost or, in a few instances, nearly lost their independent character, being found in combination with half a dozen particular verbs or as the first member of nominal compounds. In two or three examples the original independence of such words can still be traced.

650. A few mostly onomatopoeic reduplicative words appear only compounded with the roots *kr-* 'do' and *bhū-* 'be', the prefixed form generally ending in *-ā*, once in *-ī*: thus *akhhkhalī-kṛtya*<sup>6</sup> (vii. 103<sup>3</sup>) 'croaking', *alalā-*

<sup>1</sup> Another frequent particle of the same meaning, *íd*, has already been mentioned among the pronominal accusative adverbs.

<sup>2</sup> Greek *naí*, Lat. *nae*, cp. Lith. *nei* 'as it were' (cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 839); this sense of *ná* is generally explained as derived from the negative = 'not (precisely)': see WHITNEY 1122 h; cp. BB. 22, 194 ff.

<sup>3</sup> On the Sandhi of *u*, see above 71, 1 b.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. DELBRÜCK, op. cit. p. 544.

<sup>5</sup> It is not used with the ordinary sub-

junctive, nor the imperative, nor the optative except in the form *bhujema*; see DELBRÜCK p. 361 (top). In the Khilas it occurs two or three times with the 2. impv.; *paśya* (iii. 15<sup>17</sup>), *tiṣṭha* (iv. 52<sup>5</sup>), and once at least with the subj.: *vadāti* (i. 9<sup>5</sup>); MS. *vādeti*.

<sup>6</sup> This is the only instance of the prefix ending in *-ī* instead of *-ā* in the RV. In the AV. *-ī* appears before forms of *kr-* in the nominal compounds *vāṭī-kṛta-* and *vāṭī-kārā-*, designations of a disease.



*bhāvant-* (IV. 18<sup>o</sup>) 'sounding merrily'; *jañjanā-bhāvant-* (VIII. 43<sup>o</sup>) 'sparkling'; *kikirā kṛnu* (VI. 53<sup>7</sup>) 'tear to tatters'; *maśmaśā-karam* (AV. V. 23<sup>8</sup>) 'I have crushed'; *masmasā kuru* (VS. XI. 80) and *mṛsmṛsā kuru* (MS. II. 7<sup>1</sup>) 'crush'; *malmalā-bhāvant-* (MS. II. 13<sup>19</sup>; TS. I. 4. 34<sup>1</sup>) 'glittering'; *bharbharā-bhavat* (MS. II. 2<sup>1</sup>; B.) 'became confounded'; *bibibā-bhāvant-* (MS. I. 6<sup>5</sup>; B.) 'crackling'.

651. The adverb *avis* 'openly', 'in view', is found in combination with the verbs *as-*, *bhū-* and *kṛ-* only. With the latter it means 'make visible', e. g. *avis karta* (I. 86<sup>9</sup>) 'make manifest'. With the two former, which are sometimes omitted, it means 'become visible', 'appear'; e. g. *avis sánti* (VIII. 8<sup>23</sup>) 'being manifest'; *āvir agnir abhavat* (I. 143<sup>2</sup>) 'Agni became manifest'.

*prā-dūr*, lit. 'out of doors', begins to appear in the AV. in combination with *√bhū-*, meaning 'become manifest', 'appear'.

652. The word *śrād*, which originally probably meant 'heart'<sup>1</sup>, is often found in combination with *dhā-* 'place', in the sense of 'put faith in', 'credit', nearly always, however, separated from the verb by other words, e. g. *śrād asmai dhatta* (II. 12<sup>5</sup>) 'believe in him'; *śrād asmai, naro, vācse dadhātana* (VS. VIII. 5) 'give credence, O men, to this utterance'. It also appears in the substantive *śrād-dhā-* 'faith'. The word is once also found with *√kṛ-* in the sense of 'entrust': *śrād viśvā vāryā kṛdhi* (VIII. 75<sup>2</sup>) 'entrust all boons (to us)'.

653. The interjection *hin* is compounded with *kṛ-* 'make' in the sense of 'utter the sound *hin*', 'murmur'; thus *gaur . . hinī akṛnot* (I. 164<sup>28</sup>) 'the cow lowed'; *hin-kṛvatī* (I. 164<sup>27</sup>) 'lowing'; *hin-kṛtāya svāhā* (VS. XXII. 7) 'hail to the sound *hin*'; *tasmā uṣā hin-kṛnoti* (AV. IX. 6<sup>45</sup>) 'for him the dawn utters *hin*'.

654. A few substantives, after assuming an adverbial character, are found compounded with participial forms. *āsta-m* 'home', which still appears as a noun in the RV., though commonly used adverbially in the accusative with verbs of motion, is combined like a verbal prefix with participles of *i-* 'go' in the AV.: *astam-yānt-* 'setting', *astam-eyānt-* 'about to set', *dstam-ita-* (AV. XVII. 1<sup>23</sup>)<sup>2</sup> 'set'. The noun *nāmas-* 'obedience' is similarly compounded in the gerund with *kṛ-* 'make' in the AV.: *namas-kṛtya*<sup>3</sup>. In the RV. itself names of parts of the body, with no tendency otherwise to adverbial use, are thus compounded with the gerund of *grah-* 'seize': *karna-gṛhya* 'seizing by the ear', *pāda-gṛhya* 'seizing by the foot', *hasta-gṛhya* 'grasping the hand'<sup>4</sup>. The transition to this use was probably supplied by nouns compounded with past participles, as *sāhas-kṛta-* 'produced by force'.

655. There are besides a few monosyllabic adverbial particles which occur as prefixes compounded with nominal forms only. By far the most frequent of these is the negative prefix, which appears in the form of *an-* before vowels and *a-* before consonants. It is compounded with innumerable substantives and adjectives, but rarely with adverbs, as *a-kiltrā* 'to the wrong place', *a-pundr* ('not again' =) 'once for all'; *an-eva* (AV<sup>1</sup>) 'not so'.

656. *sā-*, as a prefix expressive of accompaniment, is employed as a reduced form of the verbal prefix *sam*<sup>5</sup>, and interchanges with *saha-*; e. g. *sā-cetas-* 'accompanied by wisdom', 'wise', beside *sahā-cchandasa-* 'accompanied with songs'.

<sup>1</sup> See UHLENBECK, Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache, Amsterdam 1888—89, s. v. *śraddhā*.

<sup>2</sup> For some other later nominal compounds of this kind see WHITNEY 1092 c.

<sup>3</sup> This is the regular form in the later

language, but the independent form *namas kṛtvā* is occasionally found; cp. Bṛhaddevatā, I. 1, critical note in my edition.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. WHITNEY 990 b and above 591 a (p. 413, bottom) and 591 b.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. above 250.

657. *dus-* (appearing also, according to the euphonic combination, as *dur-*, *dus-*, *duṣ-*)<sup>1</sup>, means 'ill', 'hard to'; e. g. *dur-gá-* '(place) difficult of access', *dur-yíj-* 'ill-yoked', *dur-matí-* 'ill-will'; *duṣ-cyavand-* 'hard to shake'; *duṣ-kṛtá-* 'ill-done'; *duṣ-sáha-* 'irresistible'.

658. *su-* 'well', 'easy to' is compounded with a much larger number of words than *dus-*<sup>2</sup>; e. g. *su-kára-* 'easy to accomplish'; *su-kṛt-* 'acting well', *su-gá-* 'easy of access', *su-matí-* 'good-will', *su-yíj-* 'well-yoked'. It is, however, still found in a state of transition in the RV., where it occurs independently more than 200 times<sup>3</sup>, being then connected in sense with the verb only<sup>4</sup>; e. g. *asmán sú jigyuṣaḥ kṛtam* (I. 17<sup>7</sup>) 'make us well victorious'<sup>5</sup>.

#### 4. Interjections.

659. A certain number of words having the nature of interjections occur in the Samhitās. They are of two kinds, being either exclamations or imitative sounds.

a. The exclamations are *bát* (RV.) 'truly', *bata* (RV.) 'alas!', *hánta* 'come' used exhortatively with the subjunctive, and *hayé* 'come', before vocatives, *híruk* 'away!', *hurúk* (RV.) 'away!', *hái* (AV.) 'ho!'. Perhaps *uvé* (x. 86<sup>7</sup>)<sup>6</sup>.

b. Interjections of the onomatopoeitic type are: *kikirā* (RV.) used with *kṛ-* 'make the sound *kikirā*' = 'tear to tatters'; *kikkīā* (TS.) used in invocations (TS. III. 4. 2<sup>1</sup>); *ciscā* (RV.) 'whiz!' (of an arrow) used with *kṛ-* 'make a whizzing sound'; *phát* (AV. VS.) 'crash!', *phál* (AV. xx. 135<sup>3</sup>) 'splash!'; *bā* (TS. = AV.) 'dash!'; *bhūk* (AV. xx. 135<sup>1</sup>) 'bang!'; *sál* (AV. xx. 135<sup>2</sup>) 'clap!'

<sup>1</sup> See GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch, columns 614—619.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., columns 1526—1560.

<sup>3</sup> In the AV. it is still used independently, but only 14 times.

<sup>4</sup> See GRASSMANN, op. cit., s. v. *sú*.

<sup>5</sup> The Pada text of AV. XIX. 49<sup>10</sup> treats

*sv ápāyati* 'may he go well away' as a compound: *sv-ápāyati*; but this is doubtless an error for *sú | ápa | ayati*. See WHITNEY's note on this passage in his Translation of the AV.

<sup>6</sup> See NEISSER, BB. 30, 303; cp. above p. 337, note 7.

## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

It should be noted, in addition to what is said at the end of § 1 (p. 2), that when the abbreviations 'VS.' etc. indicate the occurrence of a form in a later Veda, they only mean that the form in question is not found in the RV., while it may occur in parallel passages of one or more of the other Samhitās also. The symbols '+ VS.' etc. are intended to draw attention to the fact that the form indicated occurs in a later Samhitā as well as in the RV. — In the enumeration of words, stems, inflected forms, and suffixes, initial alphabetical order is the principle followed. But it is occasionally varied for clearness of grouping. Thus the arrangement, in the case of compounds, is sometimes according to the final member (e. g. 308, 375 A, 591 a) or, in the case of roots, according to the medial or final vowel (e. g. 421, 483). The principle is also departed from when examples only of very frequent forms are given. Thus the nom. forms of present participles are arranged in the order of the conjugational classes (314); the nom. and other cases of the *a*-declension are given according to frequency of occurrence (372). Adverbs are classed according to the alphabetical order of the suffixes (626—640) or the sequence of the cases (641—644). — The principle of giving the meanings of words has been followed throughout the work. But this has been modified in two ways in the enumeration of inflected forms. In declension the meaning is given only with the first occurrence of a case-form of any word found in the same paragraph (e. g. 372). It seemed impossible to follow the same method in lists of inflected verbal forms. For, owing to the modifications of sense due to context and compounding with prepositions, the meaning could not be satisfactorily stated by giving it with the first occurrence of forms from the same root. The meaning has therefore been stated with the root only or when forms from different roots might be confused (e. g. 444, 445). But as the index gives the meaning of every root and enumerates all paragraphs containing forms from that root, the general sense of all such forms may easily be ascertained. — As regards references, figures without an added 'p.' always indicate paragraphs when books are divided into paragraphs; e. g. 'DELBRÜCK, Verbum 184 (p. 166—169)'; otherwise they refer to the page. When pages have to be referred to they are for the convenience of the reader often divided into quarters; thus LANMAN 372<sup>3</sup> means the third quarter of p. 372 in LANMAN'S Noun-Inflection.

P. 23, line 19 *for* original *read* original. — P. 51, note <sup>2</sup>, *for* \**guṣḍhā* *read* \**guṣḍha*. — P. 56, l. 27, *for* AV. *read* Av. and *for* 'weak *read* weak. — P. 58, l. 4 from below, *for* cak[an]anta *read* cāk[an]antu. — P. 60, l. 2, *for* appears *read* appears as. — P. 61, l. 7, *for* become *read* becomes; l. 34, *for* (*a-yās* *read* *a-yās*; l. 36, *for* fall') *read* 'fall'. — P. 66, § 72, 2 b: cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 298. — P. 67, l. 30, *for* There seems to be no certain instance of this in the RV. *read* This is of regular and, as far as *d* is concerned, of very frequent occurrence in the RV., e. g. *tán* (*for* *tād*) *mitrásya* (I. 115<sup>5</sup>); l. 31, after *cakrān nā*

(x.95<sup>12</sup>. 13) for however read too. — P. 70, l. 17, insert often also after But s. — P. 83, l. 27, for Reduplicated stems read Reduplicated present stems; l. 28, after 'invoking' add but perfect *śiśriyānā-* 'having resorted to'. — P. 99, l. 2 from below, insert (AV.) after *ma-mād-a-ti*; note 3, for *ri-hat* read *rih-at*. — P. 100, last line: on *dśa-māna-* cp. p. 373 note 12. — P. 109, l. 3 from below, for *vevij-ā* read *vevij-ā-* and for *carā-car-ā* read *carā-car-ā-*. — P. 119, l. 21, for *jigṛṣ-ā* read *jigṛṣ-ā-*. — P. 141, l. 2 from below, for *medh-i-rā-* read *medh-i-rā-*. — P. 146, l. 6, for 204 read 244. — P. 156, l. 20, for *vāruṇas* read *vāruṇas* and l. 22, for *pitārā-* read *pitārā-*. — P. 157, l. 26, for occurs read occur. — P. 169, l. 21, after *puruṣa-ryūghrā-* add (VS.). — P. 192, l. 9 from below, for *mahāntas* read *mahāntas*. — P. 197, note 7, for 55 read 66 c β. — P. 199, note 8, add Cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 300—302. — P. 202, l. sing.: OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 289, would place the form *rānā* (IX. 77) here. — P. 209, l. 25, for 'width read width. — P. 215, note 5, for Bahuvrīhi read a Bahuvrīhi. — P. 238, note 1, add Cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 300—302. — P. 255, l. 11, for *āsas* read *āsas*; § 371, l. 3, for ending read endings. — P. 257, lines 9 and 12: on *krāṇā*, *dānā*, and *sakhyā* (as acc. pl.) cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 287—290. — P. 264, l. 3 from below: according to OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 293, also *śatruhātīyai*. — P. 279, l. 10, for *i*-declension read *i*-declension. — P. 304, l. 9 from below, for *ātman-* read *ātman-*. — P. 315 delete 1 after 414. — P. 317, l. 20, for *yāt* read *yāt*. — P. 320, sing. 3.: *yāmāti* should perhaps be classed as a root aor. subj., though this form seems to have a distinctly indicative sense in the two passages in which it occurs; du. 2. for *sadathas* read *sādathas*, which form should perhaps rather be classed as a root aor. subj.; pl. 1., delete *dīyāmasi* (AV.). — P. 321, l. 2, delete *gāmānti*: see p. 369 top; l. 12: the shift of accent is insufficient (cp. *hīms-te*) for the treatment of *hīmsanti* as a transfer form (cp. p. 100, l. 13): it should preferably be placed in 464 after *vyñjanti*. — P. 321, Indicative Middle: Sing. 1., delete *daye* (AV. TS.). — Sing. 3., delete *bhōjate*, *yojate*, *stārate* (p. 369, top); read *vāhate* before *vāsate*, and *śayate* before *śikṣate*. — Du. 3., add *śobhete*. — Pl. 1., delete *starāmahe* (p. 369, top). — P. 323, § 424, Sing. 1., delete *bhojam*, *yojam* (503). — Sing. 2., delete *yamas*, *vāras* (502). — Sing. 3., delete *yamat*, *rādhat*, *śakat* (502), *tamat*, *dāsāt*, *śramāt*, *sadāt* (510), *mināt* (477), *śnāthāt* (452); for *vārat* read *varāt* ('cover'): — Pl. 3., delete *yaman* (502), *vaman*, *śāsan* (452), add *śrōsan*. — Middle. Pl. 3., delete *yavanta* (502). — P. 324, l. 4, for *yoja* read *yōja*; last line, delete *dayasva* (AV.). — P. 325, § 427 a, delete *śāsant-* (455) and *sānant-* (512). — P. 326, l. 1, for *cāyamāna* read *cāyamāna-*; § 428, Sing. 3., delete *asadat* (508). — P. 328, l. 3, : *śṛṇa-* read Four; l. 4 add *gr-* 'sing': *grnā-* (AV.) beside *grnā-*, and *śr-* 'crush' for Two (AV.) beside *śṛṇā-*. — § 430, Sing. 2., read *ksipasi* (AV.) before *tirasi*; Middle. Sing. 1., delete *mṛje* and *śuṣe* (451). — P. 329, § 431, Sing. 3., delete *prñāt*; § 432, delete *guhās*, *rudhat*, *trpān* (510) and add *bhujāt* (*bhuj-* 'bend'). — P. 330, l. 11, add *medātām*; l. 14, after TS. iv. 6. 5<sup>1</sup> add = AV. VS. MS. — § 435, delete *ksiyānt-*, *mṛjānt-* (455), *citānt-* (506), *guhānt-*, *śucānt-* (512), *śuśānt-*, *śvasānt-* (455); insert 'bending' after *bhujānt-*; Middle, delete *guhāmāna-*, *dhṛṣāmāna-*, *ṛtāmāna-*, *śucāmāna-* (512). — § 436, Sing. 2., add *adyas*. — P. 332, l. 1, add *dayāmasi* (AV.); l. 7, add *daye* (AV. TS.); § 441, add *rāya*. — P. 333, l. 12, delete *cāyamāna-*. — P. 337, lines 6 and 8, delete *bhūthās* and *bhūthās* (502), and (AV.) after *psātās*; Middle. Sing. 1., for *mṛje* (AV.) read *mṛje*; add *śuṣe* (*Vśvas-* 'blow'). — P. 338, l. 2, delete *parcas*, *śākas* (502); l. 5, add *śnathāt*; l. 10, add *vāman*, *śāsan*; l. 12, delete *vārjate* (502). — § 454, Act. Sing., add *drāhi* (AV.) and *drātu* (AV.) and after *psāhi* delete (AV.); note 4, add Perhaps root aor. subj.; cp. 502 (p. 369). —

P. 339, l. 6, delete *sotana* (*su-* 'press'): cp. 505. — § 455, Act., delete *dhṛṣánt-* (512), add *mṛjánt-*, *śuśánt-*, *śvasánt-*; Middle., delete *dhṛṣāná-* (AV.), add *traksāná-*. — P. 340, l. 3, delete *svāná-* (*su-* 'press', SV.): cp. 506. — P. 342, l. 11, delete *pīprati*. — P. 343, l. 12, for TS. IV. 6. 1<sup>5</sup> read TS. IV. 6. 1<sup>4</sup>. — P. 345, § 467, delete *kṛntati-* and *śumbhānt-*. — P. 350, l. 11, for *prṇāt* (AV.) read *prṇāt*; l. 16, add *minat* (for *mināt*). — P. 359, l. 23, delete VS. XXXIII. 87; l. 24, after *śr-* 'crush' add AV.; l. 26, after 'bring forth' add AV.; note <sup>11</sup>, for *sāsahe* read *sāsahē*. — P. 361, l. 10, add *cākan* before *sasvār*. — P. 362, l. 6: *cākanantu* though sing. in form is pl. in meaning and stands by haplology for *cākanantu*: cp. p. 58, l. 4 from below. — P. 364, l. 12, read *-ran* or *-iran* for *-iran*; l. 9 from below, delete *dvāvacīt* (549). — P. 366, l. 5 from below, delete *ākrān* (*√krand-*): see 522 (*s-aor.*). — P. 367, l. 2, delete *ākrān* (*√krand-*): see 522 (*s-aor.*); l. 22, delete *apṛkta* (*√pṛc-*): see 522 (*s-aor.*). — P. 368, § 502, l. 3, add *śūkas*; l. 6, for *yamat* read *yāmat*; l. 7, add *śākat*; l. 9, after *pāthās* add 'drink'. — P. 369, l. 5 from below: on *āpyāsam* (AA. v. 3. 2) see KEITH, Aitareya Āraṇyaka, p. 157, note <sup>10</sup>, and Index IV, *√āp-*. — P. 374, l. 22, add *bibhiṣ-athās*. — P. 383, l. 8, delete *ayāstt*. — P. 384, l. 4 from below, add 3. *ayāstt*. — P. 397, l. 2 and l. 24, add *vīḍyāsi* and *vīḍyāsva*.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- AA. = Aitareya-Āraṇyaka.  
AB. = Aitareya-Brahmaṇa.  
AJPh. = American Journal of Philology.  
APr. = Atharva-Prātiśākhya.  
ASL. = Ancient Sanskrit Literature.  
AV. = Atharva-Veda.  
Av. = Avesta.  
B. = Brāhmaṇa.  
BB. = BEZZENBERGER's Beiträge.  
BI. = Bibliotheca Indica.  
BR. = BÖHTLINGK and ROTH (St. Petersburg Dictionary).  
C. = Classical Sanskrit.  
GGA. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.  
IE. = Indo-European.  
IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen.  
IIr. = Indo-Iranian.  
IS. = Indische Studien.  
JAOS. = Journal of the American Oriental Society.  
K. = Kāthaka.  
KG. = BRUGMANN's Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik.  
Kh. = Khila.  
KZ. = KUHN's Zeitschrift.  
MS. = Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.  
N. = (Proper) Name.  
O. u. O. = Orient und Occident.  
Pp. = Pada-pāṭha.  
pw. = Petersburger Wörterbuch (BÖHTLINGK's Smaller Lexicon).  
Paipp. = Paippalāda.  
RPr. = Rigveda-Prātiśākhya.  
RV. = Rigveda.  
Ś. = Sūtra.  
ŚA. = Śāṅkhāyana-Āraṇyaka.  
SB. = Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa.  
SBE. = Sacred Books of the East.  
SV. = Sāma-Veda.  
TB. = Taittirīya-Brahmaṇa.  
TPr. = Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya.  
TS. = Taittirīya-Saṃhitā.  
Up. = Upanishad.  
V. = Vedic.  
VPr. = Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya.  
VS. = (1) Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā; (2) Vedische Studien.  
Wb. = Wörterbuch.  
WZKM. = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.  
YV. = Yajur-Veda.  
ZDMG. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
-

## I. SANSKRIT INDEX.

The references in both Indexes are to paragraphs.

- a-*, *an-*, negative particle compounded with nouns 251, 655.
- √amś-* 'attain', pr. 470, sj. 471, impv. 472; pf. 482 c a, 485, sj. 487, opt. 489, pt. 493; root aor. 500, inj. 503; opt. 504, prec. 504; a-aor. opt. 511; s-aor. sj. 523; inf. 585, 4.
- √amh-* 'compress', pf. 482 c a; p. 358, n. 9.
- akramin-*, I. s. aor. *√kram-* 66 c β 2.
- √aks-* 'mutilate', pr. impv. 472; pr. pt. 473; *is-* aor. 529.
- ākṣan-*, root aor. of *g-as-* 499.
- ākhṛaya-* den., sj. 569 a.
- √ac-* 'bend', pr. 422, impv. 426; ps. pr. 445, pt. 447, impf. 448; gd. 591 a.
- acchā-* 'towards', prep. with acc. 595.
- √aj-* 'drive', pr. 422, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; ps. 445, pt. 447; inf. 584 b.
- √ajñ-* 'anoint', pr. 464, sj. 465, impv. 466, pt. 467, impf. 468; pf. 482 c a, 485, sj. 487, opt. 489, pt. 493; ps. 445, pt. 447; pp. 574, 2.
- √at-* 'wander', pr. 422, pt. 427.
- ātī-* 'beyond', prep. with acc. 596.
- √ad-* 'eat', pr. 451, sj. 452, opt. 453, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; pp. 576 a; inf. 585, 4, 586 b.
- adānt-* 'eating', inflected 295 c.
- adhās-* 'below', prep. with acc. abl. 610.
- ādhi-* 'upon', prep. with loc. abl. acc. inst. 597.
- √an-* 'breathe', pr. 422, 430, 451, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; pf. 482 c, 485; *is-* aor. 529; cs. 556.
- anākṣ-* 'eyeless' 340.
- anaḡvāh-* 'ox' 351 a.
- anāśāmahai-*, pf. sj. *√amś-* 482 c a.
- anu-* 'after', prep. with acc. 598.
- antār-* 'between', prep. with loc. abl. acc. 599.
- an'arā-* 'between', prep. with acc. 611.
- anyā-* 'other' 403, I.
- āp-* 'water' 334.
- apāt-* 'footless' 319 a.
- āpas-* n. 'work' and *apās-* 'active', inflected 344.
- āpi-* 'upon', prep. with loc. 600.
- abhanas-*, 2. s. impf. *√bhany-* 66 c 2; p. 345, note 10.
- abhi-* 'towards', prep. with acc. 601.
- abkīlas-* 'around', prep. with acc. 612.
- √am-* 'injure', pr. 422, 451, inj. 424, pt. 427; red. aor. 514; cs. 555.
- amba-*, f. voc. 374 (p. 265).
- ayām-* 'this', inflected 393.
- ayās* 2. s. aor. *√yaj-* 66 c 2, 522.
- arūṭiya-* den., sj. 569 a.
- ari-* 'devout', inflected 380 b 3.
- √arc-* 'shine', 'praise', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; ps. 445, pt. 447; pf. 482 c a, 485; cs. 556; inf. 585, 1.
- arthāya-* den., sj. 569 a, impv. 569 d.
- Varh-* 'deserve', pr. 422, sj. 423, pt. 427; pf. 485; inf. 581, 1.
- arhīre-*, 3. pl. pf. 482 c a.
- √av-* 'favour', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482 c, 485; root aor. opt., prec. 504; *is-* aor. 529, sj. 530, inj. 531, impv. 533; ft. 537, pt. 538; pp. 574, 1 a; inf. 585, 4.
- avā-* 'this', pron., inflected 396.
- āva-* 'down', prep. with abl. 602.
- avayās-*, nom. of *avayāj-* 66 c β 1; 302.
- avās-* 'down from', prep. with abl. 613.
- āvi-* 'sheep' p. 283 (top).
- √as-* 'eat', pr. 476, opt. 477, impv. 478, pt. 479, impf. 480; pf. 482 c, 485; *is-* aor. 529, inj. 531; pp. 575 b.
- āśman-* 'stone', inflected 329.
- √i. as-* 'be', pr. 451, sj. 452, inj. 452, opt. 453, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; pf. 482 c, 485.
- √2. as-* 'throw', pr. 439, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443, 456; pf. 485; ft. 537; ps. 445; pp. 572; inf. 585, 4.
- asau-* 'that', inflected 394.
- askṛta-*, root aor. of *kr-* 'make' 500.
- asmāka-* 'of us' 399, I.
- asrat* 3. s. aor. *√sras-* 66 c β 2; 499.
- √ah-* 'say', pf. 482 c, 485.
- ahām-* 'I', inflected 391, I.
- ā-* 'near', prep. with loc. abl. acc. 603.
- ād-* 'then', Sandhi of 67.
- ān-* pf. red. syllable 482 c a.
- ānā* pf. pt. suffix 491.
- √āp-* 'obtain', pr. 470, impv. 472, impf. 474, pt. 479; pf. 482 c, 485, pt. 493; prec. 504; a-aor. 508, opt. 511; des. 542, sj. 544.
- ābhū-* 'present', inflected 383.
- √ār-* 'praise' (?), pr. 439.
- āvayās-*, nom. of *āvayāj-* 302.
- avis-* 'openly', adv. with *√as-*, *√bhū-*, *√kr-* 651.
- √ās-* 'sit', pr. 451, sj. 452, opt. 453, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456.
- Vi-* 'go', pr. 422, 439, 451, sj. 452, inj. 424, 452, opt. 453, impv. 426, 454, pt. 427, 442, 455; impf. 428, 456; pf. 482 c, 485, pt. 492; plup. 495; ft. 537, 539, pt. 538; gdv. 578, 1; inf. 585, 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 587 b; gd. 590 b, 591 b.
- √iṅ-* 'move' cs. 554 a.
- ī-* 'refreshment' 304.
- √idh-* 'kindle', pr. 464, sj. 465, impv. 466; pf. 485; root

- aor. sj. 502, opt. 504, pt. 506; ps. 445, impv. 446, pt. 447, 455, 467, impf. 468; pp. 573; inf. 584 b, 586 a.
- Viv-* 'send', pr. 422, 470, sj. 423, impv. 426, 472, pt. 427, impf. 474.
- iyatha*, 2. s. pf. *Vi-* 485.
- Vi-* 'be quiet', cs. 554, aor. 560 a.
- Vi-* 'desire', pr. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; gd. 591 a.
- V2. is-* 'send', pr. 430, 439, 476, inj. 432, impf. 436, impv. 441, pt. 442, 479; 485; pp. 575 b.
- iṣanya-* den., impf. 569 f.; inf. 585, 1 a 3; 588 c a.
- iṣanya-* den., impv. 569 d.
- iṣaya-* den., opt. 569 c.
- Vi-* = *Vi-*, pr. 451.
- Vik-* 'see', pr. 422, pt. 427, impf. 428; *is-* aor. 529; cs. 554; gdv. 580 a.
- ṭikk-* 'swing', cs. 554 a, sj. 559 b, pp. 575 c.
- Vi-* 'praise', pr. 451, sj. 452, inj. 452, opt. 453, impv. 454, pt. 455; pf. 482 c, 485; pp. 575 a 3; gdv. 578, 4, 580.
- V-* 'set in motion', pr. 451, sj. 452, impv. 454, impf. 428, 456, pt. 455; pf. 482 c, 485; cs. 554 a, sj. 559 b.
- Vi-* 'be master', pr. 422, 451, inj. 424, opt. 453, pt. 455, impf. 428; 'be able to' with inf. 587 a a, b a.
- Vi-* 'move', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427; pp. 575 b.
- Vih-* 'desire', pr. 422; pf. 485.
- u* particle 647; Sandhi of 71 b.
- Vu-* 'proclaim' 451, 470.
- Vuk-* 'sprinkle', pr. pt. 427; *is-* aor. 529; cs. 554 a; pp. 575 a 1.
- Vuc-* 'be pleased', pr. 437, impv. 441; pf. 482 c, 485, pt. 492.
- Vud-* 'wet', pr. 464, impv. 466, pt. 427, 467, impf. 468; pf. 485; ps. 445.
- upa* 'up to', prep. with acc. loc. inst. 604.
- upāri* 'above', prep. with acc. 614.
- Vub-* 'force', pr. impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pp. 575 a 1.
- Vubh-* 'confine', pr. impv. 434, impf. 468, 480.
- urusyā-* den., sj. 569 a, opt. 569 c, impv. 569 d, impf. 569 f; pp. 574, 2.
- ulokā-* p. 59, note 1.
- Vus-* 'burn', p. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, 479.
- uś-* f. 'dawn' 44 a 3; 344 (p. 233).
- ūti-* 'aid', d. s. = inf. 585, 3 contracted dat. s. p. 282; inst. s. = inst. pl. p. 287.
- ūnaya-* den., aor. 570.
- Vi. ūh-* 'remove', pr. 422, impv. 426, impf. 428.
- V2. ūh-* 'consider', pr. 422, 451 (3. pl.), pt. 455; pf. 482 c, 485; *s-* aor. pt. 527; *is-* aor. 529.
- Vr-* 'go', pr. 430, 458, 470, sj. 431, 471, inj. 471, impv. 434, 460, 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pf. 482 c, 485, pt. 492, 493; root aor. 500, inj. 503, opt. 504, pt. 506; *a-* aor. 508, sj. 509, inj. 510, impv. 512; red. aor. 514; intv. 545, 2, 546; cs. 558 a, aor. 560, pp. 575 c, gd. 590 b, 591 a, b.
- rgāyā-* den., inj. 569 b.
- Vrj-* 'direct', pr. 430, 439, 464, impv. 434, pt. 442, 467, impf. 468.
- Vrv-* 'go', pr. 430.
- raya-* den., inj. 569 b.
- rté* 'without', prep. with abl. 615.
- Vrd-* 'stir', pr. 422, impv. 434, impf. 436; cs. 553 c, sj. 559 b.
- Vrdh-* 'thrive', pr. 470, sj. 464, impv. 441, pt. 467, impf. 474; pf. 485; root aor. sj. 502, opt. 504, prec. 504, pt. 506; *a-* aor. opt. 511; des. 542, pt. 544; ps. 445, impv. 446; gdv. 578, 4.
- Vrs-* 'injure'(?), *s-* aor. pt. 527.
- Vrs-* 'rush', pr. 422, 430, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, 435.
- ēka-* 'one' 403, 2, 406 a 1.
- ēka-pād-* 'one-footed' 319 a.
- Vej-* 'stir', pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428.
- Vedh-* 'thrive', pr. 422, impv. 426; *is-* aor. opt. 532.
- ena-* 'he, she, it', inflected 395.
- okivāms-* pf. pt. 492 a.
- kā-* 'who?', pron. 397.
- kaṇḍūya-* den., ft. and pp. 570.
- Vkan-* 'enjoy', pr. pt. 442; pf. 482, sj. 487, inj. 488, impv. 490; plup. = pf. inj. 495; *is-* aor. 529, sj. 530.
- kānīyāms-* 'younger', inflected 346.
- Vkam-* 'love', pf. pt. 493; cs. 555, sj. 559 b, pt. 559 e.
- kārmam-* 'act', inflected 329.
- Vkash-* 'scratch', impf. 428.
- Vkas-* 'open', pr. impv. 426; pp. 573.
- Vkā-* = *Vkan-*, 'enjoy', pf. 485, pt. 493.
- Vkās-* 'appear', intv. 545, 1, 546, 547, pt. 548, impf. 549; cs. 556 a.
- kīrīdyā-* den., sj. 569 a.
- Vkup-* 'be angry', pr. pt. 442; cs. 553 b; pp. 575 b.
- Vkūj-* 'hum', pr. pt. 427.
- Vkiḍ-* 'burn', cs. 554 a, sj. 559 b.
- Vi. ky-* 'make', pr. 451, 470 (inflected), sj. 471, inj. 471, opt. 471, impv. 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pf. 482 a, 485 (inflected), opt. 489, pt. 492, 493; plup. 495; root aor. (inflected) 498, 499, 500, sj. 502, inj. 503, opt. 504, prec. 504, impv. 505, pt. 506; *a-* aor. 508, impv. 512; *s-* aor. 522; ft. 537, 539 (inflected), sj. 538, pt. 538; des. 542 b; intv. 545, 3, pt. 548; ps. 445, pt. 447, aor. 501; pp. 573; gdv. 578, 1, 581; inf. 585, 4, 586 b, 587 b; gd. 590 a, b, c, 591 b.
- V2. ky-* 'commemorate', *is-* aor. 529; intv. 545, 2, 546, 547, aor. 550 b, gdv. 578, 1.
- Vi. ky-* 'cut', pr. 430, inj. 432, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485; *a-* aor. 508, pt. 512; ft. 537, 539; gd. 591 a.
- V2. ky-* 'spin', pr. 464; ps. pr. pt. 447.
- Vkrp-* 'lament', pr. 422, pt. 427, impf. 428; plup. 495; root aor. 500; *is-* aor. 529; cs. 554.
- krpāna-* den., sj. 569 a.
- Vkri-* 'be lean', pr. impv. 434; pf. 485; cs. 553 c.
- Vkr-* 'plough', pr. 422, 430, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 435; pf. 485; red. aor. 514; intv. 545, 2, 547, impf. 549.
- Vkr-* 'scatter', pr. 430, sj. 431, impv. 434; *is-* aor. sj. 530.
- Vklp-* 'be adapted', pr. 422, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482, 485; sj. 487; red. aor. 514, sj. 515; cs. 553 d, 559 (inflected), sj.



- 559b, impv. 559d (inflected);  
gd. 590 b.  
*Vkrah-* 'crash', pr. pt. 427.  
*krānta*, root aor. *Vkr-*, p. 367,  
n. 16.  
*Vkraud-* 'cry out', pr. 422, inj.  
424, impv. 426, pt. 427,  
impf. 428; pf. 485, sj. 487;  
plup. 495; *a-aor.* inj. 510;  
red. aor. 514, inj. 516; *s-aor.*  
522; intv. 545, 3, 546, pt.  
548; cs. 556 a.  
*Vkram-* 'stride', pr. 422, sj.  
423, inj. 424, opt. 425,  
impv. 426, 434, pt. 427,  
impf. 428; pf. 485, inj. 488,  
pt. 493; root aor. 66, 4 a,  
499, inj. 503; *a-aor.* 508;  
*s-aor.* 522, sj. 523; *i-*aor.  
529 (inflected), inj. 531,  
impv. 533, ft. 537; intv.  
547c; pp. 574, 2; inf. 584b;  
gd. 591 a.  
*Vkrī-* 'buy', pr. 476, sj. 477,  
impf. 480; gd. 590 b.  
*Vkrīd-* 'play', pr. 422, sj. 423,  
pt. 427.  
*Vkruidh-* 'be angry', pr. 439;  
*a-aor.* inj. 510; red. aor.  
512, sj. 515, inj. 516; cs.  
553 b; pp. 573.  
*Vkrus-* 'cry out', pr. 422, impv.  
426, pt. 427; *sa-aor.* 536.  
*Vksad-* 'divide', pr. 422; pf.  
485, pt. 493; inf. 585, 1.  
*Vksan-* 'wound', *i-*aor. inj.  
531; pp. 574, 2.  
*Vksam-* 'endure', pr. opt. 425,  
impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. opt.  
489.  
*Vksar-* 'flow', pr. 422, inj. 424,  
impv. 426, pt. 427, impf.  
428; *s-aor.* 522; inf. 585, 7.  
*Vksā-* 'burn', cs. 558.  
*V1. kṣi-* 'possess', pr. 422, 430,  
451, sj. 452, opt. 425, 433,  
pt. 427, 435, 455, impv.  
434, *s-aor.* sj. 523; ft. 537,  
pt. 538; cs. 557 a, 558 a.  
*V2. kṣi-* 'destroy', pr. 439, 470,  
476, inj. 477, impf. 480;  
*s-aor.* inj. 524; ps. 445, pt.  
447.  
*Vkṣip-* 'throw', pr. 430, inj.  
432, impv. 434, pt. 435;  
red. aor. inj. 516.  
*Vkṣī-* = *kṣi-* 'destroy', pp.  
576 d.  
*Vkṣud-* 'be agitated', 'crush',  
pr. 422, pt. 442; cs. 553 b.  
*Vkṣudh-* 'be hungry', cs. aor.  
inj. 510.  
*Vkṣubh-* 'quake', pf. 485.  
*Vkṣnu-* 'whet', pr. 451, pt. 455.  
*Vkhan-* 'dig', pr. 422, sj. 423,  
opt. 425, pt. 427, impf. 428,  
pf. 485; ft. pt. 538; pp.  
574, 2; inf. 586b; gd. 590 a.  
*Vkha-* = *khan-*, pf. pt. 492.  
*Vkhād-* 'chew', pr. 422, impv.  
426, pt. 427; pf. 482b, 485.  
*Vkhi-* 'tear', pr. 420, inj. 432,  
opt. 433, impv. 434, pt.  
435, impf. 436; pt. pt. 482d,  
492 b.  
*Vkhu-* 'future', pr. impv. 434.  
*Vkhyā-* 'see', pf. 485; *a-aor.*  
508, inj. 510, impv. 512;  
gdv. 578, 3; inf. 584 a; gd.  
591 a.  
*Vgad-* 'say', pr. impv. 426.  
*Vgam-* 'go', pr. 422, 451, sj.  
423, opt. 425, impv. 426,  
pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485,  
opt. 489, pt. 492, 493; plup.  
495; periph. pf. 496, 560b;  
root aor. 499, 500, sj. 502,  
inj. 503, opt. 504, prec. 504,  
impv. 505, pt. 506; *a-aor.* 508,  
sj. 509, inj. 510, opt. 511; red.  
aor. 514; *s-aor.* 522, *i-*aor.  
opt. 532, impv. 533; ft. 537,  
539, periph. ft. 540; des.  
542; intv. 545, 1, 3, 546;  
cs. 555 a; ps. 445, aor. 501;  
pp. 572, 574, 2; inf. 585, 4,  
5, 7, 587 b; gd. 590 b, c.  
*Vgarh-* 'chide', pr. 422.  
*V1. gā-* 'go', pr. 458, inj. 459,  
impv. 460, pt. 461, impf.  
462; pf. 489; root aor. 499,  
sj. 502, inj. 503, impv. 505;  
*s-aor.* inj. 524; des. 542 c;  
inf. 585, 4.  
*V2. gā-* 'sing', pr. 439, inj.  
440, impv. 441, pt. 442;  
*s-aor.* inj. 524; *si-*aor. 534;  
pr. pt. 447; pp. 574, 3.  
*gātuyā-* den., impv. 569 d.  
*Vgāh-* 'plunge', pr. 422, opt.  
425, impv. 426, pt. 427,  
impf. 428; intv. 545, 2a, 546.  
*Vgu-* 'sound', intv. 545, 1, 546.  
*Vgub-* 'protect', pf. 485 (cp.  
p. 358, note 13); ft. 537,  
539; pp. 575 b.  
*Vgur-* 'greet', pr. impv. 434;  
pf. sj. 487, opt. 489; root  
aor. 530; intv. 545, 2a; pp.  
573 a; gd. 591 a.  
*Vguh-* 'hide', pr. 422, inj.  
424, impv. 426, pt. 427,  
impf. 428; *a-aor.* 508, inj.  
510, pt. 512 a; *sa-aor.*  
536; des. 542; ps. pt. 447;  
pp. 573; gdv. 578, 4; gd.  
590 a.  
*gārāhaya-* den., impv. 569 d.  
*V1. gr-* 'sing', pr. 476, inj.  
477, impv. 434, 478, pt.  
479, impf. 436; inf. 585, 7,  
588 c.  
*V2. gr-* 'awake', pf. 482; red.  
aor. 512, impv. 518; intv.  
545, 1b, 546, 547, pt. 548,  
impf. 549, pf. 550.  
*Vgrāh-* 'be greedy', pr. pt.  
442; pf. 482, 485; *a-aor.*  
508, inj. 510.  
*grbhāya-* den., impv. 569 d.  
*Vgr-* 'swallow', pr. 430, 479;  
root aor. sj. 502; red. aor.  
514; *i-*aor. inj. 531; intv.  
545, 1b, 2a, 547; pp. 576;  
gd. 591 a.  
*gō-* 'cow', inflected 365.  
*gōpāyā-* den., impv. 569 d;  
p. 402, n. 2.  
*gāha*, 3. s. root aor. *Vghas-*,  
p. 367, note 13.  
*gnā-* 'woman', 367 (bottom);  
p. 263, note 1.  
*Vgrath-* 'tie', pr. 464; pp.  
575 a, 2.  
*Vgrābh-* 'seize', pr. 476 (in-  
flected), sj. 477, inj. 477,  
impv. 478, impf. 480; pf.  
485, opt. 489, pt. 492; plup.  
495; root aor. 499, 500;  
*a-aor.* 508; *i-*aor. 529; cs.  
554; pp. 575 b; inf. 584b;  
gd. 591 a.  
*Vgras-* 'devour', pr. opt. 425;  
pf. opt. 489, pt. 493; pp.  
575 b.  
*Vgrāh-* 'seize', pr. 476, opt.  
477, impv. 478, pt. 479,  
impf. 480; pf. 485; *a-aor.*  
inj. 510; *i-*aor. 529; pp.  
575 b; gd. 590 b, 591 a.  
*grāvan-* 'pressing-stone', in-  
flected 331.  
*Vglā-* 'be weary', pr. pt. 442;  
cs. 558.  
*Vghas-* 'eat', pr. sj. 452; pf.  
485, opt. 489, pt. 492; root  
aor. 499, impv. 505; *s-aor.*  
522; des. 542 (p. 389, top);  
pp. 574, 3 a.  
*Vghus-* 'sound', pr. sj. 423,  
pt. 427; cs. 553 b; ps. aor.  
501; gd. 591 a.  
*Vghr-* 'drip', pr. 458; cs. 557 c,  
ps. pt. 561 a.  
*Vghrā-* 'smell', pr. 458.  
*Vcaks-* 'see', pr. 422, 451,  
impv. 454, impf. 428, 456;  
pf. 485; plup. 495; cs.  
556 a; gdv. 578, 4; inf.  
584 b, 585, 1, 588 a; gd.  
591 a, b.  
*cākṣus-* 'eye', inflected 342.  
*Vcat-* 'hide', pr. pt. 427; cs.  
555, pt. 559 e.

*cātuspad-* 'four-footed' 319 a.  
*Vcan-* 'be pleased', *is*-aor. impv. 533.  
*canasyā-* den., impv. 569d.  
*car-* 'move', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; red. aor. 514; *is*-aor. 529, inj. 531; ft. 539; intv. 545, 2 b, 546, 551; pp. 575 a 3; gdv. 580; inf. 585, 1, 4, 7.  
*caranya-* den., sj. 569 a, opt. c.  
*carmannā-* 'tanner' p. 38 n. 1; p. 249 note 4.  
*Vcal-* 'stir', impf. 428; intv. 545, 2, 546.  
*cākān* inj. pf. 488 (cp. p. 392 note 8).  
*Vcāy-* 'note', pr. pt. 427; *is*-aor. 529; gd. 590 b, 591 a.  
*Vī. ci-* 'gather', pr. 422, 470, sj. 452, 471, opt. 425, 471, impv. 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pf. 485; root aor. 499; *is*-aor. impv. 533; gd. 590 b.  
*V2. ci-* 'note', pr. 458, impv. 460, pt. 461, 462; pf. 485; root aor. 500; des. 542.  
*Vcit-* 'perceive', pr. 422, 451, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, sj. 487, impv. 490, pt. 492, 493; plup. 495; root aor. 499, pt. 506; *s*-aor. 522; des. 542, sj. 544; intv. 545, 1, 546, 547, pt. 548; cs. 553, 554, sj. 559 b, opt. 559 c; ps. aor. 501; pp. 573; inf. 585, 2.  
*Vcud-* 'impel', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426; cs. 553 b, sj. 559 b, ps. pt. 561 a, pp. 575 c.  
*Vcrt-* 'bind', pr. 430, impv. 434; pf. 485; inf. 586 a.  
*celatur* pf. *Vcit-*, p. 358 n. 1.  
*Vceṣṭ-* 'stir', pr. pt. 427.  
*Vcru-* 'move', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426; pf. 482 b 1, 485; plup. 495; red. aor. 514, inj. 516, opt. 517; *s*-aor. inj. 524; cs. 557 b.  
*Vchad-* or *chand-* 'seem', pr. 451; pf. 485, opt. 489; *s*-aor. 522, sj. 523; cs. 556, 556 a, sj. 559 b.  
*Vchad-* 'cover', cs. 555.  
*Vchā-* 'cut up', pr. 430, impv. 434.  
*Vchid-* 'cut off', pr. 464, impv. 466; root aor. inj. 503; *a*-aor. 508; *s*-aor. inj. 524; ps. 445, aor. 501; pp. 576 a; gd. 591 a.

*Vjakṣ-* 'eat', gd. 590 b, c.  
*Vjajh-*, pr. pt. 427.  
*Vjañj-*, pr. pt. 427.  
*Vjan-* 'generate', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, 454, pt. 427, impf. 428, 456; pf. 485, pt. 493; root aor. 500; red. aor. 514 (inflected), inj. 516; *is*-aor. 529, opt. 532; ft. 537, 539; cs. 556, sj. 559 b, opt. 559 c, pt. 559 e, impf. 559 f (inflected); pp. 574, 2; gdv. 580, 581; inf. 587 b; gd. 590 a.  
*jāni-* 'wife' 380 b 2.  
*jānitār-* 'begetter' 390.  
*Vjambh-* 'chew', red. aor. 514; *is*-aor. 530; intv. 545, 2, pt. 548; cs. 556 a.  
*Vjas-* 'be exhausted', pr. impv. 441, pt. 427; pf. impv. 490.  
*jahā,* 3. s. pf. 2 p. 357 note 4.  
*jahi,* 2. s. impv. *Vhan-* 32 c; p. 50 note 9.  
*jā-* 'offspring', inflected 368.  
*Vjā-* 'be born', pr. 439, inj. 440, opt. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443.  
*jānivāms-* pf. pt. 482 d.  
*jāraya-* den., ps. aor. 501.  
*Vji-* 'conquer', pr. 422, 451, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, pt. 492; root aor. inj. 503, impv. 505, red. aor. 514; *s*-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; ft. 537, 539, pt. 538; des. 542, pt. 544; cs. 558 a; pp. 573; gdv. 581; inf. 585, 1 a; gd. 591 b.  
*Vji-* or *jiv-* 'quicken', pr. 422, 470, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485.  
*Vjiv-* 'live', pr. 422, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427; prec. 504; *is*-aor. inj. 531; cs. 554 a; pp. 575 a 3; gdv. 581 b; inf. 585, 1, 4, 5.  
*Vjus-* 'enjoy', pr. 422, 430, 451, inj. 424, 432, sj. 431, opt. 433, impv. 426, 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485, sj. 487, impv. 490, pt. 492, 493; root aor. 500, sj. 502, pt. 506; *is*-aor. sj. 530; cs. 553 b, sj. 559 b; pp. 573; gd. 590 a.  
*Vjū-* 'be swift', pr. 422, 476, sj. 477; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, pt. 492, 493; inf. 585, 1.  
*Vjūro-* 'consume', pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 426, pt. 427; *is*-aor. 529.  
*Vjī-* 'sing', pr. 422 (p. 322),

sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426 (top), pt. 427; inf. 585, 7.  
*Vjmbh-* 'gape', pr. 422.  
*Vjī-* 'waste away', pr. 422, 439, impv. 426, pt. 427, 435, impf. 443; pf. 485, pt. 492; *is*-aor. inj. 531; cs. 557 c; pp. 576 e.  
*Vjēh-* 'pant', pr. pt. 427.  
*Vjñā-* 'know', pr. 476, sj. 477, opt. 477, impv. 478, pt. 479, impf. 488; pf. pt. 492, 492 a; root aor. opt. 504; red. aor. 514; *s*-aor. 522; des. 542; cs. 558, aor. 560; gdv. 578, 3; ps. 445, aor. 501.  
*Vijā-* 'overpower', pr. 439, 476, opt. 477, pt. 479; des. 542; ps. 445; pp. 574, 2.  
*Vjyut-* 'shine', cs. 553 b.  
*Vjri-* 'go', pr. 422; *s*-aor. pt. 527.  
*tā-* 'that', inflected 392, 1.  
*Vtams-* 'shake', pf. 485; plup. 495; *a*-aor. 508; intv. 545, 2 b; sj. 547, gdv. 579; cs. 556 a; inf. 585, 7.  
*Vtak-* 'rush', pr. 451, impf. 456.  
*Vtakṣ-* 'fashion', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, 454, pt. 427, impf. 428, 456; pf. 485; *is*-aor. 529; pp. 575 a 1.  
*Vī. tan-* 'stretch', pr. 470, sj. 471, inj. 471, impv. 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pf. 485, sj. 487, inj. 488, opt. 489, pt. 492; root aor. 499, 500; *a*-aor. 508, inj. 510; *s*-aor. 522; cs. 555; pp. 574, 2; gd. 591 b.  
*V2. tan-* 'roar', pr. 439.  
*tanū-* 'body', inflected 385; = 'self' 400, 3.  
*Vtand-* 'be weary', pr. 422, inj. (?) 424.  
*Vtaṣ-* 'be hot', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 493; red. aor. 514, sj. 515; *s*-aor. 522, inj. 524; cs. 555; ps. 445, impv. 446, pt. 447, impf. 448; aor. 501; pp. 573; gd. 591 a.  
*Vtām-* 'faint', *a*-aor. inj. 510.  
*taruṣa-* den., inj. 569 b, opt. 569 c.  
*tā,* abl. adv. 'in this way' 629.  
*tij-* 'be sharp', pr. 422, pt. 427; des. 542; intv. 545, 1, 546; pp. 573.

*tirās* 'across', prep. with acc. 605.  
*tīvilāyā-* den., impv. 569 d.  
*Vtu-* 'be strong', pr. 451; pf. 482, 485; red. aor. 514; intv. 545, 3.  
*Vtūj-* 'urge', pr. 430, 464, pt. 427, 435, 467; pf. opt. 489, pt. 493; cs. 554; ps. 449, pt. 447; inf. 584 b, 585, 1, 2.  
*Vtūd-* 'thrust', pr. 430, impv. 434, pt. 435, 467, impf. 436; pf. 485; pp. 576 a.  
*Vtūr-* = *tī-* 'pass', pr. 430, opt. 453; des. 542; cs. 554; gd. 591 a.  
*turanyā-* den., inj. 569 b, impf. 569 f.  
*Vtūḥ-* 'drip', pr. 422, pt. 427; cs. 553 b.  
*Vtūḥ-* 'be content', cs. 554.  
*Vtūru-* 'overcome', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427.  
*Vtūd-* 'split', pr. 464, impf. 468; pf. 485, pt. 493; root aor. sj. 502; des. 542, sj. 544; pp. 576 a; inf. 587 a.  
*Vtūp-* 'be pleased', pr. 430, sj. 471, impv. 434, 441, 472, pt. 435; pf. 482, 485, pt. 493; a-aor. 508, inj. 510, pt. 512; red. aor. 514; des. 542, sj. 544; cs. 553 c, sj. 559 b.  
*Vtūḥ-* 'be thirsty', pr. 439, pt. 442; pf. 482, 485, pt. 493; root aor. pt. 506; a-aor. 508, inj. 510; red. aor. 514, inj. 516.  
*Vtūḥ-* 'crush', pr. sj. 465, impf. 436; pf. 485; a-aor. 508; ps. 445, impv. 446, pt. 447; pp. 573; gd. 590 b, c.  
*Vtū-* 'pass', pr. 422, 430, 470, sj. 423, 431, inj. 424, 432, opt. 425, 433, impv. 426, 434, pt. 427, 435, 461, impf. 428, 436; pf. 485, opt. 489, pt. 492; red. aor. 514; is-aor. 529, sj. 530, inj. 531, opt. 532; intv. 545, 2, 3, 546, 551; ps. aor. 501; pp. 576 e; inf. 584 a, 585, 7, 9, 586 a, 588 c; gd. 590 a.  
*Vtūy-* 'forsake', pf. 482 b, 1, 485.  
*Vtūḥ-* 'be terrified', pr. 422, impv. 426, impf. 428; red. aor. 514; cs. 555.  
*Vtūḥ-* 'rescue', pr. 439, impv. 441, 454, pt. 442; pf. 485; s-aor. sj. 523, opt. 525, cs. gdv. 561 b, 579; inf. 585, 8.  
*tripād-* 'three-footed' 319 a.

*trivṛt-* 'threefold', inflected 306.  
*tva-* 'many a one', inflected 396.  
*Vtvaks-* 'fashion', pr. pt. 455.  
*tvam* 'thou', inflected 391, 2.  
*Vtvār-* 'make haste', cs. 556.  
*Vtvūj-* 'be stirred', impf. 436, 456; pf. 485, pt. 493; plup. 495; pp. 575 b; inf. 584 b.  
*Vtvār-* 'approach stealthily', pr. 422, impf. 428; pf. 485; s-aor. 522.  
*Vdamḥ-* 'bite', pr. impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. pt. 492; intv. 545 2 b, pt. 548; pp. 574, 2.  
*Vdaks-* 'be able', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427; gdv. 579.  
*Vdāḥ-* 'reach to', root aor. inj. 503; prec. 504, impv. 505.  
*dām-* g. of *dām-* 'house', p. 37 (bottom); 66, 4 a; 338.  
*Vdam-* 'straighten?', pr. sj. 452, inj. 452.  
*dānt-* 'tooth' 313.  
*Vdābh-* or *dambh-* 'harm', pr. 422, 470, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 472; pf. 485, inj. 488; root aor. 499, inj. 503; des. 542, sj. 544; cs. 556 a; ps. 445; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 584 b.  
*Vdam-* 'control', cs. 556.  
*damanyā-* den., impf. 569 f.  
*daśasyā-* den., opt. 569 c, impv. 569 d.  
*Vdaḥ-* or *dās-* 'waste', pr. 422, 439, sj. 423, inj. 424, pt. 427, opt. 440; pf. pt. 492; a-aor. inj. 510, pt. 512; is-aor. inj. 531; cs. 555.  
*Vdāḥ-* 'burn', pr. 422, 439, 451, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; s-aor. 522, inj. 524, pt. 527; ft. 537, pt. 538; pp. 573.  
*V. dā-* 'give', pr. 422, 458, sj. 459, inj. 424, 459, opt. 459, impv. 426, 460, pt. 461, impf. 428, 462; pf. 485, pt. 492; root aor. 499, 500, sj. 502, inj. 503, opt. 504; impv. 505; a-aor. 508; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; ft. 537, pt. 538; des. 542; cs. 558; ps. 445, aor. 501; pp. 572, 573 a, 574, 3 a; gdv. 578, 3; inf. 584 a, 585, 4, 5, 8, 9, 586 b, 587 b; gd. 590 b, c, 591 a.  
*V2. dā-* 'divide', pr. 422, 430, 451, impv. 426, 434, inj. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 436; pf. pt. 493;

root aor. impv. 505; s-aor. inj. 525; ps. 445, pt. 447; pp. 574, 3 a, 576 c.  
*V3. dā-* 'bind', impf. 443; ps. aor. 501; pp. 574, 3.  
*Vdāḥ-* 'make offering', pr. 422, 451, 470, sj. 423, opt. 425, pt. 455, impf. 428; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 492, 492 b.  
*Vdāḥ-* 'point', pr. 430, opt. 434, pt. 435; pf. 485, sj. 487, impv. 490; plup. 495; root aor. 500; s-aor. 522; intv. 545, 1, 546, impf. 549, 551; pp. 573; inf. 584 b.  
*Vdāḥ-* 'smear', pr. sj. 452, pt. 455, impf. 456; pp. 573.  
*V1. dī-* 'fly', pr. 439, inj. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443.  
*V2. dī-* 'shine', pr. 458, sj. 459, impv. 460, pt. 461, impf. 462; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, pt. 492.  
*Vdīḥ-* 'shine', pr. 439, impv. 441; red. aor. inj. 516; cs. 554 a.  
*Vdīḥ-* 'play', pr. 439, inj. 440; pf. 485; pp. 573 a; gd. 591 a.  
*Vdū-* or *dū-* 'burn', pr. 470, pt. 473; is-aor. sj. 530; pp. 576 d.  
*Vdudh-* 'stir up', pp. 575 b.  
*durasyā-* den., sj. 569 a.  
*duvasyā-* den., sj. 569 a, opt. 569 c, impv. 569 d.  
*Vdus-* 'spoil', pr. 439; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; ft. cs. 537, 560; cs. 554.  
*dus-* 'ill', adverbial particle as first member of compounds 251, 657.  
*Vduḥ-* 'milk', pr. 422, 451, sj. 452, opt. 453, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 436, 456; pf. 485, pt. 493; s-aor. 522, inj. 524, opt. 525; s-aor. 536; des. 542, pt. 544; ps. 445, pt. 447; pp. 573; inf. 585, 1, 7.  
*dūdābha-*, Sandhi of, p. 70 note 3; 81, 1 b.  
*V1. dṛ-* 'pierce', pr. 451; pf. 485, pt. 492; root aor. 499; s-aor. sj. 523, opt. 525; intv. 545, 1, 2, 546, 547, pt. 547, impf. 549; cs. 557 c.  
*V2. dṛ-* 'heed', gd. 591 b.  
*Vdṛp-* 'rave', a-aor. 508; pp. 575 b.  
*Vdṛḥ-* 'see', pf. 485, pt. 492, 493; root aor. 499, 500, sj. 502, pt. 506; a-aor. 508, inj. 510, opt. 511; s-aor. 522, sj. 523; des. 542, gdv.

- 544 i, 580; cs. 553 c; ps. 445, aor. 501; gdv. 580; inf. 584 b, 585, 2, 586 b, 588 a; gd. 590 b, c, 591 a.
- √āh-* 'be firm', pr. 430, impv. 426, 441, pt. 435, impf. 428, 436; pf. pt. 493; plup. 495; *s-aor.* 529; cs. 554 a; pp. 573.
- dr̥t̥*, inflected 378.
- dehī*, pr. impv. *√dā-* 'give' 62, 4 b.
- dyāv-* 'heaven', inflected 364.
- √dyū-* 'shine', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. 482 b 1, 485, pt. 493; root aor. pt. 506; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; intv. 545, 3, 546, pt. 547, impf. 549; cs. 553 b, 554.
- dyaus*, accentuation of voc. 85, 93, 364 note 11 (p. 247).
- √1. drā-* 'run', pr. impv. 454; pf. pt. 493; *s-aor.* sj. 523; intv. pt. 547.
- √2. drā-* 'sleep', pp. 576 c.
- √dru-* 'run', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; cs. 557 b.
- √druh-* 'be hostile', pf. 485; *a-aor.* 508, inj. 510; pp. 573.
- √drū-* 'hurl'(?), pr. pt. 479.
- dvīpād-* 'two-footed' 319 a.
- dvīṣ-* 'hatred', inflected 340.
- √dviṣ-* 'hate', pr. 451, sj. 452, impv. 454, pt. 455; *s-aor.* inj. 536; gdv. 578, 4, 580.
- dvīpā-* 'island' 255, 4.
- √dhan-* 'run', pf. sj. 487, opt. 489; cs. 556.
- √dhanu-* 'run', pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 426; pf. 485, pt. 492; *s-aor.* 529.
- dhānwan-* 'bow', inflected 331.
- √dham-* or *dhmā-* 'blow', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; ps. 445; pp. 574, 2, 575 b.
- √dha-* 'flow', impf. 428.
- √1. dhā-* 'put', pr. 422, 458, sj. 459, opt. 459, impv. 460, pt. 461, impf. 462; pf. 485, impv. 490; root aor. 499, 500; *a-aor.* 508; *s-aor.* sj. 523, inj. 524; des. 542, sj. 544, gdv. 579; cs. 558, sj. 559 b; ps. 445, impv. 446, pt. 447, aor. 501, sj. 502, inj. 503, opt. 504, impv. 505; pp. 574, 3; inf. 584 a, 585, 4, 5, 7, 586 a, 587 b; gd. 591 a.
- √2. dhā-* 'suck', pr. 439, opt. 440; root aor. 499; cs. 558; pp. 574; inf. 585, 1, 4.
- √1. dhāv-* 'run', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427; plup. 495.
- √2. dhāv-* 'wash', pr. 422, impv. 426; *s-aor.* 529.
- dhī-* 'thought', inflected 376.
- √dhī-* 'think', pr. sj. 459, pt. 461, impf. 462; pf. 482; *s-aor.* pt. 527.
- dhunaya-* den., inj. 569 b, impv. 569 d.
- √dhū-* 'shake', pr. 430, 470, sj. 441, impv. 446, 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pf. 485, inj. 488, opt. 489; root aor. pt. 506; red. aor. 514; *s-aor.* 522; intv. 545, 1, 3, 546, pf. 550; gd. 591 a.
- dhūpāya-* den., impf. 569 f.
- √dhūv-* 'injure', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427.
- √dhr-* 'hold', red. aor. 514, inj. 516, impv. 518; pf. 482, 485; root aor. inj. 503; ft. 537, 539; intv. 545, 1, 2, 546, impf. 549; cs. 557 c, sj. 559 b, opt. 559 c, ft. 537, 560; ps. 445, impv. 446; inf. 585, 1, 8, 588 b.
- √dhrs-* 'dare', pr. impv. 472; pf. 485, sj. 487, inj. 488, pt. 492; plup. 495; *a-aor.* inj. 510, pt. 512; pp. 575 b; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 584 b.
- √dhrāj-* 'sweep', pr. pt. 427, impf. 428.
- √dhvams-* 'scatter', pf. 485; *a-aor.* 508; cs. 556.
- √dhvan-* 'sound', cs. 555, aor. 560 a; pp. 574, 2 a.
- √dhvy-* 'injure', *s-aor.* 522; des. 542; inf. 585, 1.
- nā* 'like', Sandhi of 67, p. 63 note 9.
- nāktis*, indecl. pron., old nom. sing. 381 b (p. 279, bottom).
- nāktā-* n. 'night', irreg. nom. du. 372.
- √naks-* 'attain', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485.
- √nad-* 'sound', pr. pt. 427, impf. 428; intv. 545, 1 b, 546, pt. 548; cs. 556.
- nādbhyas*, dat. of *nāpāt-* 62, 3 b; 321 note 2.
- √nand-* 'rejoice', pr. 422.
- √nabh-* 'burst', pr. impv. 426.
- √nam-* 'bend', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482, 485; plup. 495; red. aor. inj. 516; *s-aor.* sj. 523; pt. 527; intv. 545, 2, 546, pt. 548; cs. 556; pp. 574, 2; gdv. 581; inf. 584 b.
- √1. nai-* 'be lost', pr. 439, inj. 424, impv. 441; pf. 485; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; ft. 537, 539; cs. 555, inf. 585, 7; pp. 573.
- √2. naṣ-* 'obtain', pr. 451, sj. 423, inj. 424; root aor. 499, inj. 503, opt. 504, *s-aor.* sj. 523; des. 542 a, sj. 544; inf. 584 b.
- √nas-* 'unite', pr. 422, inj. 424; root aor. opt. 504.
- √nah-* 'bind', pr. 439, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443; pf. 485; ps. pt. 447; pp. 573.
- √nāth-* 'seek aid', pp. 575 a 2.
- √nādh-* 'seek aid', pr. part. 427; pp. 575 b.
- nāv-* 'ship', inflected 365.
- √nim-* 'kiss', pr. 451, impf. 428.
- √nikṣ-* 'pierce', pr. 422, impv. 426; inf. 584 b.
- √ni-* 'wash', pr. impv. 460, pt. 455; *a-aor.* 508; *s-aor.* 522, inj. 524; intv. 545, 1, 546 (inflected), 547.
- √nind-* 'revile', pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 426; pf. 485; root aor. pt. 506; *s-aor.* 529, sj. 530; des. 542, sj. 544; ps. pt. 447; pp. 575 a 1.
- √nī-* 'lead', pr. 422, 451, 458, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; sj. 487 (cp. p. 361 note 1), opt. 489; *s-aor.* 522, sj. 523, inj. 524, impv. 526; *s-aor.* 529; ft. 537, 539; des. 542; intv. 545, 1, 551; ps. 445, pt. 447, impf. 448; inf. 588 c; gd. 591 a.
- nīlāya-* den., sj. 569 a.
- √1. nu-* 'praise', pr. 422, inj. 424, pt. 427, impf. 428, 456, pt. 435; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; *s-aor.* 522, inj. 524; *s-aor.* 529; intv. 545, 1, 546, 547, impf. 549, pf. 550; gdv. 578, 2.
- √2. nu-* 'move', pr. 422, impf. 428.
- √nud-* 'push', pr. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485; root aor. inj. 503; *s-aor.* inj. 531; pp. 576 a; inf. 584 b.
- √nyt-* 'dance', pr. 439, impv. 441, pt. 442; root aor. 499; *a-aor.* pt. 512; *s-aor.* 529; cs. 553 c.

*Vpac-* 'cook', pr. 422, 439, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; plup. 495; s-aor. sj. 523; ps. 445, pt. 447, impf. 448; inf. 585, 4; gd. 590 b.  
*paḍbhis-* inst. pl. 42 c, 43 b 1, 62, 4 b (p. 57) note 3, 350 (p. 238 note 1).  
*V. i. pal-* 'fly', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, opt. 489, pt. 492; red. aor. 514, inj. 516, impv. 518; ft. 537, 539, pt. 538; des. 542; intv. 545, 1, 546, 547; cs. 555 a; pp. 572, 575 b; inf. 585, 4.  
*V. 2. pal-* 'rule', pr. 439, pt. 442, 565 β, impf. 443.  
*paḍi-* 'husband', inflected 380 b; in compounds 280; accentuation p. 95 α, p. 96, 3.  
*V. pad-* 'go', pr. 439, sj. 423, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443; pf. 485; root aor. 500, sj. 502, prec. 504; red. aor. 514; s-aor. inj. 524; cs. 555, sj. 559 b; ps. aor. 501; pp. 576 a; inf. 587 a; gd. 591 a.  
*pād-* 'foot', inflected 319.  
*V. pan-* 'admire', pf. 485; s-aor. inj. 531; intv. 545, 3, pt. 548; cs. 556, gdv. 561 b; ps. 445; pp. 575 b; gdv. 579.  
*panāya-* den., inj. 569 b.  
*paṇṇā-* 3. s. pf. *V. prā-* 484.  
*paṇḍ-* 'beyond', prep. with acc. inst. loc. abl. 616.  
*paṇi-* 'around', prep. with acc. abl. 606.  
*V. pa-* 'see', pr. 439, sj. 440, inj. 440, opt. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443.  
*V. i. pā-* 'drink', pres. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, 461, impf. 428; pf. 485, opt. 489, pt. 492, 493; root aor. 499, sj. 502, prec. 504, impv. 505, pt. 506; s-aor. inj. 524; des. 542, pt. 544; cs. 558 a; ps. 445, aor. 501; pp. 574, 3; inf. 585, 3, 4, 5, 7; gd. 590 a, b; 591 a.  
*V. 2. pā-* 'protect', pr. 451, sj. 452, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; s-aor. sj. 523.  
*pāpaya-* den., aor. inj. 570.  
*V. pi-* or *pī-* 'swell', pr. 422, 470, pt. 442, 461, 473; pf. 482, 485, pt. 492, 493; pp. 576 d.  
*V. pinu-* 'fatten', pr. 422, inj.

424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485.  
*V. pīd-* 'stand firm', pr. pt. 427.  
*V. pī-* 'adorn', pr. 430, impv. 434, impf. 436; pf. 485; root aor. pt. 506; intv. 545, 1 a, pt. 548; ps. pt. 447; pp. 575 b.  
*V. pis-* 'crush', pr. 464, inj. 465, impv. 466, impf. 436, pt. 467, impf. 468; pf. 485; pp. 573.  
*V. pū-* 'press', pf. 485; cs. 554 a.  
*pū-* 'stronghold', inflected 355.  
*purā-* 'before', prep. with acc. abl. loc. 607.  
*purāstād* 'in front of', prep. with gen. 617.  
*purā-* 'before', prep. with abl. 617.  
*purōdāt-* 42 c, 66 c β 1 (p. 61, mid.), 349 b, 350.  
*V. pus-* 'thrive', pr. 439, sj. 440, opt. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442; pf. 485, opt. 489, pt. 492; a-aor. opt. 511; cs. 553 b, inf. 585, 1.  
*V. pū-* 'cleanse', pr. 422, 476, sj. 423, impv. 426, 478, pt. 427, 479, impf. 428, 480; red. aor. 514; s-aor. 529, inj. 531; ps. 445, pt. 447; gd. 590 a, b.  
*V. pr-* 'pass', pr. 451, 458, impv. 460; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; s-aor. sj. 523, impv. 526; s-aor. sj. 530; cs. 557 c, sj. 559 b; inf. 588 b.  
*V. prñ-* 'fill', pr. 430, sj. 431, impv. 434, impf. 436; inf. 585, 7.  
*V. pra-* 'mix', pr. 430, 464, inj. 465, opt. 465, impv. 434, 460, 466, pt. 467, impf. 468; pf. sj. 487, opt. 489; root aor. sj. 502, opt. 504, pt. 506; s-aor. 522, sj. 523; ps. 445, impv. 446, pt. 447, impf. 448; pp. 576 b; inf. 584 b, 587 a.  
*prāntanya-* den., sj. 569 a, impf. 569 f.  
*V. pra-* 'sprinkle', pr. pt. 427, = adj. 'spotted' 313.  
*V. pṛ-* 'fill', pr. 458, 476, sj. 477, opt. 477, impv. 460, 478, pt. 442, 479, impf. 462, 480; pf. opt. 489, pt. 492; red. aor. inj. 516, impv. 518; cs. 557 c, sj. 559 b; pp. 576 e.  
*V. pṛā-* 'fill up', pr. 439, impv. 441, pt. 442; s-aor. opt. 534; cs. 558 a.

*V. praḥ-* = *prach-* 'ask', pf. 485 (cp. p. 359 note 6); inf. 585, 1 a.  
*V. prach-* 'ask', pr. 430, sj. 431, opt. 433, impv. 434, part. 435, impf. 436; s-aor. 522; gdv. 541 i, 580; pp. 574, 1; inf. 584 b, 586 a, b.  
*prāti-* 'against', prep. with acc. 608.  
*pratyāñe-*, inflected 299.  
*V. prath-* 'spread', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485 (cp. p. 357 note 1), sj. 487, inj. 488, pt. 493; root aor. pt. 506; s-aor. 529; cs. 556.  
*V. prā-* 'fill', pr. 451; pf. 485; root aor. 499, sj. 502; s-aor. 522; ps. aor. 501.  
*prādī-* 'out of doors', adv. compounded with *V. bhū-* 651.  
*prīd-* m., inflected 372.  
*prīd-* f., inflected 374.  
*prīyāya-* den., impf. 569 f.  
*V. pri-* 'please', pr. 476, pt. 479, impf. 480; pf. sj. 487, impv. 490, pt. 493; plup. 495; root aor. prec. 504; s-aor. sj. 523; des. 542; pp. 573.  
*V. prū-* 'flow', pr. inf. 424.  
*V. pruth-* 'snort', pr. inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. 485; intv. 545, 1; gd. 591 a.  
*V. prus-* 'sprinkle', pr. 470, sj. 471, impv. 434, pt. 435; pp. 575 b.  
*V. plu-* 'float', pr. 422, impv. 426.  
*V. ps-* 'devour', pr. 451, impv. 454.  
*V. phan-* 'spring', intv. 545, 3, pt. 548; cs. 555.  
*V. phar-* 'scatter', intv. 545, 2, 547 a.  
*V. bamh-* 'make firm', pp. 574, 2.  
*V. bandh-* 'bind', pr. 476, impv. 478, impf. 480; pf. 485; ft. 537, 539; ps. 445, impv. 446, pt. 447; inf. 584 b, 590 b.  
*bahirdhā* 'outside', prep. with abl. 618.  
*V. bād-* 'oppress', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; s-aor. inj. 531; des. 542; intv. 545, 1 b, 2 a, 546, pt. 548; cs. 556 a; pp. 575 b.  
*V. budh-* 'wake', pr. 422, 439, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 440, impv. 426, 441, pt. 442; pf. 482 b, sj. 487, pt. 493; root aor. 500, pt. 506;

- a*-aor. inj. 510; red. aor. 514; *s*-aor. 522; *is*-aor. sj. 530; ps. aor. 501; inf. 584 b, 588 a.
- Vbṛh-* 'make big', pr. impv. 434; pf. 485, pt. 493; *is*-aor. inj. 531; intv. 545, 2, 547 a.
- bodhi-* impv. of *Vbhū-* and *Vbudh-* 32 c, 505 note 3.
- Vbrū-* 'say', pr. (inflected) 451, sj. (inflected) 452, opt. 453, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456.
- Vbli-* 'crush', pp. 576 d.
- Vbhaks-* 'partake of', cs. 556 a.
- Vbhaj-* 'divide', pr. 422, 451, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, pt. 493; *s*-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524, opt. 525; cs. 555, ps. pt. 447, 561, gd. 591 a; ps. pr. pt. 447; gd. 590 b, c.
- Vbhañj-* 'break', pr. 464, impv. 466, pt. 467, impf. 468; pf. 485; ps. impv. 446.
- Vbhan-* 'speak', pr. 422, inj. 424, impf. 428.
- Vbhand-* 'be bright', pr. 422, pt. 427.
- Vbharu-* 'devour', pr. 422.
- bhāvanti-* 'being', inflected 314.
- Vbhas-* 'devour', pr. 430, 458, sj. 459, inj. 424, pt. 461.
- Vbhā-* 'shine', pr. 451, impv. 454, pt. 455.
- bhāmaya-* 'be angry', den., pp. 575 c.
- Vbhās-* 'shine', pr. 422, sj. 423, pt. 427.
- Vbhiks-* 'beg', pr. 422, inj. 424, opt. 425, pt. 427.
- Vbhid-* 'split', pr. 422, 464, sj. 465, inj. 465, opt. 465, impv. 466, pt. 467, impf. 428, 468; pf. 485; root aor. 499, sj. 502, inj. 503, pt. 506; *a*-aor. opt. 511; *s*-aor. inj. 524; des. 542, impf. 544; ps. aor. 501; pp. 576 a; gd. 590 b, 591 a.
- bhīṣaj-* 'heal', den., pr. 568.
- bhīṣajya-* den., impv. 569 d.
- bhīṣraj-* 'heal', den., impf. 568, 569 f.
- Vbhī-* 'fear', pr. 422, 458, sj. 423, inj. opt. 459, impv. 426, 460, pt. 427, 461, impf. 428, 462; pf. 482 b, 485, pt. 492; plup. 495; root aor. 499, inj. 503, pt. 506; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; *s*-aor. 522, pt. 527; cs. aor. 560; inf. 585, 1.
- Vbhuj-* 'enjoy', pr. 464, sj. 465, pt. 467; pf. 485; root aor. 499, sj. 502, inj. 503; *a*-aor. opt. 511, impv. 512; inf. 584 b, 585, 1.
- Vbhur-* 'quiver', pr. inj. 432, impv. 434, pt. 435; intv. 545, 2 a, 546, pt. 548.
- Vbhū-* 'be', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482 b 1, 485, opt. 489, pt. 492; root aor. 499, sj. 502, inj. 503, opt. 504, prec. 504; *a*-aor. 508; red. aor. 514; ft. 537, 539, pt. 538; des. 542, pt. 544; intv. 545, 1, 546, pt. 548; cs. 557 b; pp. 573; gdv. 578, 2, 581; inf. 584 a, 588 c; gd. 590 a, b, 591 a.
- bhū-* 'earth', inflected 383.
- Vbhūs-* 'adorn', pr. 422, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; gdv. 580.
- Vbhr-* 'bear', pr. 422, 451, 458 (inflected), sj. 423, 459, inj. 424, opt. 425, 459, impv. 426, 460, pt. 427, 461, impf. 428, 462; pf. 482 d, 485, sj. 487, pt. 493; plup. 495; root aor. prec. 504, impv. 505; *s*-aor. (inflected) 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; *is*-aor. 529; cond. 538, ft. pt. 538; intv. 545, 2, 546; ps. 445, sj. 446, aor. 501; pp. 573; inf. 585, 585, 4, 5, 7, 8, 586 b; gd. 591 b.
- Vbhrj-* 'roast', pr. sj. 431.
- Vbhyas-* 'fear', impf. 428.
- Vbhramś-* 'fall', pr. inj. 424; *a*-aor. inj. 510; cs. 555; pp. 574.
- Vbhrāj-* 'shine', pr. 422, pt. 427; root aor. 499, prec. 504; ps. aor. 501.
- Vbhrī-* 'consume', pr. 476.
- Vbhres-* 'totter', pr. 422.
- Vmanh-* or *mañ-* 'be great', pr. 422, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, inj. 488, impv. 490, pt. 493; cs. 556, 556 a, pt. 559 e; inf. 584 b, 585, 2, 591 a.
- Vmaj-* 'sink', pr. 422; gd. 591 a.
- madgū-* 38 c, 44 a 3 a (p. 36), 62, 4 b note 3 (p. 57).
- Vmath-* or *manth-* 'stir', pr. 422, 476, sj. 423, impv. 426, 478, pt. 479, impf. 428, 480; pf. 485; root aor. sj. 502; *is*-aor. 529, inj. 531; ps. 445, pt. 447; pp. 575 a 2.
- Vmad-* or *mand-* 'exhilarate', pr. 422, 451, 458, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, 460, pt. 427, impf. 428, 462; pf. 485, sj. 487, opt. 489, impv. 490, pt. 492; root aor. 499, impv. 505, pt. 506; red. aor. 514; *s*-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524, pt. 527; *is*-aor. 529, opt. 532; cs. 555 a, 556 a, sj. 559 b; ps. pt. 447; pp. 573; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 585, 7.
- mādhū-* 'sweet', inflected 389.
- madhyā-* 'in the midst of' 587 b a.
- Vman-* 'think', pr. 422, 439, 470, sj. 423, 440, 471, inj. 440, 471, opt. 440, 459, 471, impv. 441, 472, pt. 442, 473, impf. 443, 474; pf. 485; root aor. 500, sj. 502, pt. 506; *s*-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; ft. 537, 539; des. 542, ps. 544 h; pp. 544 h; cs. 555, opt. 559 c; pp. 574, 2; inf. 585, 4, 5.
- manasyā-* den., pr. (inflected) 569, opt. 569 c.
- mantraniya-* gdv. 581 b.
- V1. mā-* 'measure', pr. 451, opt. 459, impv. 460, pt. 461, impf. 462; root aor. impv. 505, pt. 506; *s*-aor. 522; ps. aor. 501; pp. 574, 3; gdv. 578, 3; inf. 584 a; gd. 590 b, 591 a.
- V2. mā-* 'exchange', pr. 439; gd. 591 b.
- V3. mā-* 'bellow', pr. 422, 458; pf. 585; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; inf. 585, 5.
- mā-* prohibitive particle used with injunctive 648.
- mātār-* 'mother', inflected 360.
- mās-* 'month' 44, 3, 340 (inflected).
- Vmi-* 'fix', pr. 470, sj. 471, inj. 471, impv. 472, part. 473, impf. 474; pf. 485; ps. 445, pt. 447; gdv. 578, 1.
- Vmiks-* 'mix', pf. 485 (cp. p. 359 note 8), impv. 490.
- Vmigh-* 'mingere', pr. pt. 427.
- Vmith-* 'alternate', pr. 422, pt. 435; pf. 485.
- Vmiś-* 'mix', des. 542, impv. 544.
- Vmiṣ-* 'wink', pr. 430, pt. 435; inf. 587 a a.
- Vmih-* 'mingere', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427; ft. 537, 539; cs. 553 a; inf. 584 b.
- Vmī-* 'damage', pr. 439, 476, subj. 477, inj. 477, opt. 440, pt. 479, impf. 480; pf. 485; *s*-aor. inj. 524;

intv. 545, I, pt. 548; inf. 584 a, 586 a.  
*mūḍāms-*, pf. pt. 492 b.  
*ṃmū-* 'wink', gd. 591 a.  
*ṃmū-* 'push', pr. pt. 427; pp. 573 a.  
*ṃmur-* 'release', pr. 430, 439, sj. 431, 440, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 493; plup. 495; root aor. 499, 500, pre. 504; a-aor. 508, sj. 509, inj. 510, impv. 512; s-aor. 522, inj. 524, opt. 525, des. 542, pt. 544; ps. aor. 501; gd. 591 a.  
*ṃmud-* 'be merry', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. 485; root aor. opt. 504; i-aor. opt. 532; ps. aor. 501; inf. 584 b.  
*ṃmur-* = *mr-* 'crush', pf. sj. 487.  
*ṃmus-* 'steal', pr. 422, 476, pt. 479, impf. 480; i-aor. inj. 531; pp. 575 b; inf. 584 b; gd. 591 a.  
*ṃmuh-* 'be dazed', pr. impv. 441; red. aor. 514; cs. 553 b; pp. 573; inf. 584 b.  
*ṃmūrch-* 'thicken', impf. 428.  
*ṃi-mr-* 'die', pr. 422, sj. 423; pf. 485, pt. 492; root aor. 500, inj. 503, opt. 504; ft. 537, 539; cs. 557 c; ps. 445, impv. 446; pp. 576 e.  
*ṃ2. mr-* 'crush', pr. impv. 478, pt. 479; intv. 547 c.  
*ṃmrk-* 'stroke', pr. sj. 431.  
*ṃmr-* 'injure', s-aor. opt. 525; cs. 553 c; sj. 559 b; pp. 573.  
*ṃmrj-* 'wipe', pr. 451, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; pf. 482, 485, opt. 489; sa-aor. 536; intv. 545, 2, 547, pt. 548, impf. 549, 551, gdv. 580; cs. 553 c, opt. 559 c; ps. 445, pt. 447; pp. 573; gdv. 578, 4; gd. 590 b.  
*ṃmrj-* 'be gracious', pr. sj. 431, impv. 434; cs. 554, sj. 559 b.  
*mrn-* 'crush', pr. 430, inj. 432, impv. 434, impf. 436; red. aor. 514.  
*ṃmrj-* 'crush', pf. opt. 489.  
*ṃmrjdh-* 'neglect', pr. 422, sj. 431; root aor. opt. 504; i-aor. sj. 530, inj. 531.  
*ṃmrj-* 'touch', pr. 430, sj. 431, impv. 434, pt. 435; impf. 436; pf. 482, 485; sa-aor. 536; intv. 545, 2, 547 a; gd. 591 a.  
*ṃmrj-* 'not heed', pr. 439; pf. 485; root aor. inj. 503;

a-aor. inj. 510; red. aor. inj. 516; i-aor. inj. 531; inf. 584 b.  
*meghāya-* den., ft. and pp. 570.  
*med-* 'be fat', pr. impv. 441; cs. 554 a.  
*ṃmyak-* 'be situated', pr. impv. 426; pf. 485; root aor. 499; ps. aor. 501.  
*ṃmruc-* 'set', pr. pt. 427.  
*ṃmlā-* 'relax', cs. 558; pp. 573.  
*yā-* 'who', rel. pron. 398.  
*ṃyaks-* 'press on'(?), pr. inj. 424, pt. 427; inf. 584 b.  
*ṃyaj-* 'sacrifice', pr. 451, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482 b, 1, 485, pt. 493; root aor. impv. 505; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; sa-aor. impv. 536; ft. 537; des. 542, sj. 544; pp. 574; inf. 585, 4, 7; gd. 590 b.  
*yajñasrī-*, inflected 376.  
*ṃyat-* 'stretch', pr. 422, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. 485; root aor. pt. 506; cs. 555, sj. 559 b, pt. 559 e.  
*ṃyabh-* 'future', pr. 422, impv. 426.  
*ṃyam-* 'reach', pr. 422, 451, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482 b, 1, 485, pt. 493; root aor. 499, sj. 502, opt. 504, prec. 504, impv. 505; a-aor. opt. 511; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524, pt. 527; i-aor. 529; intv. 545, 2, 546; cs. 555; ps. pt. 447, aor. 501; pp. 574, 2; aor. gdv. 580; inf. 585, 4, 586 a; gd. 591 b.  
*ṃyas-* 'be heated', pr. impv. 460, pt. 442.  
*ṃyā-* 'go', pr. 451, opt. 453, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; pf. 485, pt. 492; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; i-aor. 534, sj., opt., impv. 534; ft. 537, pt. 538; pp. 573; inf. 584 a, 585, 4.  
*ṃyāc-* 'ask', pr. 422, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; i-aor. sj. 530; cs. 556 a; pp. 575 b; inf. 586 b.  
*ṃyād-* 'unite'(?), pr. pt. 427.  
*ṃi-yu-* 'unite', pr. 430, 451, sj. 431, 452, inj. 432, impv. 434, 454, pt. 435, 455, impf. 436; pf. 485; des. 542, pt. 544; intv. 545, 1, 546, pt. 548; pp. 573; gd. 591 a.

*ṃ2. yu-* 'separate', pr. 422, 458; sj. 459, inj. 459, opt. 459, impv. 426, 460, pt. 427; root aor. sj. 502, prec. 504; red. aor. inj. 516; s-aor. sj. 523, inj. 524; i-aor. inj. 531; intv. 545, 1, pt. 548, impf. 549; cs. 557 b, sj. 559 b; ps. aor. 501; pp. 573; inf. 585, 4, 587 b.  
*ṃyuj-* 'join', pr. 451, 464 (inflected), sj. 465, inj. 465, impv. 426, 466, pt. 467, impf. 468; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 493; root aor. 500, sj. 502, inj. 503, opt. 504, impv. 505, pt. 506; s-aor. 522; ft. 537, 539; ps. 445, impv. 446, aor. 501; pp. 573; inf. 584 b; gd. 589 b, c.  
*ṃyudh-* 'fight', pr. 422, 439, 451, sj. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442, 455, impf. 443; pf. 485; root aor. sj. 502, impv. 505; s-aor. inj. 524; i-aor. 529, sj. 530, inj. 531, impv. 533; des. 542, pt. 544; cs. 553 b, sj. 559 b; gdv. 578, 4, 580; inf. 584 b, 585, 2, 586 a.  
*ṃyup-* 'obstruct', pf. 485; cs. 553 b; pp. 575 b.  
*yusmāka* 'of you' 391, 2.  
*yūyam* 'you', pron. 49 a, 391, 2.  
*ṃyes-* 'be heated', pr. pt. 427.  
*ṃramh-* 'hasten', pr. 422, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. pt. 493; cs. 556 a; gdv. 578, 4.  
*ṃraks-* 'protect', pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, pt. 493; i-aor. 530; pp. 575 a, 1.  
*ṃraj-* or *ṃranj-* 'colour', impf. 443; intv. 545, 1 b, 546; cs. 556.  
*rahit* m.f. 'charioteer', inflected 376.  
*ṃrad-* 'dig', pr. 422, 451, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; pp. 575 b.  
*ṃradh-* or *ṃrandh-* 'make subject', pr. impv. 441; pf. 482; root aor. impv. 505, a-aor. sj. 509, inj. 510; red. aor. sj. 515, inj. 516; i-aor. inj. 531; intv. 545, 1 b; cs. 556 a, sj. 559 b.  
*ṃran-* 'rejoice', pr. 422, 439, inj. 424, impv. 426; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, impv. 490; plup. 495; i-aor. 529, inj. 531; cs. 556.  
*ṃrandhanāya-* den., impf. 569 f.  
*ṃrap-* 'chatter', pr. 422, inj.

- 424, opt. 425, pt. 427, impf. 428; intv. 545, 1 b, 546.  
 V'rapś- 'be full', pr. 422; pf. 485.  
 V'rabh- or rambh- 'grasp', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482, 485, pt. 493; s-aor. 522, pt. 527; inf. 584 b, 586 a; gd. 591 a.  
 V'ram- 'rejoice', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, impf. 428, 480; red. aor. 514, sj. 515, inj. 516; s-aor. 522, inj. 524; sis-aor. inj. 534; cs. 555 a.  
 V'ramb- 'hang down', pr. 422, pt. 427.  
 V1. rā- 'give', pr. 451, impv. 460, pt. 461, impf. 456; pf. 485, impv. 490, pt. 492, 493; root aor. impv. 505; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, opt. 525, impv. 526; pp. 573.  
 V2. rā- 'bark', pr. 439, pt. 442.  
 V'rās- 'give', pr. pt. 427.  
 V'rāy- 'be kingly', pr. 422, 451, sj. 423, inj. 424, 452, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; is-aor. 529; cs. 556 a, sj. 559 b; inf. 585, 1.  
 V'rādh- 'succeed' pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 441, pt. 442; pf. 485; root aor. sj. 502, prec. 504; s-aor. 522; is-aor. inj. 531; ft. 537, 539; cs. 556 a; ps. aor. 501; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 585, 7.  
 V'ri- or rī- 'flow', pr. 439, 476, inj. 477, pt. 479; impf. 480.  
 V'rih- 'scratch', pr. impv. 434.  
 V'ric- 'leave', pr. 464, sj. 465, inj. 465, impf. 468; pf. 485, opt. 489, pt. 492, 493; plup. 495; root aor. inj. 503, impv. 505; s-aor. 522; ps. 445, impf. 448, aor. 501.  
 V'rip- 'smear', pf. 485; pp. 573.  
 V'rih- 'sing', pr. 422, pt. 427, impf. 428; ps. 445; pf. 485.  
 V'riś- 'tear', pr. 430, impv. 434, pt. 435.  
 V'riś- 'be hurt', pr. 439, sj. 423, 440, inj. 424, opt. 440; a-aor. sj. 509, inj. 510, pt. 512; red. aor. inj. 516, opt. 517, prec. 517; des. 542, pt. 544; cs. 553, 554; inf. 585, 7.  
 riśanya- den., inj., impv. 569 b, d.  
 V'rih- 'lick', pr. 451, pt. 455; pf. pt. 492; intv. 545, 1 a, pt. 548, 551; pp. 573.  
 V1. ru- 'cry', pr. 430, inj. 432, impv. 434, pt. 435; is-aor. 529; intv. 545, 1 a, pt. 548, impf. 549.  
 V2. ru- 'break', is-aor. 529; intv. 545, 1, 546, pt. 548.  
 V'ruc- 'shine', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; is-aor. 529; intv. 545, 1, 546, pt. 548, 501; root aor. pt. 492, 493; root aor. pt. 506; red. aor. 514; is-aor. 529, opt. 532; intv. pt. 548; cs. 553 b, 554; inf. 584 b.  
 rucaya- den., inj. 569 b.  
 V'ruj- 'break', pr. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485; root. aor. inj. 503; red. aor. 514; pp. 576 b; inf. 584 b.  
 V'rud- 'weep', pr. 451, sj. 452, pt. 455; a-aor. 508; cs. 553 b.  
 V1. rudh- 'grow', pr. 422, inj. 424, pt. 435, impf. 428.  
 V2. rudh- 'obstruct', pr. 451, 464, sj. 465, impv. 466, pt. 467, impf. 468; pf. 485; root. aor. 499; a-aor. 508, inj. 510; s-aor. 522; ps. 445; gd. 591 a.  
 V'rup- 'break', red-aor. 514; pp. 575 b.  
 ruvanya- den., inj. 569 b.  
 V'rus- 'be vexed', pr. 422.  
 V'ruh- 'ascend', pr. 422, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; root aor. pt. 506; a-aor. 508, sj. 509, inj. 510, opt. 511; sa-aor. 536; des. 542, pt. 544; cs. 553 b; pp. 573; inf. 586 a; gd. 590 b, 591 a.  
 V'rej- 'tremble', pr. 422, inj. 424, pt. 427, impf. 428; cs. 554 a.  
 V'lap- 'prate', pr. impv. 426, pt. 427; intv. 545, 1 b, 546; cs. 555; pp. 575 b.  
 V'labh- 'take', pr. 422, opt. 425; pf. 485, pt. 493; des. 542, pt. 544; gd. 590 b.  
 V'likh- 'scratch', impf. 436; is-aor. inj. 531; pp. 575 a 2.  
 V'lip- 'smear', pr. 430; s-aor. 522.  
 V'li- 'cling', pr. 422, impv. 426; pp. 576 d; gdv. 578, 2.  
 V'luḡ- 'break', pr. opt. 433; ps. 445; gd. 591 a.  
 V'luh- 'desire', pr. pt. 442; cs. 553 b.  
 V'vak- 'increase', pr. 430, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485; cs. 556 a.  
 V'vac- 'speak', pr. 458, impv. 460; pf. 482 b 1, 485, pt. 493; red. aor. 514, sj. 515, inj. 516, opt. 517, impv. 518; ft. 537, 539, pt. 538; intv. 545, 1 b, impf. 549; ps. 445, aor. 501; pp. 574, 1; gdv. 578, 4, 581; inf. 584 b, 585, 4.  
 V'vadh- 'move crookedly', pr. 422; pf. 482, 485; ps. 445, impv. 446, pt. 447.  
 V'vat- 'apprehend', pr. opt. 425, pt. 427; red. aor. 514; cs. 555.  
 V'vad- 'speak', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, 433, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; is-aor. 529, sj. 530, inj. 531; ft. 537, 539; intv. 545, 1 b, 546, 547 c, opt. 559 c; ps. pt. 447, pp. 575 b.  
 V'vadh- 'slay', pr. opt. 425, impv. 426; root aor. prec. 504; is-aor. 529, sj. 530, inj. 531, impv. 533.  
 V'van- 'win', pr. 422, 470; sj. 423, 431, 471, inj. 424, 471, opt. 425, 433, 471, impv. 426, 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, pt. 492; root aor. impv. 505; s-aor. sj. 523, inj. 524, opt. 525; is-aor. sj. 530, opt. 532; sis-aor. opt. 534; des. 542, 543 (inflected), sj. 544; cs. 555; pp. 574, 2 a; inf. 585, 4.  
 vanuśa- den., inj. 569 b.  
 vamsya- den., sj. 569 a.  
 V'vand- 'greet', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. 485; is-aor. opt. 532; ps. aor. 501; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 585, 7.  
 V1. vap- 'strew', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482 b 1, 485; ps. 445, pt. 447; pp. 574, 1; gd. 591 a.  
 V2. vap- 'shear', pr. (2. s., 3 pl. act.) 422.  
 vapuśya- den., impf. 569 f.  
 vani, 1. s. aor. of vṛ- 'cover' 66 c β 2, 499.  
 V'vam- 'vomit', pr. sj. 452, impf. 456.  
 varivasyd- den., sj. 569 a, impv. 569 d.  
 varcyā- den., sj. 569 a.  
 V'val- s-aor. sj. 523.  
 V'valḡ- 'bound', pr. 422, impf. 428.  
 vavṛdhānt, anom. pf. pt., p. 363 note 7.



- vaś-* 'desire', pr. 422, 451, 458, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, 454, pt. 435, 455, impf. 428, pt. 435; pf. 482, 485; intv. 545, 1.
- V1. vas-* 'shine', pr. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485, pt. 492, 493; plup. 495; root aor. 500; s-aor. 522; cs. 555; pp. 574; inf. 585, 4, 588 a.
- V2. vas-* 'wear', pr. 451, inj. 452, opt. 453, pt. 435, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; pf. 482, 485, pt. 493; s-aor. 529; cs. 555, pt. 537, 560.
- V3. vas-* 'dwell', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, pt. 492, 493; root aor. pt. 506; s-aor. 522; cs. 555, sj. 559 b.
- [vāh-* 'carry', pr. 422, 451, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482 b 1, 485; root aor. opt. 504, impv. 505, pt. 506; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; ft. 537, 539; ps. 445, sj. 446, pt. 447; pp. 574; inf. 585, 4, 7, 586 b; gd. 591 a.
- V1. vā-* 'blow', pr. 439, 451, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; cs. 558.
- V2. vā-* 'weave', pr. 439, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443; pf. 485; ft. 537, pt. 538; pp. 574, 1 a; inf. 585, 4, 5, 586 b.
- vāms*, pf. pt. suffix, 181, 347, 491.
- vāc-*, inflected, p. 180.
- vāṇjaya-* den., impv. 569 d; inf. 585, 7.
- Vāñch-* 'desire', pr. impv., 426.
- vām* 'we two' 391, 1.
- Vāś-* 'bellow', pt. 442; pf. 482, 485, pt. 493; plup. 495; red. aor. 514; intv. 545, 1 b, pt. 548, impf. 549.
- Jvās* = 3. *vas-* (?) pr. 422.
- vi-* 'bird' 381 a.
- Vic-* 'sift', pr. 464, impv. 466, pt. 467, impf. 468; pf. pt. 492; ps. impv. 446.
- Vij-* 'tremble', pr. 430, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485; root aor. inj. 503; red. aor. inj. 516; intv. 545, 1 a, 551.
- V1. vid-* 'know', pr. 451, sj. 452, opt. 453, impv. 454, impf. 456; pf. 485, pt.
- 492 b; cs. 553; pp. 575 b; inf. 585, 8; gd. 590 b.
- V2. vid-* 'find', pr. 430, 451, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, 454, pt. 455, impf. 436; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 492; a-aor. (inflected) 508, sj. 509, inj. 510, opt. 511, prec. 511, impv. 512, pt. 512; s-aor. 522; intv. 547 a; ps. 445, aor. 501; pp. 576 a; gdv. 579; inf. 584 b, 585, 4; gd. 590 b.
- vid-* 'finding', inflected, 319.
- Vidhi-* 'worship', pr. sj. 431, inj. 432, opt. 433, pt. 435, impf. 436.
- Vundh-* 'lack', pr. 430.
- vasūya-* den., sj. 569 a.
- Vip-* 'tremble', pr. 422, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; root aor. pt. 506; red. aor. 514; cs. 553 a, 554.
- vibhū-*, inflected, 383.
- vīs-*, inflected, 350.
- Vīs-* 'enter', pr. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 483, 485, opt. 489, pt. 492, 492 b; plup. 495; root aor. 500, impv. 505; s-aor. 522; s-aor. 531; cs. 553 a, opt. 559 c, pp. 561 a; inf. 586 a; gd. 591 a.
- viśvataspad-* 'having feet on every side', 319 a.
- Vij-* 'be active', pr. 458, sj. 459, impv. 460, pt. 427, impf. 428, 462; pf. 485; s-aor. sj. 530; intv. 545, 1 a, 546, 547 b, pt. 548; inf. 584 b.
- Vij-* or *veṣ-* 'wrap', pr. impv. 426; cs. 553.
- Vī-* 'enjoy', pr. 451, sj. 452, inj. 452, impv. 454, pt. 455; impf. 456; pf. 485; s-aor. sj. 523; intv. 545, 1 a, 551; ps. 445, pt. 447, inf. 585, 3.
- Vīd-* 'make strong', cs. 554 a.
- virāya-* den., impv. 569 d, impf. 569 f.
- vīlāya-*, sj. 559 b, impv. 559 d, pp. 575 c.
- V1. vr-* 'cover', pr. 422, 470, inj. 424, 471, impv. 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pf. 485, pt. 492; plup. 495; root aor. 499, 500, inj. 503, impv. 505, pt. 506; red. aor. 514; s-aor. sj. 523; intv. 545, 3; cs. 557 c, sj. 559 b; ft. 537, 560; ps. aor. 501, pp. 573; inf. 585, 4; g1. 590 a, b, c, 591 b.
- V2. vr-* 'choose', pr. 470, 476, inj. 477, opt. 477, impv. 478, pt. 479, impf. 480; pf. 485; root aor. 500, sj. 502, inj. 503, opt. 504, pt. 506; s-aor. 522; pp. 573; gdv. 578, 2, 580.
- Vr-* 'twist', pr. 422, 464, sj. 465, impv. 466, impf. 468; pf. 482, 485, opt. 489, impv. 490, pt. 492, 492 b; root aor. 499, 500, sj. 502, inj. 503, opt. 504, prec. 504, impv. 505; a-aor. 508; s-aor. 522, inj. 524; intv. 545, 3, cs. 550 c; cs. 553 c; inf. 584 b, 585, 1, 7; gd. 590 a.
- Vr-* 'turn', pr. 422, 458, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, opt. 489, impv. 490, pt. 492; plup. 495; root aor. 499, 500, sj. 502, impv. 505; a-aor. 508; red. aor. 514; s-aor. 522; ft. 537, 539; des. 542; intv. 545, 2, 3, 546; cs. 553 c, sj. 559 b; pp. 573; inf. 584 b, cs. 585, 7; gd. 591 a.
- Vr-* 'grow', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, inj. 488, opt. 489, impv. 490, pt. 492, 493; a-aor. 508, pt. 512 a; red. aor. 514; s-aor. pt. 527; s-aor. opt. 532; cs. 553 c, sj. 559 b, pt. 559 c; intv. gdv. 580; inf. 584 b, 585, 1, 7.
- Vr-* 'rain', pr. 422, impv. 426, 434, pt. 427; pf. 482, impv. 490, pt. 493; s-aor. 529; cs. 553 c; gd. 590 a.
- vrāṇiya-* den., impv. 509 d, aor. 570.
- Vr-* 'tear', pr. 430, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, impf. 436; pf. 485; s-aor. 536; cs. 553 c; ps. aor. 501.
- vāli-*, loc. sing. p. 284 (mid.).
- Ven-* 'long', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428.
- Vrac-* 'extend', pr. 458, inj. 459, impf. 462; pf. 482 b 1, 485, inj. 488.
- Vrath-* 'waver', pr. 422, pt. 427; s-aor. sj. 530, inj. 531; cs. 556, aor. 560 a.
- Vradh-* 'pierce', pr. 439, inj. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443; pf. pt. 492; pp. 574, 1; inf. 584 b.
- Vyā-* 'envelope', pr. 439, opt. 440, impv. 441, pt.

- 442, impf. 443; pf. 485; pt. 493; *a*-aor. 508; pp. 574, 3.
- Vvraj-* 'proceed', pr. impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. 485.
- Vvrad-* 'weaken', impf. 428.
- Vvraś-* 'cut up', pr. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; ps. impv. 446; pp. 576 b; gd. 590 b.
- Vvradh-* 'stir up', pr. inj. 424, pt. 427.
- Vvlag-* pursue(?) gd. 591 a.
- Vvli-* 'crush' = *Vbli-*.
- Vśams-* 'praise', 422, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; root aor. impv. 505; *is*-aor. 529, sj. 530, inj. 531; cs. 556 a; ps. 445, pt. 447, aor. 501; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 584 b.
- Vśak-* 'be able', pr. 470, sj. 471, impf. 474; pf. 485; root aor. sj. 502, opt. 504, impv. 505; *a*-aor. 508, inj. 510, opt. 511; des. 542, 2, pt. 544; inf. 585, 4.
- Vśat-* 'cut in pieces', cs. 555.
- Vśad-* 'prevail', pf. 482, 485, pt. 493.
- Vśad-* 'fall', ft. 537, 539.
- Vśap-* 'curse', pr. 422, sj. 423, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; *s*-aor. inj. 524.
- Vśam-* 'labour', pr. 439, impv. 441, pt. 442; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 493; *is*-aor. 529.
- Vśam-* 'be quiet', impf. 428; red. aor. 514; cs. 556; pp. 574, 2 a.
- Vśas-* 'cut', pr. impv. 454.
- Vśā-* 'sharpen', pr. 458, impv. 460, pt. 461, impf. 436, 462; pf. pt. 493; pp. 574, 3; gd. 591 a.
- Vśās-* 'order', pr. 422, 451, sj. 452, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 428, 456; pt. 485, inj. 488, impv. 490; root aor. sj. 502; *a*-aor. 508, sj. 509, inj. 510, pt. 512 a; pp. 574, 3 a.
- Vśikṣ-* = des. of *śak-* 'be able', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; these forms strictly speaking belong to 543, 544.
- Vśiñj-* 'twang', pr. 451.
- Vśiñád-* 'white-footed' 319 a.
- Vśim-* 'labour' = *Vśam-*.
- Vśis-* 'leave', *a*-aor. sj. 509, inj. 510; ps. 445, sj. 446, aor. 501.
- Vśi-* 'lie', pr. 422, 451, opt. 453, impf. 428, 456, impv. 441, 454, pt. 455; pf. 482 b 1 a, pt. 493; *s*-aor. sj. 523; *is*-aor. 529; inf. 585, 7.
- Vśi-* 'sharpen' = *Vśā-*, root aor. 500.
- śikāya-* den., ft. and pp. 570.
- Vśuc-* 'gleam', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, pt. 492, 493, opt. 489, impv. 490; *a*-aor. 508, pt. 512 a; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; *is*-aor. inj. 531; intv. 545, 1 a, 547 a, pt. 548; cs. 553 b, 554; ps. aor. 501; inf. 585, 7.
- śūci-*, inflected, 381.
- Vśuj-* pf. pt. 493 (p. 364 note 2).
- Vśundh-* 'purify', pr. 422, impv. 426, 434; cs. 554 a; pp. 574, 2.
- Vśubh-* or *śumbh-* 'beautify', 422, 430, sj. 423, impv. 426, pt. 427, 435; root aor. pt. 506; red. aor. 514; cs. 553 b, 554; pp. 575 a 1; inf. 584 b, 585, 1, 586 a.
- Vśuṣ-* 'dry', pr. 439, impv. 441; cs. 553 b.
- Vśū-* or *śvi-* 'swell', pr. pt. 427; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, opt. 489, pt. 492, 493 (p. 364 note 3); *s*-aor. pt. 527; inf. 588 c.
- Vśru-* = *Vś-* 'crush', pr. impv. 434.
- Vśradh-* 'be defiant', inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427; cs. 553 c.
- Vś-* 'crush', 476, impv. 478; pt. 479, impf. 480; pf. 485; *is*-aor. 529, inj. 531; ps. 445, aor. 501; pp. 573 a, 576 e; inf. 587 b; gd. 591 a.
- soci-*, inflected, 342.
- Vścand-* or *cand-* intv. 545, 3.
- Vścam-* 'labour'(?), pr. inj. 477.
- Vścut-* 'drip', pr. 422.
- Vśnath-* 'pierce', pr. sj. 452, impv. 454; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; *is*-aor. impv. 533; cs. 556; cs. pp. 575 c; inf. 584 b.
- Vśyā-* 'coagulate', pp. 574, 3, 576 c.
- Vśrath-* 'slacken', pr. 476, pt. 479, impf. 480; pf. 485; red. aor. inj. 516, impv. 518; cs. 556.
- śrathar-yā-* den. 567 d.
- śrathāya-* den. 564 a, 569 d.
- śrad-* 'heart', used adverbially with *Vkr-* and *Vdhā-*, 652.
- Vśram-* 'be weary', pr. 439; pf. 485, pt. 493; *a*-aor. 508, inj. 510; *is*-aor. 529, inj. 531; pp. 574, 2 a.
- śravasyā-* den., sj. 569 a.
- Vśrā-* (*śrī-*, *śr-*) 'boil', pr. 476, pt. 479, impf. 480; cs. 558, sj. 559 b; pp. 574, 1 a.
- Vśri-* 'resort', pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, opt. 489, pt. 493; plup. 493; root aor. 499; red. aor. 514; *s*-aor. 522; ps. aor. 501; cs. 558 a; pp. 573.
- Vśrīṣ-* 'clasp', pr. sj. 423; *a*-aor. inj. 510; inf. 587 a.
- Vśrī-* 'mix', pr. 476; pp. 573 a; inf. 585, 1.
- Vśru-* 'hear', pr. 451, 470, sj. 471, opt. 471, impv. 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pf. 485, sj. 487, opt. 489, pt. 492; plup. 495; root aor. 499, sj. 502, prec. 504, impv. 505; *a*-aor. inj. 510, des. 542 b, pt. 544, gdv. 544 i, 580; cs. 557 b; ps. 445, aor. 501; pp. 573; gdv. 578, 1, 579; gd. 590 b, 591 b.
- Vśruṣ-* 'hear', pr. inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428.
- Vśvañc-* 'spread', pr. impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. sj. 487 (cp. p. 361 note 3); cs. 556 a.
- śvan-*, accentuation, p. 80 (bottom).
- Vśvas-* 'blow', 451, impv. 454, pt. 455; intv. 545, 1 b; cs. 555; inf. 587 a.
- Vśvit-* 'be bright', root aor. 499, pt. 506; red. aor. 514; *s*-aor. 522.
- śāt* 'six' 43 a 2.
- śāt* 53 a 2.
- Vśthū-* 'spue', impf. 428.
- sa-*, adv. particle in compounds, 250, 656.
- sākhī-*, inflected, 380 a.
- Vśagḥ-* 'be equal to', impf. 474; root aor. sj. 502.
- Vśac-* 'accompany', pr. 422, 458, sj. 423, inj. 424, 459, opt. 425, impv. 426, 460, pt. 427 b, 461, impf. 428; pf. 485, pt. 492; root aor. impv. 505, pt. 506; *s*-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524, opt. 525; inf. 585, 7, 588 c.
- sacā* 'with', prep. with loc., 619.

*Vsaj-* and *sañj-* 'hang', pr. 422, impv. 426, impf. 428; *s-aor.* 522.

*Vsad-* 'sit', pr. 422, 451, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; opt. 487, pt. 492; *a-aor.* 508, inj. 510, opt. 511, impv. 512, pt. 512; red. aor. 514; *s-aor.* sj. 523; cs. sj. 559 b; ps. aor. 501; pp. 576 a; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 584 b, 586 a; gd. 591 a.

*sadha-* 'together', adv. 634 a. *sadhamās*, nom. of *sadhamād-* 66 c β, 319 a.

*Vsan-* 'gain', 470, sj. 471, opt. 471, impv. 472, impf. 474; pf. 485, pt. 492; *a-aor.* 508, inj. 510, opt. 511, pt. 512; *ī-*aor. 529, sj. 530; ft. 537; 539, pt. 538; des. 542, sj. 544; intv. 545, 3; pp. 574, 2; gdv. 581; inf. 585, 2, 3.

*sanitār* 'apart from', prep. with acc. 620.

*sanutār* 'far from', prep. with abl. 621.

*Vsap-* 'serve', pr. 422, inj. 424, opt. 425, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; red. aor. inj. 516.

*saparyā-* den., sj. 569 a, opt. 569 c, impv. 569 d, impf. 569 f; aor. 570; gdv. 580.

*sām* 'with', prep. with inst. 593 note 3; adv. 'together' as first member of compounds 250.

*sama-* 'any', pron. 399.

*saranyā-* den., sj. 569 a.

*sarvāpād-* 'all-footed' 319 a.

*Vsas-* 'sleep', pr. 458, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456.

*sāh-*, inflected, 352.

*Vsah-* 'prevail', pr. 422, 451, 2, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, opt. 489, pt. 492, 492 b, 493; root aor. opt. 504, prec. 504; *s-aor.* 522, sj. 523, opt. 525, pt. 527; *ī-*aor. 529, opt. 532; ft. 537, 539; des. 542, pt. 544; pp. 573; inf. 585, 1, 7; gd. 591 a.

*sahā* 'with' prep. with inst. 622; in compounds 656.

*sahśrapād-* 'thousand-footed', 319 a.

*Vsā-* 'bind', pr. 430, impv. 434, impf. 436; root aor. sj. 502, opt. 504, impv.

505; *a-aor.* opt. 511; cs. sj. 559 b; pp. 574, 3; inf. 584 a; gd. 591 a.

*sākām* 'with', prep. with inst. 623.

*Vsādh-* 'succeed', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, red. aor. sj. 515, inj. 516.

*Vsi-* 'bind', 476, impv. 478; pf. 485, sj. 487; root aor. impv. 505; inf. 585, 4.

*Vsic-* 'pour', pr. 422, 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485; *a-aor.* 508; ps. 445, pt. 447, impf. 448; pp. 573; gd. 591 a.

*Vī-* *sidh-* 'repel', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; intv. 545, 1, pt. 548; gd. 591 a.

*1/2. sidh-* 'succeed', pr. 439. *Sida-*, present base of *sad-* 'sit', p 57 note 8.

*Vsiv-* 'sew', pr. impv. 441, pt. 442; pp. 573 α; gd. 591 a.

*sū* 'well', adv. particle, as first member of compounds, 251, 658.

*Vsu-* 'press', pr. 430, 470, sj. 471, impv. 472, pt. 473; pf. 485, pt. 492, 493; root aor. impv. 505, pt. 506; ps. 445, inj. 446, aor. 501; gdv. 581; inf. 585, 4, 587 b.

*sumād* 'with', prep. with inst., 624.

*suśvāya-* den., inj. 569 b.

*Vsū-* 'generate', pr. 430, 451, sj. 431, inj. 452, impv. 434, pt. 435, 455, impf. 436, 456; pf. 482 b 1, 485; red. aor. 514; *ī-*aor. 529, sj. 530, inj. 531; ft. 537, pt. 538; intv. 545, 1, 546; inf. 585, 4, 5.

*Vsūd-* 'put in order', pf. 485, sj. 487; red. aor. 514, impv. 518; cs. 554 a, sj. 559 b.

*Vsiv-* 'flow', pr. 458, impv. 426, 460, pt. 461; pf. 485, pt. 492, 493; *a-aor.* 508; *s-aor.* sj. 523; ft. 537, 539, pt. 538; intv. 545, 2, 546, pt. 548; cs. 557 c; inf. 585, 4, 5.

*Vsiv-* 'emit', pr. 422, 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, pt. 427, 435, impf. 436; pf. 485, opt. 489, pt. 493; plup. 495; root aor. 500; *s-aor.* 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; ps. 445,

pt. 447, aor. 501; pp. 573; gd. 591 a.

*Vsṛ-* 'creep', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; *a-aor.* 508, inj. 510; des. 542, pt. 544; gd. 591 a. *senāni-*, inflected, 376.

*Vsev-* 'attend upon', pr. 422, impv. 426.

*Vskand-* 'leap', pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 426; pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; root aor. 499, inj. 503; intv. 545, 3, 547, impf. 549; pp. 576 a; inf. 584 b, 587 a.

*Vskabh-* or *skambh-* 'prop', pr. 476, pt. 479; pf. 482, 485, pt. 493; pp. 575 b; inf. 584 b; gd. 590 a.

*skabhāya-* den., impf. 569 f.

*Vsku-* 'tear', pr. 470; intv. 545, 1, 551.

*Vskṛ-* = *kṛ-* 'make', p. 55 note 10.

*Vstan-* 'thunder', pr. impv. 426, 454; root aor. inj. 503 (or. pr. inj. 452); *ī-*aor. 529; intv. 545, 2, 547; cs. 556.

*Vstabh-* or *stambh-* 'prop', pr. 476, impv. 478, impf. 480; pf. 485, pt. 492, 493; plup. 495; pp. 575 b; gd. 590 b.

*Vstu-* 'praise', pr. 422, 451, sj. 423, 452, inj. 424, 452, opt. 425, 453, impv. 454, pt. 427, 455; impf. 456; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 492, 493; plup. 495; *s-aor.* 522 (inflected), sj. 523, inj. 524; ft. 537, 339; ps. 445, pt. 447, pp. 573; gdv. 579; inf. 585, 1 α, 4, 7; gd. 590 b, 591 b.

*Vstubbh-* 'praise', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427.

*Vsṛ-* 'strew', pr. 470, 476, sj. 471, inj. 477, impv. 478, pt. 479, impf. 480; pf. 485, pt. 493; root aor. 499, sj. 502, inj. 503; *s-aor.* opt. 525; *ī-*aor. 529; ps. aor. 501; pp. 576 c; inf. 584 a, 585, 4, 588 c.

*Vsthā-* 'stand', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, pt. 492, 493; root aor. 498 (inflected), 499, 500, sj. 502, inj. 503, opt. 504, impv. 505, pt. 506; *a-aor.* 508; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; *s-aor.* inj. 524; ft. 539; cs. 558, aor. 560; pp. 574, 3; gd. 591 a.

- ṽsā-* 'bathe', pr. 451, impv. 454, pt. 455; cs. 558; gdv. 581; gd. 590 b.  
*ṽsnih-* 'be moist', cs. 553.  
*ṽsnu-* 'distil', pr. impv. 454.  
*ṽspā-* 'see', pf. 485, pt. 493; root aor. 500; cs. 555.  
*ṽsp-* 'win', pr. 470, sj. 471, impv. 472; root aor. 499, sj. 502, inj. 503, impv. 505; s aor. 522; inf. 585, 1; gd. 590 b.  
*ṽspṛdh-* 'contend', pr. 422, pt. 427; pf. 485, pt. 493; plup. 495; root aor. 500, pt. 506; inf. 585, 1, 586 b; gd. 591 a.  
*ṽspṛ-* 'touch', pr. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, impv. 434, impf. 436; pf. sj. 487; red. aor. sj. 515, inj. 516; s-aor. 536; inf. 584 b.  
*ṽspṛh-* 'be eager', cs. 554, opt. 559 c, gdv. 561 b, 579.  
*ṽsphur-* 'jerk', pr. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436.  
*ṽsphūṛj-* 'rumble', pr. 422; cs. 554 a.  
*ṽsphṛ-* 'jerk', iṣ-aor. inj. 531.  
*smā-* 'with', prep. with inst., 625.  
*ṽsmi-* 'smile', pr. 422, inj. 424, pt. 427; pf. pt. 493.  
*ṽsmṛ-* 'remember', pr. sj. 423, impv. 426.  
*ṽsyand-* 'move on', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. 482 b 1, 485; red. aor. 514; s-aor. 522; intv. 545, 3; cs. 556 a; pp. 576 a; inf. 584 b, 585, 7.  
*ṽsras-* 'fall', root aor. 66 c 2, 499; a-aor. opt. 511; red. aor. 514; cs. 556 a; gd. 590 b.  
*svās-* 2. s. s-aor. *ṽsṛj-*, 522.  
*ṽsridh-* 'blunder', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; a-aor. inj. 510, pt. 512.  
*ṽsriv-* 'fail', cs. 554 a α.  
*ṽsru-* 'flow', pr. 422, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; cs. 557 b; inf. 585, 4, 5.  
*svād-* 'own' 400, 1; 'his' etc. 401 c.  
*ṽsvaj-* 'embrace', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426; pf. 485, pt. 493; plup. 495; inf. 584 b.  
*svāśwas-*, 44, 3, dat. pl. p. 226 note 2, and p. 233.  
*ṽsvād-* and *svād-* 'sweeten', pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 426; red. aor. inj. 516; cs. 556; pp. 573 α.  
*ṽsvan-* 'sound', iṣ-aor. 529, inj. 531; intv. 545, 3, sj. 547; cs. 556; cs. pp. 575 c.  
*ṽsvap-* 'sleep', pr. impv. 426, 454, pt. 455; pf. 482 b 1, 485, pt. 492, 493; red. aor. 514; ft. 537, 539; cs. 555; pp. 574; gd. 590 b.  
*svayām* 'self' 400, 2.  
*ṽsvar-* 'sound', pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 426, impf. 428; pf. inj. 488; s-aor. 522; cs. 556.  
*ṽsvid-* 'sweat', pf. pt. 493; pp. 576 a.  
*ṽhan-* 'strike', pr. 451, sj. 452, inj. 452, opt. 453, impv. 454, pt. 455; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 492; ft. 537, 539; pt. 538; des. 542, sj. 544; intv. 545, 3, 546, 547, pt. 548, 548 a; ps. 445, impv. 446, pt. 447, impf. 456; pp. 574, 2; gdv. 581; inf. 585, 4, 5; gd. 590 b, c, 591 b.  
*ṽhar-* 'be gratified', pr. 439, sj. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443.  
*hasin-*, inflected 333.  
*ṽ1. hā-* 'leave', pr. 458, sj. 459, opt. 459, impv. 460, pt. 461, impf. 462; pf. 485; s-aor. 522, inj. 524; sṛs-aor. inj. 534; ft. 537, 539; cs. p. 396 note 2; ps. 445, impv. 446, aor. 501; pp. 575 b α, 576 c; gd. 590 a, b, c.  
*ṽ2. hā-* 'go forth', pr. 458, inj. 459, impv. 460, pt. 461, impf. 462; red. aor. inj. 516; s-aor. 522, inj. 524; des. 542 c 1; cs. aor. 560; gd. 591 a.  
*ṽhās-* 'go emulously', pr. pt. 427.  
*ṽhi-* 'impel', pr. 470, inj. 471, impv. 472, pt. 427, 473; root aor. 499, impv. 505; pt. 506; a-aor. 508; s-aor. 522; gdv. 581; inf. 584 a.  
*ṽhim-* 'injure', pr. 422, 464, impv. 466, pt. 467; pf. 485; plup. 495; iṣ-aor. inj. 531; ps. pt. 447; pp. 575 a 1; gdv. 581 a; gd. 590 b.  
*ṽhinv-* = *hi-* 'impel', pr. impv. 426.  
*ṽhid-* 'be hostile', pf. 482, 485, pt. 493; red. aor. 514; cs. 554 α; pp. 575 a 3.  
*ṽhu-* 'sacrifice', pr. 451, 458, sj. 459, opt. 459, impv. 460, pt. 461, impf. 462; ft. 537; ps. aor. 501.  
*ṽhū-* 'call', pr. 422, 430, 451, 458, inj. 424, 432, opt. 433, pt. 427, 435, impf. 436; pt. 485; root aor. 500, inj. 503; a-aor. 508; s-aor. 522; intv. 545, 1, 546, 547, impf. 549; ps. 445, pt. 447; pp. 573; gdv. 578, 2; inf. 585, 4, 7.  
*ṽ1. hṛ-* 'take', 422, 451, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; s-aor. 522; des. 542; inf. 585, 1; gd. 591 b.  
*ṽ2. hṛ-* 'be angry', pr. 476, inj. 477, impv. 478, pt. 479.  
*ṽhṛ-* 'be excited', pr. 422, 439, impv. 426, pt. 427; pt. 493; intv. 545, 2, 547, pt. 548; cs. 553 c; pp. 575 b.  
*ṽhes-* 'whinney', pr. pt. 427.  
*ṽhuu-* 'hide', pr. 451; gdv. 579.  
*ṽhr-* 'be ashamed', root aor. pt. 506.  
*ṽhē-* 'call', pr. 439, sj. 440, opt. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443.  
*ṽhep-* 'be or make crooked', pr. 422, 476, sj. 459, inj. 459; pf. 485, pt. 493; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; s-aor. inj. 524; pp. 573 α.

## II. GENERAL INDEX

- Ablative:** sing. masc. formed in two, neuter in three ways from der. *u*-stems 389.
- Accusative:** pl. masc. and fem. formed in two ways from der. *u*-stems 389; appositional 642b; cognate 642 a; of direction 642 c; of distance and time 642 d.
- Accentuation** 83—111; aorist 505 (root aor.), 507 (*a*-aor.), 535 (*sa*-aor.); augment 96; causative 552; denominative 562; double 85 a, 91 (p. 96), 105 a; lack of 85 b; irregular monosyllabic 94, 1 a, 368 n. 14 (rad. *ā*-stems), 362 n. 7 (*rāy*-), 364 c (*dyāv*-, *dyū*-), 376, p. 272 n. 10 14 (*srī*-); normal nominal 384 b (der. *ū*-stems), 382 b (radical *ū*-stems); shift of 22, 29 38 d, 58 d, 107 (case-forms as adverbs), 299, 319, and 389 (inst. as adv.), 311 (participles as substantives), 314 (nom. neut. of participles as adv.), 374 (inst. adverbs p. 264 mid.), p. 273 n. 1 (fem. of *a*-stems), 94, 2—4 (oxytones), 377, 3 a and 378 (der. *ī*-stems), 380 (der. *i*-stems), 388 c (der. *u*-stems), 94, 1 (monosyllabic stems), 334 b (*āp*-), 364 c (*div*-), 93 a α (cardinals); systems of 84.
- Adjectives:** fem. of 299 (*ānc*-stems), 326 a n. 13 (*am*-stems), 330 a (*van*-stems), 332 note 9 (*in*-stems), 345 (*yāms*-stems), 347 (*vāms*-stems), 375 a, p. 270 (*ya*-stems), 377, 1 (various stems), 388 2 a (*u*-stems).
- Adverbs:** two classes 626; formed from nouns 442 a, 643 a, 643 b, from pronouns 642 d β, 643 c, from numerals 634; multiplicative 638; miscellaneous 640; of manner 632; of time 639; with the case-ending of the abl. 644 b, of the acc. 642, 642 a, 642 d β, of the dat. 644 a, of the gen. 644 c, of the instr. 372 (p. 257), 374 (p. 264), 374 (f. pl. p. 267), of the loc. 643, 644 d, of the nom. 641.
- Alternative nominal stems** 253, 318 a 4, 328 c. 332 a.
- Amredita compounds** 257, 6, 258, 319 (p. 198 note 5); accentuation of 88; Sandhi in 57 b γ, 78, 1 c.
- Anudatta accent** 83, 84.
- Anunāsika for final *u*** 77 1 b, 77, 2 d.
- Anusvāra for *m*** 75, 2, 3, for *n* 77, 2 a b c; in the intensive reduplicative syllable 60b.
- Aoristic *s*:** added to present stem 521 a 2; lost 520 a 4, 529 a.
- Archaic Sandhi in compounds** 81.
- Aspirates:** two in the same syllable avoided 32, 40 a.
- Assimilation:** of *s* 53, 57, 78; of final consonants 74; of final *l* to *l* and palatals 76, 1, 2; of final media to following nasal 74 a; final *m* to following mutes 75, 2, to *y* / *v* 75, 4.
- Attraction with the dative and ablative infinitive** 583, 587.
- Augment** 413; lengthened 413; dropped 413 b; irregular Sandhi of 413 a.
- Breathing *h*:** represents sonant aspirates, guttural, palatal, cerebral, dental, labial 58; when final becomes *k* or *f* 66 b 6 β, 351 b.
- Case-endings, normal** 295 c.
- Case-forms:** as adverbs (treated in the order of the cases) 641—644; strong and weak 295 d, 297, 298, 301, 313, 315, 323, 325, 326 b, 328 b, 330 b, 334 a, 336 a, 338, 339 a, 341 a, 343 a, 344 (p. 230 note 3), 345, 347, 349 a, 351 a, 354 a, 356, 363, 380 a.
- Causative stem:** nominal derivatives in *-ana*, *-ṭṭ*, *-a*, *-ālu*, *-iṣṭu*, *-ihnu*, *-u* 561 e; formed with suffix *-paya* 558, the *ṭ* of which sometimes retained in the reduplicated aorist 513 a 2.
- Cerebralization:** of *n*, in verbal forms after the *r* of prepositions 47 A a; after *r*, *r*, *ṣ*, in the second member of nominal compounds 47 A b, 81, 2 e; in a following word 47 A c; of initial *t* 78, 2 b.
- Cerebrals:** their origin 42, unexplained 43 c, 47 B c; Prakritic 42 b, 47 B; representing old palatals 43; *t* for final *ṣ* 66 b 6 β, *t* and *ḍ* for *ṣ* 42 d; *ṣ* for palatal *ṣ* 56.
- Compounds:** characteristic features 241, consisting of phrases 293, 3, gender 241 a, Sandhi 81, suffixes 256, tmesis p. 143 (bottom), 260; first member consisting of adverbs 247, 274 b, 278 c, 289 b, nouns with case-endings 242, 248, 275, 277, 278 a, 280, 287, 355 (p. 242 note 9), 368 (p. 252 notes 2, 3, 13, p. 253 note 6), particles 251, 278 c, 284, 289 c, prepositions 249, 274 a, 278 d, 283, 298 a, 292, 1, alternative stems 244, 245, present stems 292, 2 a, b; last member consisting of alternative stems 253, or present stems 272.
- Conjugation:** irregularities of the *a*-class 421 a, of the *ā*-class 429 a, of the *ya*-class 438, of the *yā*-class (passive) 444 a, of the root class 450 a, of the redu-

plicated class 457 a, of the infixing nasal class 463, 1, of the *nu*-class 469 a, of the *nā*-class 475 a.

Consonants lost: 81, 2 a, in final group 66 c, 521 a; mute between nasal and mute 62, 3 c; *i* between two consonants 62, 3 b, *s* between two mutes 355 note 9, 520 a 4, *m* or *n* in the inst. of *-man* stems 328 b.

Contraction: in secondary Sandhi 70, 3; in the perfect 483 a 2; in declension 344 (p. 229, 230, 232, 233), 374 (gen. pl. of *kanyā*).

Dative: sing. masc. formed in two, neut. in three ways, in der. *u*-stems 389.

Denominative: with causative accent 563; formed from stems in *-a* 563, in *-ā* 564, in *-i* 565, in *-u* 566, in *-o* 566 a, in consonants 567; formed without a suffix 568; inflexion 569; participles 569 e.

Dentals: cerebralized 42 a, c, 47 A; replace cerebral and labial 44 a 3 β; *s* cerebralized 57, palatalized 53 a 1, 3, 54, changed to *t* 44 a, 522, unchanged before *r* or *ṛ* 57, 1 α, 2 a α, unchanged in *Amṛ*ḍita compounds 57, 2 b γ; *n* replaces *m* 46 d β, 66, 4 a; *n* before *p* 77, 2 a, before *l* 77, 2 e.

Dissimilation 43 b 1, b 2 p. 55 note 8, 351 notes 5 and 6, 469 a 1, 545, 2 α (p. 391 top).

Dissyllabic pronunciation 363 a (*gām* etc.), 364 a (*dyām*), 372 (gen. pl. of *a*-stems).

Doubling of final *n* 77.

Dravidian influence 42.

Dvandvas: accentuation 262, 267 note 7; gender 264, 266; plural 265; singular 266.

Elision: of final *a* before *e* and *o* 70, 2 a, after *e* and *o* 72, of *a* before ending of gen. loc. du. 372 (p. 260 top); of final *m* 70, 3 b, 75, followed by contraction 372 notes 2 and 4 (p. 256); of *y* and *v* 72, 1 b, 73; of *r* 79, 1 b; of *s* 78, 1 b.

Enclitics 85 b 1.

Endings: in declension 295 c, abnormal fem. loc. *-ām*,

gen. *-ās*, dat. *-ai* 374, 385; in conjugation, *-āna* 2. sing. impv. 475, 3, *-ām* 3. sing. impv. mid. 454, *-i* for *-ia* 3. sing. red. aor. p. 376 (top), *-iran* 494, 495, 529, *-ur* 3. pl. 456, 494, 499, 503, *-au* 1. 3. sing. pf. 484, 485, *-e* 3. sing. mid. for *-ie* 422, 430, 451, 458, 464, 476, 546, *-tana* 2. pl. impv. 426, 441, 454, 472, 478, 505, *-iāt* impv. 418 b, 426, 434, 441, 454, 460, 472, 478, 518, 547, 559 d, *-tai* 523, *-dhi* 2. sing. impv. 418 a, 454, 58, 2 d, *-dhva* 2. pl. mid. 426, *-rata* 3. pl. mid. 425, *-ratām* and *-rām* 3. pl. impv. 454, 490, *-rate* 3. pl. pr. mid. 451, *-ran* 3. pl. impf. and plup. 456, 494, *-ranta* 3. pl. plup. 495, *-ram* 3. pl. plup. 495, root aor. 500, *-rire* 3. pl. pf. mid. 484, 4 α, 485, *-re* 3. pl. mid. pr. 451, 469 a 6, 470, pf. 484, 3, 4, *-hi* 2. sing. impv. 418 a, 454.

Exclamations 659 a.

Foreign words 42, 45 b; 47 B c; 52 b g; 57, 1 β, γ.

Future participles 538.

Genitive: sing. m. formed in two, n. in three ways, in derivative *u*-stems 389.

Gerund: in *-tvī* 590 a; in *-tvā* 590 b; in *-tvāya* 590 c; in *-yā* and *-tyā* 591.

Gerundive: in *-ya* 578; in *-āyā* 579; in *-enya* 580; in *-tva* 581, in *-tavya* 581 a; in *-anīya* 581 b.

Gradation of vowels 51; in compounds 243, 255; in dissyllabic bases 27 b; in suffixes 27 c.

Guṇa 22; in *i*-stems 380; in *a*-stems 388; in the pr. stem. 421, 451, 457, 469; in the pf. 483; in the root aor. ps. 501; in the *a*-aor. 507 a; in the *s*-aor. 520, 523, 524; in the *i*-aor. 528; in the cs. 553, 557; in the gdv. 578.

Gutturals: interchange with palatals, labials, and *ṣ* 34; with palatals 36 a, 37, 38, 39, 41, b 2, 43 a 4, 43 b 2.

Haplogy 64, 499 (p. 367 note 5).

Hiatus 67, 69 a, b, c (duals),

70, 1 b, c (*ā + i* or *ṛ*), p. 251<sup>2</sup> (N. sing. f. *ā*-stems), 372 (N. A. n. du. and L. pl. *a*-stems), 374 a, b (N. sing. and L. pl. *ā*-stems).

Hybrid form 348 (N. pl. pf. pt.).

Imperative: endings of the 2. 3. sing. 418.

Infinitive: acc. from roots 586 a, from verbal nouns in *-tu* 586 b; dat. 368, in *-dhyai* from causatives 561 c, from roots 584, from verbal nouns in *-as*, *-i*, *-ti*, *-tu*, *-tāvā*, *-tyā*, *-dhyā*, *-man*, *-van* 585; abl. gen., from roots 587 a, from verbal nouns in *-tu* 587 b; loc., from roots 588 a, from stem in *-tar* 588 b, from stems in *-san* 588 c.

Insertion: of *ī* in pr. 450 a 3, 451, 456, in plup. 495, in *s*-aor. 521 a 1, 522, in intv. 546, in reduplicative syllable 545; of *y* between vowels 372; of sibilants 77, 2 a b c; of *t* 77, 2 f.

Instrumental: sing. m. n. formed in two ways in der. *a*-stems 372 (also pl.), f. in der. *ā*-stems 374, m. n. in der. *u*-stems 389, m. f. in der. *i*-stems 381.

Interchange: of vowel and consonant 50 b, 81 e, 469 a 2, 542 b, 573 a; of *r* and *l* 52 a.

Interjections 659; *hiṃ* compounded with *√kr*- 653.

Jihvāmūliya for final *s* 78, 2 c.

Labials 45: *ḍ* often in words of foreign origin 45 b, interchanges with *v* 45 a 3, in place of *m* 45 a 5.

Lengthening of vowels 81, 1 d, 81, 2 f, 82 b, 224 a, 255 b, 313, 315, 318 a 2, 319 a, 329 (N. A. sing. n.), 344 (N. sing.), 354 (N. sing.), 360 (L. sing.), 372 (L. sing.), 513 a (red. aor.), 520 a 2 (*s*-aor.), 554 and 555 (cs.), 563 a, 565 and 566 (den.).

Locative: sing. m. formed in two ways, f. in four ways, in der. *i*-stems 381, m. in two ways, n. in three ways in der. *u*-stems 389; Sandhi of locatives in *-ī* and *-ū* 71, 2 b.

Loss of nasal in pf. 483 a 4;

- in *a*-aor. 507; in *s*-aor. 520 a 3; in pp. 574, 2.
- Metathesis 50 b, 51 c, 63; in quantity (*āsthas*, *ādat* etc.) 507 a 4.
- n*-declension: influence on the der. *i*-declension 380 d, on the der. *a*-declension 371.
- Nasalization: of vowels 66, 1, 70, 1 b, 70, 2 b, 372 note 5 (p. 256) p. 258 note 3 and note 5; of semivowels 75, of *l* 77, 2 e.
- Nominal stems, obsolete, preserved in adverbs 642 d a.
- Nominative: pl. formed in two ways, in der. *a*-declension 372, in der. *ā*-declension, 374, in der. *i*-declension 381, in der. *u*-declension 389.
- Onomatopoeic words 52 f, 659 b; in compounds 251, 5, 650.
- Palatals: two series 35; new palatals 36, 37, 38; old palatals 40 (*ch*), 41 (*j*); new palatals revert to gutturals, in pf. 482 d 2, 492, 495, in root aor. 500 note 19 (p. 367), in des. 542 c a; *c* becomes *k* 66 b 2; *j* becomes *k* or *ṣ* 66 b 2; *ṣ* replaces *s* 54 a, becomes *k* before *s* 54 b, 349 b, becomes *ṣ* before *t* *th* 42 a, 56 a, becomes *ḍ* before *bh* 349 b.
- Parallelism, form due to, 327 (p. 206 note 3), 354 c, *nāktā* N. A. du. 372.
- Particles: three groups 645; *a*-, *sa*-, *du*-, *su*- as first members of compounds 655—658.
- Participial forms compounded with substantives used adverbially 654.
- Passive: present system 444—448; aorist 501; past participle formed with *-ta* 572—575, with *-na* 576.
- Perfect: irregularities in the root 483 a; subjunctive 487, injunctive 488, optative 489, imperative 490.
- Pragmatic vowels: *i*, *ā* 69 c, 71, 2; *e* 72, 2, 374 (du. f. of *ā*-stems), *o* 72, 3.
- Prakritic words 42 b, 47 B.
- Precative 417, 489, 504, 511, 517, 525.
- Prepositions: two classes 592; adverbial, not compounded with verbs 593; adnominal, used with cases, 594; accentuation 102, 103, 105, 110 (p. 107).
- Pronominal declension: influence on nominal 371.
- Reduction of final *ā* to *i* 26, 483 b, 484 a 1, of medial *ā* to *i* 507 a 1, 574, 3, 576 c.
- Reduplicated aorist connected with the causative 513.
- Reduplication 37 e; aorist 513; rhythmic rule 513 a; intensive 60b, 545; perfect 62, 482, vowel lengthened 482, irregular 482 d, syllable *ān*- 482 c a, syllable lost 482 e, rhythmic rule 484 a 4 note 1, note 2.
- Rhotacism 51 a, 52 a.
- Samprasāraṇa 22, 23, 24, 326 b, 482 b 1, 483 a 1, (cs.) 554; (pp.) 574, 575.
- Sandhi 31, 2, 38 c, 46 d a, 47 A; duplicate forms 67 b; initial *n* cerebralized 47 A c; 54 a (*ṣ* for *s*), 57 (*ṣ* for *s*), 58 and 80 b (*h* aspirated), 59 and 74 note 5 (*l* for *ḍ*), 62 (*ḍv*), 62, 1 (final group of consonants).
- Semivowels *y* and *v* pronounced as *iy* and *uv* 48 a, with a syllabic value 48 b, lost 62; *y* inserted between vowels 49 a, interchanges with *v* 49 c; *v* interchanges with *b* and *y* 50 a; final *r* 66, 5, indicated in the Padapāṭha 66 b note 10, becomes *ṣ* or *s* 79, 2 b, c, lost 62, 4; *l* gradually increases at the cost of *r* 52 a, in foreign words 52 g, *l* for *ḍ* in the later Samhitās 52 d, for *ḍ* 52 e, final *l* 66 b 5 note 9.
- Shortening of vowels 81, 2 g (*ā*, *i*), 70, 1 b and p. 259 note 7 (*ā* before *r*), 327 (*ā* in *an*-stems), 352 (*-āh*-), 360 (du. of *-tar* stems), 362 b (*rāy*-), 369 (radical *ā*), 372 (dual *ā*), 378 (dual *i*), p. 277 note 4 (*nārī*), 381 (*ī* of n. pl.).
- Sibilant lost: initial and final *s* and *s* 62, 2, 78 e 2, 3, 81, 2 a—c; *s* and *s* between mutes 62, 3, 355 note 9; *s* before voiced dental 62, 4 b, cerebralized before loss 62, 4 c; palatal spirant (*ṣ*) before *d*, *dh* 62, 4 d.
- Strong forms: in declension 295 d; in conjugation 449, 483, 494, 498, 501, 520, 528.
- Subjunctive 414.
- Suffixes: primary nominal 113 a (list); secondary nominal 190 (list); adverbial 627—640.
- Supplementary stems in declension 315, 326 c, 330 c, 339 b, 343 b, 357, 362 a.
- Svarita accent 83, 84; in Sandhi 108.
- Syncope 25, 1—3, 324 (*-han*-), 325, 327, 328 b; 483 a 3 (pf.), 513 a 4 (red. aor.), 542 c 2 (des.), 548 a (intv.).
- Transfer forms: in declension 313 note 5, 315, 316 (p. 196 note 4), 317 note 7, note 11, 318 a 5, 326 d, 330 d, 334 c, 339 c, 341 b, 343 c, 349 c, 351 c, 354 b, 364 b, 375 a a, 378 (p. 275 notes and 276 bottom), 380 c, 381 (f. D. Ab. G. L. sing.), 384 c, 388 d, 389 (G. sing. m., I. du.); in conjugation: 421 a 4, 429 a 3, 4, 457 a 8, 463, 2, 469 a 7, 475 a 4, 495, 499 note 11 (p. 367), 507 a 4 (*a*-aor.).
- Transfer stems in compounds 254.
- Udātta accent 83, 84.
- Unreduplicated perfect forms 482 e, 492 b.
- Upādhmanīya for final *s* 78, 1 c
- Visarjanīya for final dental *s* 66, 6 a, 78, 1 c—e; for final *r* 79, 2 a, d.
- Vocative: accentuation 93, 109; formed with *-mas* and *-vas* from *-mant*-, *-māms* and *-vant* stems 315, 316, 340, with *-vas* from *-van* and *-vāms* stems 331, 348, with *-yas* from *-yāms* stems 346; final vowel gunated in *i*-stems 381, and *u*-stems 389.
- Vowels: *e* for original *a* 15 b 1, 62, 4 b; lost 25, 26 a, 563 c, 564 a.
- Yiddhi 22 a, 25 B, 483 (pf.), 501 (ps. aor.), 520 (*s*-aor.), 524, 528, 557 (cs.), 578, 2 (gdrv.).
- Weak forms for strong 348.





# CONTENTS.

## INTRODUCTION . . . . . page 1—5

General scope of this work 1. — Verbal Authenticity of the Texts 2.

## I. PHONOLOGY . . . . . page 5—59

Ancient pronunciation 3. — The sounds of the Vedic Language 4. — 1. The simple Vowels 6—14. — 2. The Diphthongs 15—16. — Lengthening of Vowels 17. — Loss of Vowels 18. — Contraction 19. — Hiatus 20. — Vowel Gradation 22—29. — The Consonants 30—47: Doubling of Consonants 30. — Modes of Articulation 31. — Loss of Aspiration 32. — Aspirates in contact with other Mutes 33. — The five Classes of Mutes 34—45: 1. Gutturals 34. — 2. Palatals 35—38. — Irregular Palatalization 39. — Old Palatals 40—41. — 3. Cerebrals 42—43. — 4. Dentals 44. — 5. Labials 45. — Nasals 46. — Cerebral *n* 47. — Semivowels 48—52. — Sibilants 53—57. — The Breathing *h* 58. — Cerebral *l* 59. — Anusvāra and Anunāsika 60. — Voiceless Spirants 61. — Loss of Consonants 62. — Metathesis 63. — Syllable 64.

## II. EUPHONIC COMBINATION (SANDHI)

page 59—76.

Nature of Vedic Sandhi 65. — Finals in pausa 66. — Rules of Sandhi 67. — Lengthening of Final Vowels 68. — Contraction of Similar Vowels 69. — Contraction of *ā* with Dissimilar Vowels 70. — Final *ī* and *ū* before Dissimilar Vowels 71. — Final *e* and *o* 72. — The Diphthongs *ai* and *au* 73. — Sandhi of Consonants 74. — Sandhi of Final *m* 75; of Final *t* 76; of Final *n* 77; of Final *s* 78; of Final *r* 79. — Initial Aspiration 80. — Sandhi of Compounds 81. — Extension of External to Internal Sandhi 82.

## III. ACCENT . . . . . page 76—107

General Character of the Vedic Accent 83. — Methods of Marking the Accent 84. — Normal Accent, Double Accent, Lack of Accent 85. — 1. Accentuation of Nominal Stems 86. — 2. Accentuation of Compounds 87: of Iteratives 88; of Governing Compounds 89; of Possessives 90; of Determinatives 91; of Copulatives 92. — 3. Accent in Declension 93—94. — 4. Verbal Accent 95—101. — 5. Accent of Nominal Verbforms 102—107. — 6. Accent in Sandhi 108. — 7. Sentence Accent 109—111.

## IV. NOMINAL STEM FORMATION

page 107—143.

Primary and Secondary Suffixes 112. — 1. Primary Nominal Derivation: Action Nouns and Agent Nouns 113. — 1. Primary Nominal Suffixes 114—189. — 2. Secondary Nominal Derivation: Form and Meaning 190. — Secondary Nominal Suffixes 191—240.

## V. COMPOUNDS . . . . . page 143—178

Form of Compounds 241. — A. First Member of Compounds 242—251. — B. Last Member of Compounds 252—256. — Classification of Compounds 257: 1. Iteratives 258. — 2. Copulatives (Dvandvas) 259—268. — 3. Determinatives 269—284. — 4. Possessives (Bahuvrhis) 285—291. — 5. Governing Compounds 292. — 6. Syntactical Compounds 293.

## VI. DECLENSION . . . . . page 178—312.

General Character 294. — I. NOUNS 295. — A. Consonant Stems 296—365. — 1. Palatal Stems 297—303. — 2. Cerebral Stems 304. — 3. Dental Stems 305—333: Stems in *-t* 306—308. — Derivate Stems in *-vat*, *-tāt*, *-it*, *-ut* and secondary *-t* 309—310. — Participial Stems in *-at* and *-ant* 311—314. — Stems in *-mant* and *-vant* 315—316. — Stems in Radical *-th* 317. — Stems in *-ā* 318—320. — Stems in *-dh* 321—322. — Stems in Radical *-n* 323—324. — Derivative Stems in *-an*, *-man*, *-van* 325—331. — Stems in *-in*, *-min*, *-vin* 332—333. — 4. Labial Stems 334—338. — 5. Stems in Sibilants 339—350: in Radical *-s* and *-ṣ* 339—340, in Derivative *-is* and *-us* 341—342, in Derivative *-as* 343—344, in *-yāms* 345—346, in *-vāms* 347—348, in Radical *-ś* 349—350. — 6. Stems in Radical *h* 351—352. — 7. Stems in Semivowels 353—365: in Radical *-r* 354—355, in Derivative *-ar* and *-iar* 356—360, in *-y* (*-āy*) and *-v* (*-av* and *-āv*) 361—365. — B. Vowel Stems 366—389. — 1 a. Stems in Radical *-ā* 367—368. — 1 b. Stems in Radical *-a* 369—370. — 2 a. Stems in Derivative *-a* 371—372. — 2 b. Stems in Derivative *-ā* 373—374. — 3 a. Stems in Radical *-ī* 375—376. — 3 b. Stems in Derivative *-ī* 377—378. — 4 a. Stems in Radical *-i* 379. — 4 b. Stems in Derivative *-i* 380—381. — 5 a. Radical *-ū* stems 382—383. — 5 b. Derivative

- <i>ñ</i> stems 384—385. — 6 a. Radical - <i>u</i> stems 386—387. — 6 b. Derivative - <i>u</i> stems 388—389.	III. THE AORIST SYSTEM 497—536. — Characteristics 497. — 1. Simple Aorist: A. Root Aorist 498—506; B. <i>a</i> -Aorist 507—512. — 2. Reduplicated Aorist 513—518. — 3. Sigmatic Aorist 519: A. 1. The <i>s</i> -Aorist 520—527. — A. 2. The <i>is</i> -Aorist 528—533. — A. 3. The <i>sis</i> -Aorist 534. — B. The <i>sa</i> -Aorist 535—536.
II. PRONOUNS 390—403: 1. Personal 391. — 2. Demonstrative 392—396. — 3. Interrogative 397. — 4. Relative 398. — 5. Indefinite 399. — 6. Reflexive 400. — 7. Possessive 401. — 8. Pronominal Derivatives and Compounds 402. — 9. Pronominal Adjectives 403.	IV. THE FUTURE SYSTEM 537—540. — Formation of the Stem 537. — Subjunctive, Conditional, Participles 538. — Indicative 539. — Periphrastic Future 540.
III. NUMERALS 404—409. — A. Cardinals 405—407. — B. Ordinals 408. — C. Numeral Derivatives 409.	V. SECONDARY CONJUGATION 541—570. — 1. Desiderative 542—544. — 2. Intensive 545—551. — 3. Causative 552—561. — 4. Denominative 562—570.
VII. THE VERB . . . page 312—414 General Characteristics 410. — A. THE FINITE VERB 411—570. — Personal Endings 412. — The Augment 413. — Formation of the Moods: Subjunctive 414, Injunctive 415, Optative 416, Precative 417, Imperative 418.	B. NOMINAL VERB FORMS 571—591. — Characteristics 571. — a. Past Passive Participles 572—576. — b. Future Passive Participles (Gerundives) 577—581. — c. Infinitive 582—588: 1. Dative Infinitive 583—585. — 2. Accusative Infinitive 586. — 3. Ablative-Genitive Infinitive 587. — 4. Locative Infinitive 588. — d. Gerund 589—591.
I. THE PRESENT SYSTEM 419—480. — Characteristics 419. — a. First or <i>a</i> -Conjugation 420—448: Characteristics 420. — 1. The Radically accented <i>a</i> -Class ( <i>bhāva</i> ) 421—428. — 2. The Suffixally accented <i>ā</i> -Class ( <i>tudā</i> -) 429—436. — 3. The <i>ya</i> -Class 437: A. The Radically accented <i>ya</i> -Class 438—443. — B. The Suffixally accented <i>yā</i> -Class (Passive) 444—448.	VIII. INDECLINABLES . . . page 414—432. 1. Prepositions 592—625: A. Adverbial Prepositions 593—608. — B. Adnominal Prepositions 609—625. 2. Adverbs 626—644: A. Adverbial Suffixes (in alphabetical order) 627—640. — B. Adverbial Case-forms (in the order of the cases) 641—644. 3. Particles 645—658: emphatic 646, conjunctive 647, negative 648. — a. Adverbial Words in Compounds 649—658. 4. Interjections 659.
b. The Second or Graded Conjugation 449—480. — a 1. The Root Class 450—456. — a 2. The Reduplicating Class 457—462. — β 1. The Infixing Nasal Class 463—468. — β 2. The <i>nu</i> -Class 469—474. — β 3. The <i>nā</i> -Class 475—480.	ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA . . . page 433 LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS . . . „ 436 SANSKRIT INDEX . . . „ 437 GENERAL INDEX . . . „ 451 TABLE OF CONTENTS . . . „ 455
II. THE PERFECT SYSTEM 481—496. — Characteristics 481. — 1. The Reduplicative Syllable 482. — 2. The Root 483. — 3. The Endings 484. — Perfect Indicative 485. — Moods of the Perfect 486—490. — Perfect Participle 491—493. — Pluperfect 494—495. — Periphrastic Perfect 496.	

The printing was commenced in May, 1907, and afterwards delayed by the death of the editor  
Prof. Kielhorn.